All-India Khadi & Village Industries Board

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor : MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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NOTES

Horse Racing

I have heard it argued that horse racing is necessary for breeding good horses. There may be truth in this. Is it not possible to have horse racing without gambling, or is gambling also an aid to the breeding of good horses?

Harijan 4-9-37 M. K. G.

The Prime Minister Regarding English

The following piece of news is from *The Hindustan Times* of February 17, 1953:

> 'Speaking on the occasion of the Founder's Day of Modern School, New Delhi, Mr Nehru on Sunday scoffed at those who in their false vanity and exhibitionism prided themselves on knowing English and on talking in English and putting emphasis on English and considered themselves superior to those who did not know English.
>
> The Prime Minister, who was visiting the school after 22 years, said he had the impression that there seemed to be an overemphasis on English at this school. English was a good language and its knowledge as of other foreign languages like French and Persian, was good. He had nothing to say against the English language but it was bad to divide the people into English-knowing and non-English knowing. 'Our language is our language and we must be proud of it,' he added.
>
> He favoured introduction of basic education into colleges besides schools. He regretted that rapid progress had not been made in basic education.

It is really very welcome to hear from the Prime Minister regarding the place of English in our national life and education, specially when various persons of note and importance are, in and out of season, speaking with misplaced zeal and overemphasis on a subject about which they should lead and not confuse the common man, which unhappily is the result of their half-considered pronouncements.

26-2-'53 M. P.

Prohibition in Bihar

It appears from a report in the *National Herald* of Lucknow, dated 20-2-'53 that during the question hour, in the Bihar State Assembly, in an answer to a query raised by some member, the Revenue and Excise Minister said that considering the present financial position it was not possible to introduce prohibition in the State. He added that there were many people in the State who considered use of drink a part of their culture and civilization. A member of the Assembly protested against this observation. He said that allegation that there were men who regarded drink as a part of culture was wrong. But the Minister did not yield and stuck to his opinion. For fear of losing the revenue — was it not? Comment is not necessary.

But let the people of Bihar think it over and find out their own answer. Is there a drink culture in Bihar? May we however point out to the Minister that refusal to introduce prohibition on account of financial considerations is a violation of our Constitution and a betrayal of the trust of the people and, if he is a Congressman, a non-fulfilment of his solemn pledge? We hope he will reconsider his decision.

27-2-'53 M. P.

(From Hindi)

Drink and Culture

A friend drew my attention to the following that appeared hundred years ago in *The Times of India* of January 11, 1853 and was reproduced in the issue of the same date in 1953. It will be interesting to read it along with the note above regarding 'Prohibition in Bihar'. It may also be noted that through prohibition we are now determined as a nation to remove the exotic culture of drink that beset our happy land during the foreign rule and influence of the British.

Hundred Years Ago

> In the present state of India the example of the Europeans scattered throughout all its borders exerts a powerful influence on the native population. They are the depositories of power and influence. They are the representatives of the learning the civilization and the Christianity of England. Their conduct is watched with the deepest interest; the sentiments which they express are carefully weighed. Like a city on a hill, they are exposed to general observation — they are the subjects of close and general study. To introduce new evils and new vices among a partially enlightened, degenerate people is an easy work, — far easier than to eradicate these evils which have long prevailed. Hence if any pernicious customs, any evil habits prevail among the present rulers of India, these, in all probability, will be the first thing to be adopted by the native population. Thus the natives see that Europeans generally, — men of education, influence and worth habitually, both in public and private, indulge in the

use of intoxicating drinks —that regardless of expense and difficulties they carry these drinks to the most distant and inaccessible stations, as if indispensable to health and happiness Now in the course of years, what must be the effect of this constant example—operating as it does throughout the length and breadth of India? Will it not be, gradually, but certainly to introduce these same drinking habits with all their attendant evils among this people? Thus individuals and families are involved in ruin poverty and wretchedness spread through the land, grog-shops are multiplied, crime increases, such are the sure, the inevitable results of the general use of intoxicating drinks.

27-2-'53 M. P

Print for the Blind

The Village Industries Research Laboratory at Kora Gramodyog Kendra, Borivli, near Bombay, is working on a method of making readable to the blind text printed on standard printing presses

The way of printing under research is based on the principle of incorporating in the printer's ink various substances which would swell out under the action of the other ingredients of the ink itself, or on wetting, heating, or exposure to the action of chemical substances

The expanding substance may form a part of the ink's composition, or it may be added after printing by adhering to the wet surface of the ink

For instance shellac powdered on the surface of the freshly printed text and then baked in an oven will melt, mix with the ink, and expand, forming a raised outline which the tips of the fingers can easily follow

Naturally, the method is not limited to any particular alphabet, nor does it require any special construction of press

The purpose of this note is to make public the principle that printing can be made readable to the blind by raising the printed surface through incorporation of suitable substances in the ink before or after printing

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A NEW CHAPTER IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF KHADI

(By Shrikrishnadas Jaju)

1 With the constitution of the Khadi and Village Industries Board by the India Government, Khadi and Village Industries enter a new phase of their development In the present article I shall be writing only about Khadi. Speaking generally, most of the State Governments have always been giving some financial help to Khadi, though looking to the magnitude of the work to be done, it was only nominal. But now by levying a cess on the mill-cloth, the India Government seems to have decided to render substantial help to Khadi industry

2 Inaugurating the first meeting of the Board the Prime Minister said in the beginning that the first thing which occurred to him on the occasion was why they did not take this step four or five years ago He did not provide an answer to this query though he realized the mistake When substantial political power first came into our hands Gandhiji was still with us Proposals and schemes for the promotion of Khadi were then placed before the Governments and the authorities We had then the advantage of a favourable atmosphere and the popular feeling of a strong regard for Khadi If those in authority had seen their way to encourage Khadi at that time, Khadi could have made tremendous progress Now all those favourable circumstances are lacking and special efforts will have to be made to secure them. To think that the cause of Khadi can prosper merely on the strength of money will only prove itself a delusion.

3 Khadi being costlier than mill-cloth, its marketing presents difficulties If on the other hand its prices are brought down to the level of mill-cloth, huge losses will have to be incurred. That will necessitate excessive cess on the mill-cloth which the Governments will not like Besides, it will not conduce to the right attitude in regard to Khadi. Therefore for the present it is proposed to make it available to the consumers without adding administrative overhead charges Our experience shows that these overhead charges come to about two or three annas per rupee. Hence it is proposed to allow a discount of As. 3 per rupee Even then it will cost more than mill-cloth. Under the circumstances it cannot be sold unless there is a sentiment in its favour. Inasmuch as it is intended to provide employment to the unemployed through hand-spinning, it will not be proper to curtail its production in the event of a reduction in the consumption of cloth. On the contrary, we have to try for its maximum expansion.

4 After Independence, there were many who thought that Khadi had now exhausted its utility and there was no more use for it. They argued Mahatmaji had linked Khadi to our fight for freedom and so it prospered. These friends seem to have forgotten that Mahatmaji had asked for a permanent place for Khadi in our economy He considered it to be the symbol and the foundation of the Sarvodaya social order But this will hardly appeal to those who have no faith in Sarvodaya itself The lovers of Khadi however

still cherish that aim Their approach to Khadi and village industries is different and they are carrying on Khadi work in their own way, especially from the point of view of self-sufficiency in cloth The Government did not pay proper attention to Khadi so long. Now under the pressure of the situation they seem to have come to the conclusion that hand-spinning is necessary for solving the widespread unemployment and underemployment The interest of the Governments is limited to that only Even so, sentiment for Khadi will be necessary in order to ensure its consumption The Charkha Sangh has made some suggestions to the Government to this end It remains to be seen how far the Government will accept them One thing is clear: It is the duty of all of us and the Government to create a favourable atmosphere for Khadi We need sacrifice and industry in order that the nation may go ahead and Khadi can act as a potent means of inculcating these virtues

5 Owing to the exigencies of the situation some of the main Khadi workers have accepted to become the members of the Board Some friends have raised an objection that since Khadi really aims at something which is different from the limited aim of the Government, the presence of the front-rank Khadi workers in this Board will cause needless misunderstanding and may lead to the alienation of the lovers of Khadi from its real aim. The fear is not unfounded. The Charkha Sangh decided to change over from commercial to self-sufficiency Khadi in 1945 when Gandhiji was still with us And though in view of its usefulness as relief measure, it was not considered advisable to stop commercial production all at once, it was clearly understood that the Charkha Sangh would progressively withdraw from this side of its activity Work in respect of the commercial Khadi then came to be entrusted to other institutions in the field, if such were available, and in their absence to the new ones which were created for the purpose The present position is that except in Tamilnad, in all other provinces, the Charkha Sangh has curtailed its commercial Khadi work to a very great extent. It is being carried on now by certified institutions In case of Tamilnad too, efforts were made to build up a new institution to take over the work but there was no success The newly formed Board will work for an expansion of Khadi on a big scale and since those who have been in Khadi work so long are specially conversant with its working, it is quite proper to enlist their help On the other hand, it is also true that with workers occupying themselves with this side of Khadi work, there may come about a slackening of the hold on the real aim of this work. But Khadi had both these aspects from the outset first rendering relief to the unemployed poor and next propagating the ideal of self-sufficiency, which is essential for the Sarvodaya economic order For solving the widespread unemployment in the country there does not appear to be, for the present at least, anything more efficacious than hand-spinning. Any measure which promises relief to the unemployed should be welcomed by all Under the circumstances, when the Government shows its readiness to introduce Khadi on a big scale, how can the Khadi-workers refuse to help them? Of course we should take care to keep our hold on the true aim of Khadi, despite our association with this venture And in case of a conflict between the two, we should be prepared to shed our attraction for mere expansion and concentrate on our goal. As it is, one cannot, at this stage foretell how things will develop Only time will show that

6 With the formation of the Board, the Khadi workers will have to shoulder new responsibilities Khadi will be produced on a big scale Efforts should therefore be made to meet all other difficulties, except the high prices which are unavoidable and which hinder its sale. Up to 1935 every attempt was made to strengthen the position of Khadi: Designs and varieties were developed and it was made artistically attractive so as to satisfy the taste of the various classes of buyers Then for several reasons, the progress stopped. In the last few years, even the texture has deteriorated We will have to introduce all those improvements again, so that the customers may buy willingly The Governments are expected to purchase a lot of Khadi for some of their departments It is necessary that the Khadi supplied to them keeps to the mark consistent with their needs All these improvements are to be effected without any corresponding rise in the cost, everything has to be done economically One more warning would seem to be necessary. Government is going to provide financial aid in various forms Care should be taken to accept it and expend it in complete conformity with the rules evolved for the purpose.

7 We will have to be careful about one thing more Because of the fall in the sale of Khadi new production has very much gone down. Now if the Board succeeds in pushing up the consumption, the production will again go up before long to four or five times its present quantity At the centres where there is large-scale hand-spinning, it will not take long to step up the production. But after it has reached the limit, further expansion can be achieved slowly because it takes time to train new spinners, to secure tools to them and to let them improve the quality of yarn These limitations will also apply to new centres Therefore great caution has to be observed in a speedy stepping up of the production The yarn will be crude which in its turn will adversely affect the quality of the cloth produced Not only that, it may lead to far more dangerous result there might be fear of resorting to mixed Khadi, i.e. admixture of mill-yarn Therefore as soon as production outstrips the capacity of the centre, the management will have to be alert and so plan things as to preclude such a fear The Charkha Sangh has devised, from its long experience, certain measures which may be adopted with advantage in fighting this evil. Even apart from all this, it is essential to be careful about the purity of Khadi at a time when production is on the increase Production of Khadi is a far flung affair spread over a number of villages and the admixture of mill-yarn will spell its complete failure

Sevagram, 17-2-'53

(From Hindi)

HARIJAN

March 7 1953

THE ALL-INDIA KHADI AND VILLAGE INDUSTRIES BOARD

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

In a previous issue the reader must have seen the address of the Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlalji, which he gave while inaugurating the A I Khadi and Village Industries Board (briefly A. I K. V I B.). There are one or two very important things in it, deserving our attention Firstly, the Prime Minister admitted that a Board of the kind being instituted now ought to have been formed four years ago If the Governments at the Centre and of the States had begun to attend to this work of Khadi and village industries immediately as we were free and with one policy and single-mindedness,— if this had been done it would have meant a vast and desirable difference in the confusion of thought and conflicting policies and slow progress that are to be found at present Moreover we would have been less dazzled by the glamour of big industries and would have better realized what we should do by way of putting due limitations and control over them. At least, we would have realized earlier that the master-key to solve the problems of our economic regeneration is to be found in villages and through resuscitation of Khadi and small-scale village industries, and we would have been on our way to finding out ways and means for it But it is no use crying over spilt milk And it was in that spirit that the Prime Minister inaugurated the Board and said that, "in my own mind an idea is growing daily that the yard stick by which one can measure the economic progress of a country is the extent of employment. Khadi and village industries have a great role to play in this sphere of solving unemployment. The issue, therefore, is not merely the advancement of the cause of Khadi and village industries. In it is involved the advancement of the cause of the nation and the wellbeing of the people This should therefore be dovetailed into the general planning for the people as a whole"

The reader will probably say that this is nothing new Gandhiji had said these things to us so often. This is true And did he not tell us almost all that we were immediately required to do in this country for our wellbeing ? There was no sphere of our national and social life, in which he did not enlighten us with his sage advice and suggesting effective programme The question is what we accepted and what we did about it all. Now the time has come when we should bestir ourselves with the added strength and resources of our own Government to implement that programme. What is significant therefore is that, even though late, we still remember it and that the Prime Minister of India places it before the country, which means that the progress and advancement of Khadi and Village industries now become the concern of the State and a Board is being formed to look after them We may well hope that the delay in the formation of the Board will be made good by brisk work and closer attention to it

The question before us is, how to energize village industries so that they regain their self-reliant place in the village economy There was a time when it was so Foreign rule destroyed them in its own interest as also in that of the big industries that came to ply in our country. It was treason against the good of our common people Our chief problem is to undo that

The Five Year Plan has thought of this question (Chap 24) and has asked the A I K V I Board to take up the following ten village industries first

The village oil industry soap-making with neem oil, paddy husking palm gur industry, gur and *khandsari*, leather, manufacture of woolen blankets, manufacture of hand made paper, bee-keeping and cottage match industry

Over and above these there is of course Khadi mentioned as a separate and special item This is because Khadi is the sun round which the planetary system of the village industries rotates Once Khadi is in its own, it will surely lend its strength to all others.

It is necessary that this work of regenerating Khadi and village industries should be done in the interest of the villages I am sorry that the Five Year Planners did not recognize the urgency and importance of this to the extent which it deserves Otherwise they would have concentrated their plan on this chief problem of removing unemployment and poverty among our people However they have accepted one thing, that it will be necessary to regulate and control production and expansion of large-scale industries, consistently with the needs of the village industries prospering in due manner, and to impose a cess on the former And on the other hand it is felt necessary that village industries are assured of the supply of raw materials at economic rates and of their research and training This is obvious, but there are difficulties in the way, which should surely be removed.

There are two difficulties Firstly owners of large-scale industries and factories will object to any regulation and control and to the imposition of cess, and they are doing so already Their industries are today a part of the economic and financial machinery of the Government as well as the people Any factor that may require it to change will obviously create disturbance during the transition and hence might be a cause of their worry and irritation However, inevitable as it is and in the wider interest of our people, these vested interests must learn to accommodate such an inevitability If we think that in

our national economy there is a place for large-scale as well as small-scale industries, it means that they cannot be competing in themselves, but should be complementary to one another and be dovetailed into a common pattern for the good of our people as a whole, and if at all there was competition to be found between them, it would be upto our large-scale industries and factories to appreciate and eliminate it of their own accord But we know that this principle, obvious and true as it is, is not equally easy to execute This is the first difficulty that our Governments and factory-owners have to surmount

The second is the difficult task of finding out how to dovetail these two types of industries What will be its plan and programme? Which are the industries that should be taken up? All this must be gone into in detail and a comprehensive plan for it must be presented before the country This is the work of the A. I K V I Board, and the people have to help it in this its great duty

But has the Board adequate powers for it? — It may well be asked here We may well rest assured in this matter that Government will surely give necessary and sufficient powers to do the work entrusted by it to the Board, the work of the Board will demand it as it goes further and Government will surely do the needful in its own interest The chief thing is that the Board does its work well and keeps in view the larger issues which it is called upon to solve It must not forget that its work is of ushering in our land a new era by finding out and executing ways and means of employing the vast masses of our rural population in producing their own needs of food and cloth and other simple things of their daily household life and thus of removing the curse of their poverty and unemployment. This is not merely economic, but it is a fundamental change in the reconstruction of our body politic

Looking to the economic aspect of this work, we have to note that if full employment should be the only legitimate aim of any economic planning worth the name, then the work of planning for full employment is to be done by this Board It is hoped, the Board will do its work keeping this larger view before it If the Board does this it will be the real Planning Commission of the people It is said that another plan is to follow the first one now under implementation and on its basis The nature of such a future plan will depend upon how the A I K V I Board functions and succeeds in its onerous duties It will be the duty of all those who work for Khadi and village industries to help the Board with their advice and co-operation The Board legitimately expects us all to give it It is also necessary to bring economic thought and attention to bear on this, rather than on other miscellaneous items of the F. Y Plan, because therein lies the way to find out a true economic plan for India

(From the original in Gujarati)

25-2-'53

RE-INTRODUCTION OF ENGLISH IN BOMBAY STATE

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

It is perhaps not known outside the State of Bombay that the Government of Bombay has adopted, since 1948, the policy of teaching English in the schools of the State from Std VIII and not earlier, i e after a child finishes the seven years' course of primary or Basic education and if he desires to study further Statistics show that out of 100 children that enter the school in Std I only 10 at best continue in the secondary stage, and of these 10 studying in the secondary stage not even two on an average go to Higher Education Moreover it is not sufficiently realized to what an extent such too early introduction of English has been one of the main causes of stagnation and wastage in primary and secondary schools

Some interests in a few urban areas of the State are at present moving against this policy of the introduction of English from Std VIII in the State and they desire to pick holes in it and get it reversed And it is amazing to learn that the Director of Education has obliged this move against State policy by issuing a note to secondary schools and their teachers' associations and registrars of Universities of the State, asking them to send their opinion on this question of reintroducing English and thus reversing the well-considered policy of the State. Though I may, in fairness, add here that the D E's note says that (this note) "is intended to provide a basis for discussion and does not necessarily reflect the views of Government." It is also queer that while on the one hand the D E.'s note is sent to the Universities for their opinion, it is not sent to primary educational bodies like the School Boards etc, even though it is said in the note that "final decisions will be taken only after considering views of all those intimately concerned with problems of *primary* and secondary education"

The School Board of the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation in its meeting of 26-2-'53 discussed this question of re-introduction of English The resolution that it passed is reproduced (from the original in Gujarati) below

> When to introduce the study of English in the educational system in Bombay State is being discussed at present. This School Board believes that it should express its opinion on this vital question concerning it.
>
> English was never a subject of study in the primary education of this State even under the British Rule. And it is obvious that it was as it should be, as English should have no place in the primary stage of education.
>
> Accordingly, English was not taught in the first seven years of a child's schooling However a bifurcation was allowed at the fifth year of schooling and middle schools and High Schools were permitted to teach English from that year to the permanent detriment of seven years' primary education and its prestige and importance in the scheme of education in the State.

It also tended to less attention being paid to it comparatively to the upper stages of education Consequently the primary stage of education of the citizen has been continually suffering under this handicap and it could not gather the importance it deserved in the system of education in the country It is quite apparent now that, though unknowingly, this has greatly harmed the progress and development of the nation.

Educational reformers of the country have been expressing themselves that this thing was bad in various ways Fifteen years ago Gandhiji focussed the attention of the people to this defect of our educational system by putting before the country his scheme of Basic Education, and thereby strengthened the forces of reforming this fundamental drawback at once This has tremendous effect on our system of national education—to such an extent that today the nation has decided to adopt Basic Education as the pattern of primary education for the whole country

Another important result of this was that the first seven years of a child's education were allotted a place of prestige in the national educational reconstruction, and the Constitution of India, accepting this principle directs that ' The State shall endeavour to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years.' (Constitution of India 45)

During the last ten years, the Government of Bombay has taken two or three important steps to implement this reform This Board appreciates and welcomes them These were as follows

1 The first eleven years of schooling that divide into two stages primary and secondary be serially graded as 1 to 11 standards, and the first seven standards came to be marked as for free and compulsory primary education

2. English that was taught as a subject in the last 3 years of the primary seven years was stepped and the first seven years' course was planned to be developed as a continuous one unit as Basic Education in the State

3. In the last 3 years of such a seven years' unit, was introduced the study of Hindi, as the national language

The above-mentioned reform began three years ago and it is showing good and desirable effect. The primary stage of education has grown in importance and favourable atmosphere for the acceptance of this reform in education is being created among the general public

Last year, the above-mentioned scheme of reform was disturbed by reintroducing English in Std VII. This Board considers it a faulty step That the reintroduction of English in Std VII is optional to the child has rather gone worse in that it has brought about two types of students entering Std. VIII, those that had English in Std. VII and those without it This has resulted in disturbing the harmonious and uniform work of Std VIII or else it has made admission to Std VIII difficult for those who came without English from Std. VII

Moreover, by such a change in this well-considered scheme of reform there has grown in the mind of the public a kind of want of confidence in the fixity and continuity of Government policy, a thing which is very harmful for the growth and development of a sound educational system

Now at present a further suggestion is being mooted that English be reintroduced in Std VI and V even This Board emphatically protests against it and requests Government that the policy initiated since 1948 should be strictly adhered to. And consequently English that was reintroduced optionally in Std. VII last year should continue in no manner and the study of English should be introduced only after the 7 years of primary or Basic Education course.

It must be remembered that Hindi and Handicraft have been introduced as subjects of study in Stds. V to VII If English is reintroduced in these standards this welcome reform will have little scope or time to flourish; not only that, it will mean a heavy additional burden of the study of quite a new language on the student. Therefore English should not be given place along with the study of Hindi in Stds V to VII but may well have its place from Std. VIII, wherefrom should begin legitimately secondary school courses

Hence, this Board recommends to Government that Government should firmly adhere to its well-defined policy of introducing English from Std. VIII.

This Board thinks that Primary Education being its legitimate sphere of activity the change of reintroducing English concerns it and therefore its opinion on the matter should be known by the Government.

27 2-'53

FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR VILLAGES

[This is the concluding instalment of Full Employment Plan of a Village' Previous three instalments appeared in the *Harijan* of 14th 21st and 28th February —Ed.]

Building up Village Leadership

One outstanding gain to be derived from reorganizing village life, as indicated (in previous instalments) is that it will build up village leadership Today wealth and talent are drained from villages to cities and villages are left without leadership, a factor greatly responsible for the stagnation of village life. The reorganization is likely to put a stop to this drain and provide opportunities for local talents through public institutions and gainful occupations in the form of village industries The reorganization providing opportunities for development on a wider basis will also change social values which are today of a negative character based on rigid caste rules The village development programme as envisaged here is thus bound to develop as a socio-economic programme aiming not merely at greater material wellbeing but also establishing a casteless and classless social order based on moral values The economic programme has been more fully dealt with here, because it provides the framework even for social values and facilitates social reform

We have called village development a planning movement. A co-ordinated approach implied in planning does make for the best possible use of the resources, but in its wider aspect planning makes the masses move and releases their creative energy for productive purposes It has, of course, to be emphasized that planning to be real has to be undertaken by the local people concerned with the help and guidance of Grama Sevaks and experts The Grama Sevak should keep this central idea in view and rather than preparing a plan for the people he should set them on the task of making their own plan Being vitally interested in local projects they will naturally take active part in framing and executing the plan

Welfare Work v Social Order

Should this be regarded as a tall order to be accomplished by the village people ? Those with a morbid outlook depict a gloomy picture of the idleness and ignorance of the village people and hold that moral betterment should precede development programmes involving radical changes in the social structure. Moral betterment is to be achieved through welfare activities These, however, keep the people dormant and expectant of help and benefits which are limited by the availability of outside resources and do not release their creative energy on the basis of self-help Creative energy can only be released by a programme based on positive outlook and conceived in terms of a social order which guarantees full employment with a full standard of life and of providing a social framework which is capable of achieving the objective. The Gandhi Ghar Plan * prepared for Vedchhi envisages such a social order and provides a social framework in the form of the village working as a compact unit. By creating circumstances of which man is often a creature, the Gandhi Ghar Plan provides incentives to people to shed frustration and morbidity and to be up and doing

Full Employment Not Possible ?

There are people who suggest that provision of full employment to our masses is hardly feasible under conditions of our backward economy. We can only invite such people to study the Vedchhi Plan * which promises to raise employment from 66% to about 100% within the very first year of its execution and to provide a decent standard of life in respect of diet, clothing, housing, education, health and other amenities.

The Theory of Unit Cost

The theory of unit cost which seems to dominate the minds of people requires to be examined in a proper setting viz, in fixing terms of work for the primary producer in the rural areas. On what terms does the nation want the farmer to produce food or raw material for it ? If the issue is forced, minimum wages which can ensure a decent standard of life will have to be determined for the farmer and the farm labourers But minimum wages pre-suppose full employment, which our agriculture today does not provide. This leaves two courses of action : either agriculture is rationalized and the surplus population is provided with other occupations or the population dependent on agriculture is given a minimum wage on the basis of the volume of employment that it affords at the present level. In the latter case the prices of agricultural produce will have to be sufficiently high. It is no longer possible to keep these prices residual as is the case today This theory of residual prices for agricultural produce or for raw materials is going to be questioned very seriously. As in the case of manufactured goods, there will be persistent demand for relating the prices of agricultural produce to cost on the basis of minimum wages and if the farmers get themselves sufficiently organized, there is no reason why they would not demand the right to determine the prices of their produce on their own terms. If then minimum wage has to be provided to the farmer and the farm labourer it can be done either by raising the price of the agricultural produce or by reducing the cost of production through diversion of surplus population to occupations other than agriculture If village industries can fulfil the role of providing these other occupations they should be looked upon as a mode of production capable of filling in the gaps of a planned economy especially for rural areas Thus the question of unit cost assumes quite a different form and a different significance You either pay a higher unit cost for the agricultural produce or a higher unit cost for the village industries products

(Concluded)

* See the book, 'Full Employment Plan of a Village', Sec II and III which deal with it.

SOVIET WAGES AND PRICES

Sir,

Mr T Chercomtonko, leader of the Soviet delegation bringing food 'gifts' to India declared that the average Soviet worker earned Rs 600 per month The Soviet dictators have a great propaganda-drive of alleged economic achievements and rising consumption standards This planned propaganda is retailed through local communists and fellow-travellers and lazy-minded lecturers and journalists who, instead of undertaking a serious study of the subject, mouth and scribble current slogans So that our people may form their own mind and judge for themselves, we give the following table

		1920/27 roubles	July 1, 1950 roubles	Increase
Bread rye	(kg)	.08	2.0	25 times
Milled groats	"	.106	4.60	28 "
Flour, 3rd grade	"	.21	3.91	20 "
Butter	"	2.2	40.32	18 "
Sugar lump	"	717	13.20	18 "
Milk (liter)		.22	2.15	15 "
Eggs (10)		.5	11.9	24 "
Calico (meter)		.4	8.58	22 "
Shoes, leather (man's pair)		8.75	221	25 "
Wages (yearly average)		624	6,000	9½ "

It is clear that Soviet standards of living have halved during the period of communist domination and exploitation. The rigours of poverty have increased further because the wealth is very unequally divided At the base is about 10 million to 20 million labour, at the apex are the NKVD officials and Red Army generals, party hierarchs and expensive propagandists At least 40 per cent of the total income is consumed by the privileged 12 per cent.

5/47 W.E.A., New Delhi-5,
18-10-52

Yours etc.,
Ram Swarup

VICE AND MODERN CONDITIONS

(From a report (*National Herald* January 28 1953) of a speech by Shri K. M Munshi while inaugurating the third All India Conference on Moral and Social Hygiene January 28 1953 Lucknow)

I want the Conference to note the several factors which have been contributing to an increase in commercialized vice

Joint Family and Caste

The joint family which provided an insurance against a drift of helpless women to street life is breaking up "Each caste in the past had its own public opinion, its social and moral code and its regulative agency This provided a check on irresponsible behaviour and imposed a collective responsibility on the caste to look after the needs of the helpless members The caste feeling has more or less disappeared in educated circles in India.

Modern Urban Life

"The next great factor which multiplies the problem is the growth of large cities In such cities, the caste feeling tends to become weak , no caste control is possible , group life, as known in the west is unorganized Disparity in the proportion of sexes is on the increase.

"In large cities where the upper classes adopt western ways, educated women live a life different from ordinary women They do no manual work even the bringing up of children is left to maid-servants In old days the more highly placed the woman was the more strict was she in her behaviour But now the maid-servant, coming from the rural or the poor classes, is first shocked at the transparent *saris* and low-necked blouses of the mistress and her free and easy ways with men Then the mistress becomes to her the standard of respectability, the object of envy She tries to imitate her mistress , she has however no social life except with male servants Naturally her moral inhibitions break down. She takes to a profession which makes easy for her to satisfy her craving to live — may be in tinsel form — like her mistress

Impact with West

"The result of impact with the west has given us certain notions which have led to a change in moral and spiritual standards The purity of woman was, in India, a fundamental article of unalterable faith Its supremacy was unchallenged throughout the land Even those communities which for want of culture, did not accept it in practice, looked forward to it as the standard associated with higher social status This supremacy is either challenged or undermined in the very classes which once upheld it as the law of life Marriage was a sacrament —, the marriage of souls. Modern notions have made of it a contract, a thing which could be easily dissolved Still worse, where the influence of the west is greatest, marriage has come to be looked upon as a marriage for pleasure Luckily in India, however, among [illegible] [illegible]sses of people, sanctity of marriage is still [illegible]ished article of faith.

"Another factor is the movement of large masses of uprooted migrants after the Partition particularly to the large overcrowded cities

"Another feature is the disappearance of certain wholesome taboos In India, for instance we had an inborn inhibition against members of different sexes not married to each other coming into physical contact It put a rigid, almost a physical barrier on the sex urge Western impact is breaking it down"

Sex Propaganda

"But more than any other factor responsible for increase in the vice is the sex propaganda going on in all urban areas Everyday, agencies of propaganda — newspapers, cinema houses, songs and literature — give lessons on disregarding taboos and customs, in defying social and moral inhibitions which have built up self-restraint in the course of centuries If the cinemas have produced one devastating effect, it is to undermine the sanctity of sex relations Even the modern advertisements weaken sex-restraint emphasizing sex in glamourous terms Everyone complains against this menace No one has seriously thought of meeting it. It is for this association to be in the forefront of the movement to purge the country of this evil.

Birth-Control

"Even our family planning activities require to be conducted a little carefully In the measurable future they are not likely to affect the rate of population growth appreciably Out of the daily increase of 10,000 hungry mouths in the country, it would be unreasonable to expect a reduction of even a thousand mouths in ten years. But a very active propaganda for family planning has had deleterious effects in the U S A. and other countries as testified by social studies, and is likely to have similar effects here The sanctity attached to marriage tends to disappear , the family tends to disintegrate , the moral basis of society to be undermined. Planning aids, widely advertised, teach people that restraint is no longer necessary , that promiscuity has no danger , that aids are cheaper than marriage"

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor: MAGANBHAI P DESAI

VOL XVII No 2 AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, MARCH 14 195 TWO ANNAS

DEHUMANIZATION IN MODERN SOCIETY

(A Lecture by Rene Fullop Miller, U S A)

(Readers probably know Rene Fullop-Miller as the writer of the famous book *Lenin and Gandhi*. He is a close student of modern society and the new trends in civilization that are taking shape in the West under the revolutionary impact of modern science art, psychology, politics and social philosophy The result of such study was recently given by him in one of his lectures in America Shri Richard B Gregg has kindly sent a copy of this very instructive lecture to the *Harijan* for Indian readers I propose to reproduce some of its interesting parts in suitable instalments The following is the first instalment

The original heading of the lecture is ' The Roots and Dangers of Dehumanization in Modern Society Of course modern society is the western type of society in Europe and chiefly America, which due to various reasons, has at present become a dominant type in the mind of the civilized world English educated opinion in India has been almost swearing by that type as the one worthy of our adoption We are at present planning to build new India, there are certain ideas and ideals — social cultural and economic— with which those who are at the helm of our planning are proceeding There is some cause to fear that there is a certain unconscious bias towards Americanisation of our economy at least. We should be clear in our mind about it. The European and American way of life is based on a certain philosophy of man and society Rene Fullop-Miller analyses this in his lecture and tells us some home-truths which amply bear out some of the things which Gandhiji taught us in his simple style and language, in the course of the last eventful epoch of the birth of Free India. It will, I hope interest the reader to read some of them interpreted in terms of modern thought and learning

28-1-53 M. P.]

While politicians are worrying about the bankruptcy of our economic or social set-up, very few people trouble themselves about an even greater impending danger, the bankruptcy which threatens the dignity of man.

There has scarcely been a time when man was as insecure as he is today The insecurity which bothers us is not only outside, it is also within ourselves It is part of us And we often wonder whether there is not a guidepost that will point a way to a meaningful, happy and creative kind of life

Since we have become unaccustomed to think for ourselves we look for some ready-made programme, which will solve our problems After all, there are programmes which were worked out by the keenest minds and which aimed at providing for the needs and happiness of men Perhaps all we have to do is to fall back on a programme and stick to it But let us look at these programmes a bit more closely to see what they promised and check which promises they kept

The programme that is closest and dearest to us is of course that of democracy, which offered to uphold the sacredness of the individual. This offer was based on good foundations, it derived from the ideals of Christianity and from the humanism of the Enlightenment When the original offer arrived a great many people put in their order for democracy When the goods were delivered, they received the right to vote, trial by jury, a free press religious freedom, the freedom to choose their jobs and the freedom to speak their minds They also got bread and shelter and many commodities which made life easier

On the surface the order seemed to be filled neatly, but underneath there was an unordered item; economic man. This led to a brand of capitalism which laid too much stress on purely material security, and too little stress on inner security, too much stress on the capacity to produce goods and too little stress on the capacity of leading a purposeful life And in the end the promised happiness was still wanting

Then there was another offer made by socialism which came along later and tried to outbid its liberal democratic competitor The socialist bid sounded good and convincing so a lot of people filled out the order blank But the international shipment ran into difficulty and eventually there was a change in management The Bolsheviks took over most of the outfit, and their original offer read no less appealingly They promised to help the under-dog, they promised a just distribution of goods and the protection of labour Many people rushed in their orders, and from Russia they received their collective security, and a common purpose of the working class. But they also received an unordered item mass-man, or collective man. The mass man was produced by the State and came equipped with a synthetic outlook on life He was conditioned to accept freedom from thought, freedom from

[illegible] division, and [illegible] security of a robot.

Now [illegible] enough the two unordered items [illegible] on the one hand and mass-man on the other hand reveal that democracy and communism share a basic misconception of man While both have a great deal to say about " the concrete human being," while both combat abstract generalities, they both fell victim to the very thing which they professed to be combating namely to abstraction They fought idealistic generalizations because they abstracted from the concreteness of man But the religio-humanitarian abstraction lifted man up by idealizing him and seeing in him the crown of creation The new abstractions of economic and mass-man, however, dragged man down by reducing him to his material needs.

There is also another similarity between the two camps. Both share an almost religious faith in the miracles of modern technology, which is chiefly concerned with mass production, statistics and speed This outlook gives preference to quantity over quality. The result is a highly mechanized life which puts the main stress on technical achievements and leaves our innermost being unsatisfied. Thus it seems that neither of the two programmes can fully meet man's requirements

All the promises that are made on either side have a hollow ring And I think the reason for it is that the most important thing — human values — was lost in transit Without such values, the kind of values which you can take with you when you die, neither the individual nor the State, neither social reforms nor science and technology are able to function satisfactorily. Yet it seems that in the various programmes to date these values have been left out What happened to them? How and why did they disappear? Why is it that on the one hand terms like " cash value ", " big value ", " special value ", and on the other hand " ideological values ", " planned values ", " proletarian values ", have replaced the value of man?

In a democracy at least the right to be ourselves is not being contested We have a chance to grow and develop according to our own possibilities This makes me feel that basically democracy is man's best bet Still there is room for improvement.

We have freedom, but freedom for what? There is progress, but progress whereto? Freedom is not an end in itself It should not be confused with licence True freedom entails responsibility, it is the right to choose what we ought to do The ultimate freedom is a freedom of self-dedication Progress again is not a wild onward rush. We need a higher goal toward which we want to progress. We need a purpose which we want to achieve.

HEALTH AND SMOKING

(By Kshitindra Kumar Nag)

Smoking now bids fair to overwhelm the nation It goes without saying that cigarettes and their imitations are responsible for such an alarming increase of smoking A cigarette is a very simple thing ingeniously designed — a puny piece of paper with some tobacco inside to be carried, and indulged in whenever and wherever the smoker pleases

Dr Henry C Link, Ph.D Director of the Psychological Service Center, New York City, writes in his article, " So You Are Going to Stop Smoking ? " published in the *Your Life* of August, 1938

> " Sooner or later nearly every cigarette smoker discovers that he is not smoking by choice but by habit, and that the habit is probably harmful. So he tries to break free from it, but he finds that he does not know how Sometimes half heartedly, sometimes earnestly, he wrestles with his addiction — but in vain."

Even, grave concern has been recently expressed by American insurance companies over the life-shortening effects of smoking and other habit-forming drugs.

The ailments as either caused or aggravated by smoking which, according to the formidable list prepared by the Carl Henry Company of New York, amount to forty-three in number, are published in *Gone Up in Smoke* of Dr Pryns Hopkins a Fellow of the American Psychological Association, British Psychological Society and Royal Geographic Society and a member of several other scientific bodies (p 95) Again, Dr W E Dixon of Cambridge University in his paper on *Tobacco Habit* published in 1927, described more than fifty diseases or symptoms in which tobacco was a factor

Further, Dr Frank Leighton Wood, M.D refers to a recent statistical bulletin of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co regarding their concern about increase of mortality, in his book, *What You Should Know About Tobacco* containing recognized medical and scientific research of this drug recently disclosed by Dr Raymond Pearl of John Hopkins University and the Mayo Foundation, and enumerates the views of the Insurance Company as follows

> Among the diseases causing great concern were pneumonia, meningitis cancer, diabetes, cerebral hemorrhage diseases of the coronary arteries, angina pectoris and chronic heart diseases In the cause, course and cure of all these diseases with the possible exception of meningitis the use of tobacco is often an unfavourable factor In all of the circulatory diseases mentioned, it is an extremely important factor " (p. 7)

As for the effects of smoking on the lungs, let us hear Dr F L. Wood

> " There is much convincing evidence of both the local irritating and the harmful constitutional effects of smoking upon the throat, the bronchial tubes and the

lungs The local effects are caused by the irritation of chemical substances contained in the smoke The constitutional effects are of two kinds these due to interference with the blood supply to the lung tissue and those referable to the effects of smoking upon the general nutrition and resistance to disease (p. 97)

Smoking is a predisposing cause of tuberculosis of the lungs for three reasons In the first place anything that brings about an inflammatory condition of the bronchial mucous membrane predisposes to the implantation of the germs of tuberculosis there (p 100)

"Smoking also predisposes to tuberculosis by causing poor nutrition and loss of weight. Smoking lessens the appetite for food We do know, however that most confirmed smokers begin to gain weight as soon as they stop smoking (p 101)

'The third way in which smoking predisposes to tuberculosis and hinders its cure is through interference with the blood supply to the lung tissue (p 102)

Consequently, Dr Wood has justified a different name formerly attributed to cigarettes — 'coffin nails', as they were already recognized as being injurious to health and as a factor in the causation of tuberculosis

Next, let us heed the serious warnings of British doctors Lennox Johnston and F. C Morgan —

Tobacco smoking violates almost every principle in treatment of pulmonary tuberculosis—fresh air immobilization of the diseased lung (smoking gives rise to coughing the activity which above all others disturbs healing and starts Hemorrhages)
Can it therefore be doubted that smoking aggravates the course of pulmonary tuberculosis in a degree dependent in the main on the consumption of tobacco and the type of smoking?" (*The British Medical Journal* of September 9 1950 page 630)

Let us also compare the latest P T. I reports of Madras December 27 1952 Dr H J F Masuin, Belgian cancer specialist, and Secretary of the International Cancer Union, said here today in a Press interview that recent research on the effects of smoking had led to the conclusion that smoking was a major cause of cancer of the lungs Chain smokers invariably contracted cancer of the lungs after 25 years of such smoking

Again *The Johns Hopkins Medical School* says .

A heavy smoker shortens his life by 8.2 years A moderately heavy smoker shortens his life by 4.6 Normal life expectancy for non-smokers is age 60 for smokers age 60"

Dr Wood again warns us against so-called moderation in smoking by saying

'Do not be misled when doctors or others tell you that smoking in moderation is harmless That may be relatively true but once you have become smoker, you cannot smoke in moderation, if moderation is properly defined. (*Should Women Smoke?* p 49)

As to the position of a doctor permitting his patients to smoke, Dr Hopkins explains how far the physician excuses himself in putting forth excuses for his patients

[illegible] is of course unable [illegible] patients effectively against the practice [illegible] smoking is excessive — a term every one interprets to suit himself For in the first place few persons will admit there is much wrong in a habit they dislike to give up And in the second place, if smoking doctors did speak out boldly against smoking their patients would consider them hypocritical and discount their advice In addition we must not forget that it is as hard for a doctor as for anyone else, to give advice which will arouse antagonism and perhaps send the patient to a rival who will be more complacent' (*Gone Up in Smoke* p 128)

After all, the idea of indulging on our part in this luxury of the rich West is in no way compatible with the stark poverty of our land lacking primary necessities — food clothing, health and education Yet how serious it has become to the thinking American public will be revealed from the following notable passage quoted from *What You Should Know About Tobacco*

"There are many millions of contented smokers male and female young and old in this country who will go on smoking indefinitely oblivious of the dangers to their health and their very lives to which they are subjecting themselves simply because, through the influence of money and tobacco companies the press has suppressed or withheld the facts concerning tobacco toxicity from the American people There are many more millions of young people who have not yet acquired the tobacco habit who might be saved from the slavery of the drug habit if they were permitted to know the facts There are other millions unborn who might be born better thrive better as babies and grow up to be better citizens if their parents, and particularly their smoking mothers know the real facts concerning the many toxic effects of smoking upon the human body mind and spirit.'

In view of all these, the habit of cigarette smoking should not be taken with ease as a trivial thing in the human phase of life as strangely or indifferently thought of It ought to be a grave concern for the smokers and non smokers alike to make amicable attempts for its abatement rather than add fuel to fire Continuous and powerful propaganda subtle too, is now being carried on, especially designed to induce our women folk to smoke to which they are naturally averse Women who are in general, emotionally weaker become victims to a habit more fatally than men and that it will be a travesty of fate not only for all ideals of Indian womanhood but also for the future of humanity if our fair sex gets entrapped in the grip of this vicious habit

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HARIJAN

1953

[illegible] SIDENT'S ASSURANCE

([illegible] *[illegible]arbhai P. Desai*)

[illegible] Shri Rajendra Prasad, in the cou[illegible] in Hindi to the address of welco[illegible] to him (Feb 22, 1953) by the Daksh[illegible] Hindi Prachar Sabha, Madras said th[illegible]

"It [illegible] made clear in the Constitution that the na[illegible]age of India would be Hindi

"[illegible] that it was not the intention to make Hindi [illegible] regional languages for a position, the President [illegible] out that the desire was rather to enrich the [illegible] regional languages like Tamil Telugu Malayalam and Kanarese in the South and Marathi, Bangali or Gujarati in other regions. The competition on the other hand was only with English the question being how soon it could be replaced by Hindi Therefore he said it would be improper for anyone to think that Hindi was trying to replace the provincial or regional languages or to weaken any of them No one should entertain such an idea. Those who were responsible for the framing of the Constitution at any rate never entertained such an idea in their minds.

"The Constitution gave the pride of place to regional languages and sought their enrichment and if there was any misunderstanding among people in the South that Hindi was trying to dominate other languages here the President said he wished to assure them that it was not the desire to allow the regional languages to be supplanted by Hindi which ought to be regarded as the national language and used as such It had come to be adopted as such by the Constitution because it was the easiest language understood by the majority of the people in the country It was necessary for people who wished to make their voice felt not only within their respective States but throughout the country to give up their faith in English and take to Hindi (*From The Hindu*, Madras, 24-2-53)

It is obvious that one of the places which our great regional languages should legitimately occupy is to be the medium of instruction in all stages including higher education and research It is not contemplated by the Constitution of India that Hindi should compete with them here in any way However there are certain people who think to dislodge regional languages from this their legitimate and rightful place in their own regions Well may they note that it is not only wrong and unjust but also against the spirit of the Constitution of India Therefore the emphatic assurance from the President in this vital matter of our cultural freedom and advancement is very welcome even to clear the befogging atmosphere that may be still there in this connection

5-3-'53

THE DOWRY EVIL

(*By Gandhiji*)

A correspondent sends me a newspaper cutting showing that recently in Hyderabad, Sindh the demand for bridegrooms has been increasing at an alarming rate, an employee of the Imperial Telegraph Engineering service having exacted Rs 20,000 as cash dowry during betrothal, and promises of heavy payments on the wedding day and on special occasions thereafter Any young man who makes dowry a condition of marriage discredits his education and his country and dishonours womanhood There are many youth movements in the country I wish that these movements would deal with questions of this character Such associations often become self-adulation societies instead of becoming as they should be, bodies representing solid reform from within Good as the work of these bodies is at times in helping public movements it should be remembered that the youth of the country have their reward in the public appreciation they get Such work, if it is not backed by internal reform, is likely to demoralize the youth by creating in them a sense of unwarranted self-satisfaction A strong public opinion should be created in condemnation of the degrading practice of dowry, and young men who soil their fingers with such ill-gotten gold should be ex-communicated from society Parents of girls should cease to be dazzled by English degrees, and should not hesitate to travel outside their little castes and provinces to secure true, gallant young men for their daughters

Young India 21-8-'28

The system has to go Marriage must cease to be a matter of arrangement made by parents for money The system is intimately connected with caste So long as the choice is restricted to a few hundred young men or young women of a particular caste, the system will persist no matter, what is said against it The girls or boys or their parents will have to break the bonds of caste, if the evil is to be eradicated Then the age for marrying has also to be raised and the girls have to dare to remain spinsters, if need be, i e if they do not get a suitable match All this means education of a character that will revolutionize the mentality of the youth of the nation Unfortunately the system of education has no connection with our surroundings which, therefore, remain practically untouched by the education received by a microscopic minority of the boys and girls of the nation Whilst therefore, whatever can be done to abate the evil must be done, it is clear to me that this evil and many others which can be named can only be tackled, if there is education which responds to the rapidly changing conditions of the country How is it that so many boys and girls who have even passed through colleges are found unable or unwilling to resist the manifestly evil custom which affects their future so intimately as

[illegible] Why should [illegible] suicide because they are [illegible] value is their education, if it [illegible] them to dare to defy a custom [illegible] indefensible and repugnant to [illegible]? The answer is clear There is something [illegible] wrong in the system of education [illegible] to arm girls and boys to fight against social or other evils That education alone is of value which draws out the faculties of a student so as to enable him or her to solve correctly the problems of life in every department

Harijan 23-5-'36

NOTES

The Great Dictator

Very sad news reached yesterday that Marshal Stalin passed away at 1-20 A. M (Indian time) at Moscow All will deeply sympathize with the people of the U S S R in this their irreparable loss and great bereavement History will record that M Stalin was the maker of modern Russia Among the few persons to whom God gave the great work of shaping world politics of our generation M Stalin was one He was called to function in the most stirring period of world history He was a colleague and co-worker of Lenin his illustrious predecessor in the office of Prime Minister of the U S S R, which he assumed in 1924 and occupied upto the end of his days During all these years he strove to make Russia great and strong according to the light that he got from the Bolshevik Revolutionary Party to which he had the honour to belong Howsoever one may disagree with the doctrines of that party, it will be universally admitted that M Stalin strove with all his strength and vigour, to live upto what he held to be true and good for his people and the world, and, thank God, succeeded in this his life-mission Let us hope as his life his death too will be for the peace and glory of Russia May his soul rest in eternal peace

7-3-'53 M P

Gubernatorial Expenditure

The other day there took place discussion about an item of supplementary demand in the Bombay Legislative Council It was regarding renewals of curtains and covers of chairs and sofas, purchase of silver *thals* and accessories at the Raj Bhawans, Bombay State A member objected that money should not be spent for costly furnishing materials as well as silver *thals*, specially so when the province was famine-stricken

The Finance Minister in reply justified the expenditure and said that the dignity and prestige of the head of the State ought to be maintained and explained how renewals etc had to be undertaken as they were pending for a few years last

The question of dignity and prestige is one of values, and there is no doubt there are among [illegible] etc still lingering as [illegible] they [illegible] should they not be consi[illegible] and requiring to be revised [illegible] in India? Should *thals* be silver [illegible] not of good decent type commonly used [illegible] And regarding the covers, curtains etc why should they not be of Khadi? Governors should set an example to the people and their Governments by using Khadi wherever they can for the furnishing of the Raj Bhawan and by having neat and simple style in their household. This is not to suggest economy only but to lend dignity and prestige to the beauty of simple style and democratic nobility.

3-3 '53 M P

The Toll of Alcohol in New York City

The following excerpts from an article in *The New York Times* show by contrast what a divine mercy prohibition is to the people of Bombay State

'This city has 200,000 to 300,000 chronic alcoholics The annual private and public cost to the victims and community is $ 200 m [95 crores of rupees] The toll includes $ 50 m. in lost wages and $ 13 m in home relief, a tenth of the city's relief bill

'About 20 per cent show up in Skid Row areas courts jails and hospitals

'Of the men 85 per cent are between 35 and 55 years old, the prime years of achievement and responsibility The alcoholic's life span is reduced by twelve years

[There is] greater crime-proneness among alcoholics than for the general population Their homes are more often broken [16 per cent of married male alcoholics have been divorced and 25 per cent separated 70 per cent of marital cases in the Home Term Court involve alcoholism

'Ten thousand of the 14 590 admissions to Rikers Island Workhouse in 1951 were owing to alcoholism'

V G D

The Money In It

[The following paragraph is reproduced from *Drinking and What to Do About It* by William A Dewitt It is a 1952 publication from U S A. The para reproduced here speaks about illicit distillation going on along with the licit and in a larger quantity It will interest the reader to read it in continuation of Dr B Kumarappa's article Is Illicit Distillation Due to Prohibition?' that appeared in the issue of the *Harijan* of February 28 1953 p 443

7-3-'53 M P I

Today our national tab for alcoholic beverages is close to nine billion dollars the high having been in 1947 when we drank $ 9,640,000 000 worth But in 1950 $ 4 380,000 000 went to beer and $ 510 000,000 to wine with only $ 3,870,000,000 spent on spirits This represents a very considerable moderation in drinking taste In the century following 1850 our per capita consumption of hard liquor fell off nearly fifty per cent while beer drinking rose from 1 58 gallons per head annually to 18 56 and wine drinking from 0 27 to 0 87 Most legal distilling, vinting and brewing nowadays, however, is done

by relatively large corporations. Individual farmers when not engaged in illegal liquor-making tend to be opposed to drinking and form a large proportion of the voting strength that keeps about twenty per cent of the United States area Prohibitionist by local option. But legal distillers estimate that there is more contraband being produced today than tax-paid liquor. Perhaps even more than the bootleggers produced under the Eighteenth Amendment. This the distillers attribute naturally to high taxes. More than sixty cents of every dollar spent on legal liquor goes to the tax-collector, which leaves a handsome margin of profit to the illicit producer who ostracizes the Bureau of Internal Revenue.

Our National Anthem

Dear Editor

I hope you will agree with me when I say that we have not yet been able to discharge our public duty in respect of properly singing our National Anthems — the 'Jana-Gana-Mana' and the 'Vande Mataram'. Is it not a pity may I say disgrace, that these National Songs are sung on public occasions, without the least regard to the sentiment expressed in the songs and to the tunes and the melody fitted for them? Is it not our experience that the songs are sung according to the sweet will of the singer or the singing-master in charge of the item of the programme and also in total disregard to its grammar (and often pronunciation too — Ed.)? When it is a convention to sing only two stanzas of the 'Vande Mataram' is it not discourteous to sing the entire song and keep the festive audience standing and waiting for a long time?

It is now five and a half years that we have attained independence. Is it not high time that we rectify this misconduct of ours very early? Do you not think it is proper that a committee consisting of representatives of eminent educationists and cultured musicians in various States be set up to decide the method and manner of singing the National Anthems uniformly melodiously and with one voice? Once the decision is taken it will be the function of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting to transmit the notes and tunes of the songs to every nook and corner of the country through AIR. Then alone it will be possible to sing the National Anthems in a chorus.

P. K. MOHANI

(I quite agree with the correspondent. Schools also can help here provided they teach the song truly and well. — M. P.)

The Ensuing Hindustani Examinations

The ensuing Hindustani examinations from *Lakhavat* to *Tisri* will take place on the 26th April 1953. The applications together with the fees should be sent to the Wardha office before the 26th March 1953.

For appearing in these examinations it is necessary to know both the Nagari and Urdu scripts. For further information please write to the following address:

Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Wardha, (M. P.) AMRITLAL NANAVATI, Secretary

EXPERIMENTAL RESEARCH AND NON-VIOLENT MOVEMENT

[The other day there was held in New Delhi a UNESCO Seminar to study Gandhiji's technique of peace and no-war. In our country there are people who wish to know how Gandhiji's technique of Satyagraha could be utilized in the new political set-up under Swaraj. People all over the world love to have peace and goodwill on earth and desire to change things as they are to become what they truly should be. Various remedies including hot and cold wars are being tried at present to no satisfactory end. Therefore groups of people outside India are devotedly trying to study the Gandhian Way and are joining hands with co-workers in the field in other lands. One such group the Peacemakers from U. S. A. (246, Washington Street, Glen Ridge, New Jersey) sends us a copy of the first report of their Research Committee to be shared by like-minded people here. The following is reproduced from their interesting report.

28-2-'53 — M. P.]

All of us want a peaceful co-operative society which is free of exploitation and violence. Many of us, Peacemakers and pacifists generally, are working part time or full-time in an attempt to build this better world. But our efforts are often weak and very confused.

Listen to a group of pacifists talking: one says that we should build co-operative communities; another wants to oppose universal military training; another thinks we should send a deputation to Puerto Rico, one argues for using non-violent direct action on race problems and still another calls for a tax refusal campaign. Finally someone says that each should take part in the activity to which he feels called and then someone ends the discussion with the comment that all the activities are necessary and there needs to be someone active in each area.

The pacifists go back to work but their forces are divided between the many different schemes and the sharp edge of their enthusiasm is dulled by doubt. Each wonders if his pet activity really does make a contribution to the building of a non-violent society. Why is there so much confusion, diversity of action, and lack of certainty? Why is there no clear vision of where we are going and what we must do to get there?

Could it be because we do not understand ourselves and the nature of the forces at work in our society? We talk of peace when we neither understand peace nor war; we believe in non-violence, but we neither understand violence nor non-violence; we want to build a co-operative society but we know little about co-operation or competition; we talk of love and hate but we don't even understand our own emotions and motivations.

We need to replace wishful thinking with sound theory, sentiment with an experimental attitude, and ignorance with a thorough study of non-violent campaigns and the social sciences.

Success [illegible] who have spent long hours studying battles of the past. Successful revolutionaries are men who have analysed carefully the revolutions of the past, studied social and economic theory, and tried to understand the forces at work in society If there is ever to be a successful non-violent movement it will have to include people who have made a careful study of the past non violent campaigns, people who have a clear philosophy of non-violence and a sound theory of non-violent social change.

It should also be recognized that believers in non-violence are concerned with more than "success" of a movement The very quality of our living and actions, individually and collectively, is as important to us as the immediate realization of any particular goal. This quality of living too, depends to a large extent upon a more realistic understanding of ourselves and society

A group of Peacemakers met recently to discuss the need for such research and theory building in the area of non-violent revolution The group discussed the areas of non-violence which needed to be studied and made plans designed to encourage research and to provide for the interchange of ideas, findings, and research services.

The group (for the time being called the Peacemakers Research Committee) believes that there are students, action groups, and social scientists who may be interested in research in non-violence but who are not doing this type of research They may not have a clear idea of what problems need study or of how to attack them. Action groups may be interested in evaluating their methods but lack research skills Students may want to do papers on non-violence but lack knowledge of sources of information or they may need help in setting up a study

The Peacemakers Research Committee plans to stimulate research in non violence by (1) drawing up statements of the problems which need study, (2) compiling lists of sources of information — books, articles, pamphlets, etc., (3) encouraging the interchange of ideas and research findings, and (4) making contacts between people who are interested in similar types of studies in non-violence

There are at least four areas of non-violence which need study (1) techniques, strategy and tactics used in non-violent campaigns; (2) the constructive programme, (3) social theories, and (4) a philosophy of non-violence The Peacemakers Research Committee plans to draw up problem statements in each of these four areas.

Those who feel that they have something to contribute are encouraged to contact the Committee.

WHY ALLOPATHY ONLY ?

It is reported in newspapers today that National Health Service will be introduced in Bombay (and other Indian provinces) in next January 1953 I, therefore, for the public good beg to invite your kind attention to the following article published in the *London Health Review* which says

"Recent tendency of legislation and of articles in the press seems to suggest that allopathy (European system of medicine) alone is competent to deal with national health and is the only one to be considered in setting up the new National Health Service Scheme

"If allopathy were indeed able to maintain the health of the country at the highest practicable level, there would be less objection to claims to its exclusive recognition, but that is very far from being the case.

Very many people have had the unsettling experience of receiving quite incompatible diagnosis of the same illness from different doctors, as the medical profession is well aware In consequence, when treatment of a patient depends on correct diagnosis, many mistakes are made

When diagnosis has been made the choice of the remedy is not clear Almost without exception the remedy — medicines vaccines inoculations — is found to have disadvantages some very serious here and there catastrophies occur There is a continual urge to find and try new remedies This is a disquieting state of affairs. Allopathy, therefore should not be the sole system recognized for the Health Service. Any claim for exclusive recognition of the European system of medicine as the only method for the cure of diseases is wrong It is seriously submitted that to base National Health Service on allopathy alone is a fundamental mistake Other methods of curing diseases are well known and are available

Herbalism claims that its remedies produce no ill effects a risk from which allopathic medicines — drugs, vaccines serums — are admittedly not free

'Herbalism and homoeopathy have large followings and have contributed to medical progress It would be unwise to exclude their respectable practitioners from National Health Service.

"Nature Cure treatment of diseases (recommended by Gandhiji and Shaw) has a considerable and rapidly growing number of supporters in Europe and America

The attraction of Nature Cure is that it offers a complete alternative to medicine No medicine drugs or vaccine poisons are used at all in Nature Cure Striking improvement results in Nature Cure treatment. Many courageous and honourable medical men who seek the truth and real benefit of suffering people are sympathetic with Nature Cure system of treatment of diseases

'For instance Dr R. Fielding Ould, M.D of the London University M.A., Barrister-at-law and a man of great ability, has come to the conclusion that in Nature Cure are to be found the right methods of curing diseases and of maintaining good health

Those who are dissatisfied with filthy useless and dangerous inoculations should surely be free from obligations to contribute to the Health Service Scheme for they are convinced that they will not benefit

"Such persons as wish so to do should be allowed complete freedom in respect of the Health Service to provide their own treatment of Nature Cure Homoeopathy (Ayurved, Unani) etc.

"In short in the new Health Service Scheme (of the Government of Bombay Madras, Bengal and other Provinces of India which will shortly come into force from January 1, 1953) no system of curing diseases practised by respectable people should be suppressed or excluded by the tyranny of (allopathic) vested interests.

"A great number of people and the number is growing do not want drugs vaccines and operations for sound reasons and in our (now happily) free country (India)

[illegible] qualified doctors look upon [illegible] with deep scorn (as useless [illegible]

[illegible] and in the cause of freedom [illegible] Homeopathy and other [illegible] diseases should be included [illegible] Schemes (of Bombay and other [illegible]

[illegible] treating the sick new emp[illegible] of people is crying evi[illegible] with European system o[illegible] (Allopathy) which people fi[illegible] the outrageous costs [illegible] Nature Cure [illegible] belonging to European [illegible] of a woefully wro[illegible] Nature Cure is the [illegible] to diseases-ridden m[illegible]

Bombay [illegible] PH R MISTRI
20-11-52

MACHINE & MAN ?

(By R J Soman)

When Man first gazed upon the marvel of his own making viz a power driven machine he would hardly have suspected that it represented his doubtful ally or even his potential enemy In the pre-machine age Man was satisfied that his small little farm and cattle which he reared on it combined with his homely handicrafts supplied him his needs His life was versatile and full of varied interests then He was a farmer as well as a spinner weaver or a carpenter etc with his simple tools The social economy which was born out of it was of a contented village community living its life in a free and self-reliant manner It was a peculiar civilization having its own cultural and social values

Almost like the forbidden fruit of the Garden of Eden, the mechanical inventions which Man in his curiosity came upon, disturbed the even tenor of his way of life in various ways Firstly, the power-driven machine furnished abundant supply of manufactured goods, to the eventual unemployment of the working men and the doom of cottage industries and of agriculture because the latter alone could not maintain the peasants. And secondly, it made it possible for wealth and economic power to concentrate in a few hands, making for bad and unequal distribution The result was what we see today Men who were happy and contented in their own homes and rural environments are almost uprooted and thrown by machines as slaves in a none-too-welcome urban atmosphere

How do they who are so uprooted fare in their new surroundings ? They are brought face to face with economic slavery long hours, child labour evil shop conditions, slums, dirt and diseases, industrial accidents and sickening ugliness "There is no beauty happiness, leisure, learning and religion, but a bare and desolate place without colour, air or laughter where man woman and child work, eat and sleep This is the sullen rhythm of their lives"

But are they secure even in these awful surroundings ? No The constant terror of unemployment hangs upon their heads as a result of the continuous researches in science and consequent rationalization of machinery An army of scientists in service of machine-owners are busy devising improvements in machines which would eliminate men and would make machines more 'efficient' Efficiency they define, is the capacity of the machine to eliminate Man !

Mr Stuart Chase in his *Men and Machines* writes that up to 1927, 12000 new labour-saving machines were introduced into America and they took away the work of nearly 50,000 ! Henry Ford changed from model T to model A and laid off 60 000 men for an indefinite period Only two decades ago 500 men and 1,000 oxen were necessary for the purpose of ploughing 1,000 acres Today only 10 tractors are enough to do the work ! Only one steam shovel is sufficient at present for digging as much iron ore as was only a few years before dug out by 500 men, Mr Gregg in his *Which Way Lies Hope ?* * tells of a new American invention of "electronic thinking machines which are capable of rapidly solving exceedingly complex mathematical problems and of exercising certain types of judgment !" These machines would necessarily displace before long not only manual workers but even clerical and 'white collar' staff Is this not the economics of a mad-house ?

The modern man has such a pathetic infatuation for machinery that it renders him almost blind and even unconscious to the growing indignities and hardships to which he is subjected on that account Verily the discovery and use of machine by Man is not an unmixed good for us as is insidiously being projected on the mass mind by modern mechanical science and economics Maybe it is given to India to dispel this hypnosis and bring back machine to serve Man ! Gandhiji has well said "The supreme consideration is Man I am aiming not at eradication of all machinery, but limitation." (*Young India*, 13-11-'24)

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor MAGANBHAI P DESAI

VOL XVII No 3 AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, MARCH 21, 1953 TWO ANNAS

COMPULSORY EDUCATION

(By Gandhiji)

I am not quite sure that I would not oppose compulsory education at all times. All compulsion is hateful to me I would no more have the nation become educated by compulsion than I would have it become sober by such questionable means But just as I would discourage drink by refusing to open drink shops and closing existing ones so would I discourage illiteracy by removing obstacles in the path and opening free schools and making them responsive to the people's needs But at the present moment we have not even tried on any large scale the experiment of free education We have offered the parents no inducements We have not even sufficiently or at all advertised the value of literacy We have not the proper school-masters for the training In my opinion therefore it is altogether too early to think of compulsion I am not even sure that the experiment in compulsory education has been uniformly successful wherever it has been tried If the majority wants education compulsion is wholly unnecessary If it does not compulsion would be most harmful. Only a despotic government passes laws in the teeth of the opposition of a majority Has the Government afforded full facilities for education to the children of the majority ? We have been compulsion-ridden for the past hundred years or more The State rules our life in its manifold details without our previous sanction It is time to use the nation to voluntary methods even though for the time being there may be no response to prayers, petitions and advice addressed to the nation It has had little response to its prayers. Nothing is more detrimental to the true growth of society than for it to be habituated to the belief that no reform can be achieved by voluntary effort A people so trained become wholly unfit for Swaraj.

It follows from what I have said above that if we get Swaraj today I should resist compulsory education at least till every effort at voluntary primary education has been honestly made and failed Let the reader not forget that there is more illiteracy in India today than there was fifty years ago, not because the parents are less willing but because the facilities they had before have disappeared under a system so foreign and unnatural for the country

It is not reasonable to assume that the majority of parents are so foolish or heartless as to neglect the education of their children even when it is brought to their doors free of charge

Young India, 14-8-24

DANGER FACING HINDI

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

The following is from a P T I message from Aligarh dated February 20

"Addressing the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan here Shri Purushottamdas Tandon said that the question of Hindi was essentially linked up with the national unity and solidarity of India. If Hindi was neglected and its position as a language of the people weakened, he added, the nation was bound to be weakened.

Shri Tandon also cautioned the people against the two dangers facing Hindi, namely, the love for English and the movement in U P to have Urdu declared the regional language of the State.

One may agree that the question of Hindi, the National Language, has to do with the unity of our country We in our land speak many languages Hence we require that there should be one such language as can be the common medium of provincial and all-India communication Surely English cannot be that, Hindi is the best suited of all our regional languages But that Hindi is not the Sanskritized one, nor the Persianized one of the U P As Gandhiji repeatedly told us, it is the common, simple language of the North which is spoken by all irrespective of class or creed, it is the happy amalgam of Hindi and Urdu The Hindi Sahitya Sammelan did not accept this position nor does it accept willingly the Constitution of India which lays down in Section 351 the law of the evolution and development of the national language It appears to believe that Hindi, to the exclusion of Urdu, which is being developed as the literary language in the U P at present, should be the national language. If there is any danger facing the growth of the national language it is this exclusive spirit disrupting our unity and composite culture and not Urdu or its demand for recognition as a regional language of the U P which it is and should be so recognized, even in the larger interests of the unity and

[illegible] its [illegible] the interests [illegible] the growth [illegible] national language

[illegible]-3-56

CERTAIN BASIC MISCONCEPTIONS

[This is in continuation of the first instalment of Rene Fullop Miller's lecture that appeared in the last issue of 14-3-56. In that instalment we saw how not only Marxism but Democracy as well has tended to dehumanizing society and has perverted man's real purpose in life. This is due to certain basic misconceptions to be found in both these doctrines of human progress. These are examined in the following instalment.

24-1-56 —M. P.]

If we want to attain a more purposeful life we have to re-examine our position and correct certain misconceptions

Let us first take a short mental inspection tour for the purpose of discovering the roots of our own misconceptions. In this we do not aim at debunking the democratic creed, but rather at examining it with the constructive purpose of freeing the original humanistic ideals from the dehumanized crust which covers them. In this connection it is essential to trace the ideological development which brought us to the impasse which we are facing today

The Christian doctrine, whose traditions the founders of democracy transplanted to America, held man to be a creature of God, a creature endowed with the dignity of his unique personality. Although during the period of the Enlightenment there took place a secular re-interpretation of the Christian dogma, the ethical and social foundations of Christianity — that is, the respect for the unique individual — remained unshaken. In fact, the respect for the individual was the basic ideal of a divine or humanitarian order, human happiness was of necessity related to supreme values

The great shift occurred when, under the influence of economists like Adam Smith and Jeremy Bentham, the concept of happiness and harmony which was based on immutable values was replaced by purely economic security, or a so-called economic harmony of interest. For it soon became evident that if social life was looked upon as being nothing more than the interplay of material interests, then the community of people was likewise merely a community of interests. The State was consequently a union for the winning and elaborating of raw materials, a combination of agricultural and manufacturing energies

Let us see what happened to the sacredness of the individual under the impact of economic predominance. First of all man's manifold productiveness had to be reduced to his economic activities. The yearning for intellectual and ethical contentment was crowded out by a craving for material satisfaction. Happiness was identical with prosperity. This devaluation of human values reached rock-bottom with Bentham's utilitarian theory, which proclaimed utility the main criterion of all values. We know of the great and unfortunate influence of Bentham's doctrine on American thought ever since President Jackson's time.

The fixation on utilitarian goals led to a value blindness concerning all intellectual and spiritual values. And finally man and society became the absolute domain of economic forces. The concreteness of man was replaced by an economic digit. Economic laws assumed the importance of natural laws, so that Bentham's law "of the greatest number" assumed the same universal importance as Newton's law of gravity. No matter whether the economists of liberal capitalism had espoused the cause of the wealthy or that of the poor, they had the tendency to reduce all that was living and human into unqualified, numerical qualities and mechanical measurable forces.

Now let us look at the roots of Marxist Socialism which in our time has deteriorated into Communism. Marx also started out originally with an idealistic concept of the human personality. Although he denounced all religious tenets, Marx based his ideas on a secularized version of the religious concept of the dignity of man. Because of his genuine concern with man Marx broke with Hegel's abstract concept of a "World Spirit" and embraced Ludwig Feuerbach's philosophy which took the concrete individual as its focal point. Feuerbach's influence led Marx to coin his famous slogan: 'The root of man is man himself'

Marx's strong compassion for his fellow-man made him into a social revolutionary. Even as a young man he revolted against the capitalism of the industrial era because it reduced man to a working force and led to an increasing dehumanization. The humanitarian tendencies of young Marx are perhaps most decisively evident in his early writings which were unearthed by Mehring, Adler, Mayer and Hilferding. In these writings Marx took sharp issue even with communism because he then felt that Communism was no more concerned with man than capitalist industrialism. It was the time when he wrote "Communist society is merely a more general capitalist. For in communism the power of economics is not abolished, on the contrary, it rather assumes complete rulership over men, and thus leads to the complete loss of man's individual value"

What extinguished the humanistic fire that kindled Marx's original idea? What made Marx, who so clearly realized the flaws of communism take the communist course, which was to smooth the way for a complete dehumanization of man? As far as I can see the explanation for Marx's about face lies in the materialistic concept of man which tainted most materialistic concepts in the nineteenth century

Take, for instance, Feuerbach's philosophical concept of what he termed "real man",

which took into account [illegible] "diesseitige" materialistic aspects of the human being to the exclusion of all higher spiritual aspects. Feuerbach put it "*Der Mensch ist was er isst*" (Man is what he eats) Feuerbach's man was merely a fragment of man And when Marx abandoned Hegel for Feuerbach, he simply traded an idealistic abstraction for a materialistic abstraction It was merely another step in the wrong direction when Marx followed the prevalent economic trend of his time and substituted for Feuerbach's concept of man the so-called "conditions of man", which were of course his material and economic conditions Thus Marx arrived, only from the opposite direction, at the same concept of economic man for which he had justly reproached liberal economists He began to consider the economic factors of life as the ultimate realities In his final abstraction Marx denaturalized men to become working hours, and the former humanist declared "Time is everything and man no longer counts He is at most the embodiment of time. Quality no longer matters, and quantity is all-determinative"

Individual man had to be discarded All manifest actions of the human spirit had to obey the laws of economic class interests, which resulted, of course, in a sweeping rejection of all non-economic values

For a moment Marx realized, later on the anti-humanistic implications of his doctrine and remarked to a French publicist '*Moi je ne suis pas marxiste*" However, these last flickerings of a humanistic conscience were soon extinguished by the demands of revolutionary praxis, which relentlessly drove towards communism

Now I would like to examine the grand scale effects of Bolshevik dehumanization on Soviet history First let us see what happened to Marx's humanitarian dictum "The root of man is man himself" In the Soviet version of Marxism the root of man is of course not individual man but collective man And in order to turn individual man into collective man It was imperative to exterminate his individual soul, that is the main spring of his unique personality There was neither place nor need for individual thought, feeling or judgment Man was called upon to give up his individuality so that he could more easily be turned into a spare part an interchangeable screw in the "social machine" The supreme goal was a mechanized and purely quantitative combination of human mass-particles that would obey the laws of collectivity and thus attain collective bliss

Thus it seems that dehumanization is a sort of an endemic virus infection which has struck at both camps, although the virulence of the dehumanization virus seems to be stronger in the East* than in the West

* Eastern Europe — Russia — Ed.

PROHIBITION AND DEVELOPMENT

(By Suresh Ramabhai)

The State of Bombay is faced with scarcity conditions the like of which it had not known for decades About one-fourth of the State's total rural population of 24 millions is reported to have been affected by famine Realizing the seriousness of the situation, Shri C D Deshmukh, Union Finance Minister, has promised on behalf of the Central Government, to help it by seven crores of rupees out of a sum of Rs 15 crores provided for such emergencies in the Five Year Plan Also he has asked the Bombay Government (in a Press Conference at Poona on January 28) to "review and reconsider" its prohibition policy in view of famine conditions Coming from a pucca civilian that he has been, the suggestion is not very strange It is therefore, very welcome to hear from Bombay's Revenue Minister that ' there will be no going back on prohibition — not even revision of the policy" *

Just the reverse is the case in West Bengal. A P T I. message states—

> ' The West Bengal Government's prohibition scheme is to be deferred indefinitely to use all the available funds for the development schemes under the Five Year Plan.'

The report adds

> "Financial stringency rather than lack of faith in prohibition was the reason for shelving the scheme till after the Five Year Plan period a Government spokesman said.' (*Statesman*, February 3, 1953)

One is directly led to infer that so far as the West Bengal Government is concerned

(i) Prohibition has no place in the Five Year Plan

(ii) Development schemes are to be given priority to prohibition, and

(iii) Development and drinking are to prosper together

This is in direct conflict with the Bombay policy though it may be agreeable to the Central Government. Thus the Five Year Plan is sought to be worked in two opposite ways by two sister Governments working under a Constitution which unequivocally declares

> The State shall endeavour to bring about prohibition of the consumption except for medicinal purposes of intoxicating drinks and of drugs which are injurious to health.'

It is for legal pandits to examine whether the West Bengal Government's *withdrawal of steps already taken* in an "endeavour to bring about prohibition" is or is not a flagrant breach of our Constitution. But what is more unfortunate is the policy of the Government of India in this regard. It is a betrayal of the nation

Allahabad 6-2-'53

* It may be added by way of information that the Bombay Budget for 1953-'54 continues to have Prohibition and has not run into deficit though fully providing for the needs of scarcity conditions — Ed.

HARIJAN

March 21 1953

PRICE AND SENTIMENT

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

Khadi and village industries goods do not sell well because of the factory goods being comparatively cheaper; therefore, if at all, the former could thrive only on the strength of sentiment for them However there is a certain limit to it and only on that strength we cannot popularize Khadi and village industries goods to that extent which they deserve or we desire for them Therefore it is said that we can popularize the use of these goods not on the strength of sentiment only, but can do so if we secure for them the spur of comparatively favourable prices as well. We should secure both of these advantages for these goods

The question is an old one. It is reappearing today because both the Government as well as the people are again turning their eyes to these things now The establishment of the A I Khadi and Village Industries Board is a pointer thereof How should we function now? How should this new Board do its work? What policy should Government follow in this matter? We should now turn our immediate attention to these problems

Let us, at the outset clearly understand one thing How far is it true to believe that we buy goods looking to their price only? Price and sentiment are inter-connected Ideas of art, beauty fashion etc do influence us Hence we see the growth of modern art of advertisement This is not to deny the influence of economic price or cheapness on the consumer The point is that along with it, our ideas of art, beauty, fashion etc do affect our choice We cannot say that price and sentiment are at variance with each other Both of them are helpful Moreover there is a third thing also, viz, our Swadeshi goods must be of good standard quality and this attribute must be honestly guarded If this is done it will not only fetch good price, but will also help keep up our sentiment for them Thus, all these three things must be carefully looked up if we desire to work for Khadi and village industries goods Let us consider them one by one

What is our sentiment for Khadi and village industries? Gandhiji showed us their bearing on our sentiment of freedom He told us that our poverty and unemployment were due to the ruination of our home-and village-industries and the co-operation of our upper class people in that process. If therefore we desire to have Swaraj, the way to it lies through Swadeshi. This is equally true even today

Gandhiji also showed us that the solution of our colossal unemployment and under-employment also lies in Swadeshi Without Khadi and village industries agriculture cannot prosper If agriculture goes down we go down with it With the advent of Swaraj the problem of food and cloth and unemployment has been our greatest headache. We begin to realize now that all cannot be employed through industrialization, we will have to take to Khadi and village industries also This thing must be clear to us more and more It is upto the Government also that it realizes it and directs its plans and policies accordingly Unfortunately today it must be said that the Government does not give due attention to it nor do the people have adequate realization of this Our sentiment has been clouded by the glamour of big industries, and hence we fail to see that neither our economic progress nor the removal of unemployment can be achieved without Khadi, village industries and Swadeshi.

The second question is of prices If our sentiment is strong and proper, it will to an extent help the solution of higher prices also However, prices of Khadi and village industries goods must be looked into also It is necessary that they are economic It is equally necessary that the producer gets his due wages, he must not be exploited, he must have full living wage for his labour How can we secure this objective? There was a time when hand-made Swadeshi village goods were cheaper than English factory goods The British ruler turned the tables against it by the strength of law and economic jugglery What was cheap was made to sell dear and vice versa Now we wish to change it The same trick can work it and should be resorted to Protection and subsidy will have to be given to village industries It will be necessary to resort to the imposition of cess duties etc also Only then can we, in due course be in a position to solve the question of prices This is a difficult task, but it will surely have to be done, as there is no go without it.

The third thing is good quality and standard of Swadeshi goods There are two things to be considered about it for good quality we must have necessary technique, for the latter our manufacturers should have business honesty The first involves training and research which ought to be looked into by the Government and the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board As for the second, our craftsmen must see that they do not fall down to be dishonest and fraudulent in exploiting the Swadeshi sentiment If their goods are of good quality and proper standard it is in their own interest as well It will help maintain the sentiment of the consumer and will fetch good price also

Thus, the three factors of price, sentiment and skill and honesty of our craftsmen are very closely interlinked, and all the three must be

cared for Our chief work now is to educate the people on these three things.

6-3-'53

(From the original in Hindi)

IT IS NOT ENOUGH

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

The British Information Services New Delhi, have issued a pamphlet on "Britain's Foreign Policy", containing three articles by well-known writers on the aims and objects of Britain's foreign policy One of the writers is Sir Ernest Barker, the reputed political philosopher of Cambridge He writes on 'Liberty, Security and Prosperity', and says

> The primary object of Britain's foreign policy today is the liberty security and prosperity of Britain and as an object indissolubly allied with it, the liberty, security and prosperity of all the Commonwealth countries associated with Britain in common membership of the Commonwealth.'

One might argue here that this describes almost a truism regarding the foreign policy to be adopted by any nation and its friends or allies The question is not that What one would wish to know is different. The needs of world peace and prosperity require us to know how a nation or its allies as a group will function vis-a-vis other nations so that the liberty, security and prosperity of others, for the matter of that, of the whole world might be a joint and inter-dependent effort of all The learned professor probably to meet such a query goes further and says

> The Government of any country is a trustee acting on behalf of that country, and a trustee must act for the welfare of those for whose interests he is responsible He cannot act at his own discretion he must always be guided and governed by a sovereign regard for the welfare of what is committed to his charge As such a trustee the Government of Britain, in its foreign policy must study to promote the three main aims of the liberty security, and prosperity of its people.

The liberty, security and prosperity of a people is not an exclusive and independent good of that people only All peoples desire them for themselves And well may their governments as trustees acting on their behalf secure them for their people The point is not that. The liberty or security or prosperity of one is not to be achieved at the cost of or in utter disregard for those of others The world is one and the whole human family i e all its component parts the various peoples of the world need these three things in common and as a general requisite for human welfare The question for the nations is how should we achieve that? What should then be the foreign policy of a nation? Or is it to be made the concern of a sort of a world government to be created in future, separate nations having nothing to think about it at present? And the only plausible answer to this is that the foreign policy of a nation should aim at peace as well, and to that end it should see that its own liberty s[illegible] at one with those of all [illegible] ce of its people, a government of a c[illegible] should not be exclusive and selfish, but sho[illegible] eek the welfare of its people in and through the common welfare of the whole human fa[illegible] This also should be the living aim and objec t of the foreign policy of every nation, rather it should be the main object governing all the questions of policy in internal as well as external affairs not only political but economic financial and commercial as well Because, ultimately, it is exclusive selfishness in these things which becomes the cause of endangering them by occasioning wars between nations Therefore it is not enough to mind one's own liberty security and prosperity, but countries should do that having due regard for others' liberty, security and prosperity as well, because these are a joint concern of all the governments in the world

13-3-'53

'LOOK TO THE LAND'*

(By R J Soman)

This is the title of a delightful booklet by Lord Northbourne who is himself a land-owner in Kent and Northumberland and is running a large mixed farm and market gardens He is also actively engaged in Local Government and Public Education especially Agricultural Education He has, in this book, issued a sound warning, based as it is on his long experience, against the modern craze for industrialism, money economy and artificial life As man depends on land for his life, he represents in the opinion of the author, a link in a 'cyclical flow in which animal vegetable and mineral are interdependent' but its 'natural rhythm is disturbed by the excessive importance attached to financial, mechanical and chemical considerations in the treatment of the land' According to him the present diseases and disorders which are individual and social, economic and political are due to this disturbance of the 'natural rhythm' The author maintains that life on land is ideal both physically and spiritually

But the temptation to adopt a way of life based on money which is at variance with true biological law, became too irresistible for man. Industry and commerce joined hands together to exploit land not for food but for finance This brought in urbanization and commercialism with a decay of farming and importation of food Slowly a parasitic class grew which was distinguished purely by its wealth with its concomitant labouring and dependent classes The result was that farming population out of which the nation's vitality was raised and maintained suffered a severe decline

* Published by Messrs J M Dent & Sons Ltd., Aldine House Bedford St., London price 7s 6d.

The first result of this decline was visible in the deterioration of man's health The author quotes the findings of an investigation which was carried on some years back in a large town in England 4700 cases of all ages and both sexes were examined out of which no more than 16 were found showing no signs of sub-normal health His criticism of this state of things will be read with interest '

' ' Hypotonia i.e. condition of low vitality has been accepted as a normal condition. Bad teeth, bad digestion, imperfect elimination, rheumatism are almost universal Consider the proportion of advertising space allotted to patent medicines cures of all kinds processed foods, flavourings, stimulants and narcotics, not excluding stimulants and narcotics for the mind. To this list may be added cosmetics, main purpose of which is to produce a spurious imitation of that bloom of health which should be normal.' (pp 44-46)

The author rightly questions the efficacy of the advance made in medical science in terms of human health Doctors study diseases and not health. A disease is like a hydra Each head which is cut is replaced by several others The wonder is that this liability to disease shows itself increasingly among the classes of livestock and plants also

What then is the remedy? The author's considered view is that farming coupled with decentralized industry would bring about the needed consummation

'Under a rational economy the present urge of concentration of population into huge masses would cease to be felt, and industry might well be more distributed and actually less physically separated from agriculture than it is at present A real community of interest would be established from which town and country dwellers would derive equal benefit ' (p 181)

The writer has succeeded in developing an integrated conception of both individual and social life where man and animal, industry and agriculture, city and village manual labour and physical happiness are not at variance with each other but are interdependent and complementary He ridicules our frequent boasting about our so-called 'conquest of nature' Is not the idea of conquering nature as sensible as cutting off one's head so as to isolate one's superior faculties? Nature is imbued with love and by love alone can she be conquered 'Give and ye shall receive' is not a sentimental idealism but a simple practical rule In undertaking farming we undertake a responsibility covering the whole life-cycle. The author therefore, concludes his thesis by asserting that 'we must farm or we must die'

Corrigenda

In Vol XVI No 53 (February 28 1953) page 448, first column last line for *Michail* please read Michael and in the second column, first line read Apor for Ahor

GRAMODAYA KHADI SANGH — II

(By Krishnadas Gandhi)

In the previous article it was seen (vide *Harijan* Feb 14, '53) that the Khadi work in villages should be carried on through village committees organized for the purpose Several divergent points of view are held about the objectives of Khadi Among them, Khadi as a means of relieving unemployment among large masses of people has attained more popularity and has attracted the attention of people It is contended that this is one of the most important objectives of Khadi If this point of view is thoroughly understood in all its implications it will be found that it is correct

There are two kinds of unemployment Generally, those who are in dire need of food and who have not the barest means of livelihood are considered to be unemployed But in society because some people are so placed as to get their needs fulfilled freely out of other people's labours they are absolved from the trouble of work Thus is also a type of unemployment The former results from non-availability of work, the latter is a result of wilful desire to escape from legitimate toil The former is unemployment due to helplessness; the latter arises out of laziness and a sense of false prestige It is this very same sense of false prestige that plays hell with society today Both types of unemployment are found to a greater or lesser extent everywhere The objective of Khadi work is to rid society of both these types of unemployment Every kind of lazy inactive life should disappear

Really speaking both types of unemployment are inter-related Both arise from the same type of a mental attitude to life At the root lies the same social order which nurtures both types of unemployment

The existing social order is acting as the shackles that bind man and man in social and economic slavery It gives rise to helplessness It spreads poverty The objective of Khadi is to end such slavery This is to be done by giving up dependence on others and becoming self-sufficient and self-reliant

Moreover raw materials produced in abundance in villages are at present sent to distant cities and even to foreign countries for being processed into consumer goods This is the most scandalous condition of our national economy This is so because our village industries are not able to grow and machine-made products of distant cities have displaced our own village products The villagers should make efforts to free themselves from this deplorable condition Necessary organization and adequate strength for it should also be created among the villagers by the Gramodaya Khadi Sangh. This is the great work which the village committees will have to carry on in their respective areas

NOTES ON SEVERAL MYTHS

(By M P T Acharya)

Welfare State It is believed that States can promote social welfare But before welfare schemes can be introduced, the State must collect the money (either as taxes or as contributions which go on the consumers and thus reduce purchasing power) both from the workers and from the general consuming public Yet the welfare can only benefit a part of workers — not all Much of the welfare money will be used in administration of the scheme What is the use of welfare schemes for a few at the expense of food and necessities? It has come to be a habit to talk of this as progress and beneficent without reason

Prices and Wages can be adjusted Wages are only part of the prices Workers receive only the price of labour Rent, interest, profits, and taxes are added to this to form prices These contribute nothing to production but maintain a large number of people The cost of maintaining them is charged before goods can be sold, so that the prices must be far higher (per piece per lb or per bulk) than that paid to labour on account of the increase the total wages can only buy a small part of the goods — much being bought by those who have contributed nothing to production (except those who have organized labour to produce things) Higher wages or lower wages will not alike allow the wage receivers to buy much of what is produced Yet economists talk as if a part can be equal or made equal to the whole Physically impossible They cannot be adjusted whether by hand work or machine work Hence looking for export markets even with least production-

More employment means more prosperity for workers While a large number of people may be employed because destitute persons will take jobs at any price, capital has to be invested on a large scale For capital it will be a chance to employ labour cheap — in order to make some money into more money The end result of investment must be money increase — not necessarily production. For banks insurance, advertising produce nothing and make profits by taking the goods. The more investment means there must be far more profits to be made than by the existing capital on investment The total amount of money earned by new employees will — if need in production — increase the chances for some industries and trades to sell more to these newly employed But the prices being far higher than the total wages received they can buy only an infinitesimal part of additional products *The purchasing power cannot be increased for all by further employment* Most money will circulate among businessmen who supply one another but very little will go down among the workers There will never be enough money to employ all. Before one can employ people in production, there must be equipment and means of produ[illegible] raw materials ready, which will [illegible] nous capital. There can be no full pe[illegible] under this system, even if conducted by State as by the Bolsheviks — although there will be goods unsold with every production

The capital for investment comes only from profits already made In Russia where the State owns and conducts all things centrally, the capital for investment comes from the revenues to the State, i e out of reduced consumption. This accumulated capital is invested But the accumulation is made by overcharging goods reducing purchasing power The commercial system is chaos and jungle whether it is run by private owners or States If it is not regulated, it crumbles and if it is regulated it becomes more narrow for living and then crumbles Although there is planning in Russia for production (75% for war and chemical industries now) there is chaos in consumption — whoever having money buying what he can. All industries are established by reducing present consumption — by collecting capital out of the present wages

Yet all welfare schemes are discussed within the limits of the commercial system, even by professors fanatically The discussions will never give results but going from pillar to post Waste of time, keeping people starving

All champions of welfare — all claim to be champions of the people or country — refuse fanatically to discuss anything outside commercial limitations for there can be no State without commerce and they want State at any cost, whether it will work or not.

Co-operative enterprise It is a phrase used without thinking as if an answer is found The Government wants that those who cannot successfully maintain themselves individually should be able to compete in the market by co-operative effort They should be given capital if necessary on loans on easy terms This kind of co-operation is also a kind of capitalism All limited and share companies are in a sense co-operative — to secure business in the market When some people pool together their work or products in order to take higher prices (or by reducing cost of production or securing raw materials cheaper), it is called co-operation But it is co-operation in securing market by producing or selling together and to distribute profits — not to supply their own needs There is nothing social in this co-operation It is like a few persons trying to get more money from others by union which they cannot do separately The co-operatives have all the accounting as private business — interest, rent, profit and taxes In England the co-operatives established to supply workers needs mutually 100 years ago, while they have grown enormously, have become only capitalist business organizations owning and nursing banks and factories and supplying other manufacturers' goods The co-operatives there sell nearly a quarter of all the goods bought in

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NOTES

Economic Equality

A non violent system of Government is clearly an impossibility, so long as the wide gulf between the rich and the hungry millions persists The contrast between the palaces of New Delhi and the miserable hovels of the poor labouring class nearby cannot last one day in a free India in which the poor will enjoy the same power as the richest in the land A violent and bloody revolution is a certainty one day unless there is a voluntary abdication of riches and the power that riches give, and sharing them for the common good

*Constructive Programme** Item 13 M K. G

A Woman Satyagrahi in England

This story of a law-breaking humanitarian in England, taken from the *New Statesman and Nation* of December 27, 1952 (p 773), will be read with interest by the readers of *Harijan*

'I want to congratulate Mrs Hill, wife of the Vicar of Matfen, Northumberland, for having committed the legal offence of tearing up and throwing into the river twenty steel gins which 'caused needless agony to rabbits, cats, dogs and other animals' The report adds that she was haunted by the cries of these miserable beasts, that her offer to substitute humane traps approved by the R.S P C.A. was refused so that in the end she broke the law and obeyed her conscience I doubt if this horror of gin-traps reported from many parts of the country will be ended until other men and women follow Mrs Hill's example It is in the finest tradition of British law-breaking, reforms wait for the individual brave enough conscientiously to break bad laws'

V. G. D.

Soviet Colonialism

[At a time when some of our workers are on a conducted tour of the U S S R the following taken from Lucjan Blit's article in *Socialist Commentary* will be read with interest. — V G D]

' Most of the inmates in the Corrective Labour Camp' to which I was sent were non-Russians, only the guards were wholly Russian If an inmate was known to be a Jew he would be sent to do the most heavy work It [the camp] was situated in the subarctic where the winter lasts from October to June The severity of the climate was cruel to people from Central Russia, but it was murder to thousands of Uzbeks, Tadjiks Turk
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camp in the warmer South Vela.

'I lived for 6 months between Samarkand and Bo lived was struck by the fact that every hig people by the few Russians who lived among them
tian

In some of the non Russian Soviet Republics entire native communist intelligentsia was wiped out

The first Communist Prime Minister is be executed in Soviet Russia was Sultan-Galiyev head of the Tartar Republic in 1923 In 1928 Veli Abragimov the Crimean Prime Minister was executed In 1937 Moscow ordered the execution of Mgaloblishvili Prime Minister of Georgia, and of his deputy In 1938 Ukmodzayev Prime Minister of Uzbekistan, was executed. These are but a few names from a long list of ministers secretaries, directors of state enterprises scientists and writers in Soviet Asian Republics exterminated by the orders of Moscow

An even more ruthless purge took place in the Soviet Ukraine

'Between 1926 and 1939 five million Russians emigrated into the non Russian Republics as political leaders, directors of industries, civil servants, university teachers and skilled workers'

Eighty-eight per cent of the teachers in Tashkent University are Russians and among the students only 32 per cent are Uzbeks In the University at Alma Ata only 25 per cent of the students are native Kazakhs . The Tartars were forced to drop the Arabic and Latin alphabets and adapt the Russian Russian was made compulsory in all schools of the sixteen Republics In the higher classes of the secondary schools it became the language of instruction and the sole teaching language in all technical schools and universities

Never in modern times have colonial peoples been so helpless as the non-Russians are in the U S S R'

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(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor MAGANBHAI P DESAI

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1619

PROHIBITION PROGRAMME

(By Gandhiji)

Let me summarize what should, in my opinion, be the comprehensive programme (under prohibition)

1 A drink drug map showing the locality of liquor and opium shops in each province

2 Closing them as liquor shops on the expiry of the licences

3 Immediate earmarking of liquor revenue, whilst it is still being received, exclusively for the purposes of prohibition.

4 Conversion, wherever possible, of the liquor shops into refreshment and recreation rooms in the hope that the original visitors will continue to use them, liquor contractors being themselves persuaded to conduct them if they will

5 Employment of the existing excise staff for detection of illicit distillation and drinking

6 Appeal to the educational institutions to devote a part of the time of teachers and students to temperance work.

7 Appeal to the women to organize visits to the persons given to the drink and opium habits

8 Negotiation with the neighbouring States to undertake simultaneous prohibition.

9 Engaging the voluntary or, if necessary, paid assistance of the medical profession for suggesting non-alcoholic drinks and other substitutes for intoxicants and methods of weaning the addicts from their habit

10 Revival of the activities of temperance associations in support of the campaign against drink

11 Requiring employers of labour to open and maintain under first class management refreshment, recreation and educational rooms for the use of their employees

12 Toddy tappers to be used for drawing sweet toddy for sale, as such, or conversion into *gur*

Harijan, 28-3-37

WHY PROHIBITION
By Bharatan Kumarappa
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OUR SOCIAL PURPOSE

[The other day at Delhi Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, while inaugurating the annual session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry spoke about allowing the private sector of our industry certain measure of freedom of action according to the way it knows how to function He also spoke about the general overall need of controlled economy in our country

We know how modern trade and industry functions in a capitalistic society today It is therefore a little difficult to follow exactly what the Prime Minister meant to suggest when he said that a certain measure of freedom of action should be allowed to private enterprise. That allowance must surely square itself with the general social purpose to subserve which is the chief concern of all of us including those working in trade and industry The Prime Minister beautifully described that purpose and that was the main theme we might say of his inaugural address. The pertinent part of that portion of his address is culled below from the report of *The Hindustan Times*, March 8 1953

17-3-53 —M. P]

" Our social purpose," said Mr Nehru, " is to raise the level of our people — the whole and not of any particular section or group of the community — and to bring about a progressive measure of equality, or rather to lessen the inequalities that exist A Welfare State means the partnership of the people in that State, and a partner means a person who shares the benefits and obligations of that State If he does not get the benefits, he is not a partner If he has only obligations he rightly resents them A person who is unemployed, let us say, has no sense of partnership He is out of it and he is socially, as an individual, a danger to the State, quite apart from the humanitarian aspects of the matter Therefore, if we aim at a Welfare State — as we do — we must always keep that in mind and judge our policies from that point of view

Unemployment

" Perhaps the most important aspect of that point of view is this question of unemployment being eliminated completely It is not an easy matter in this huge country, but difficult or easy, one has to face that question We are going in that direction and indeed all our planning is meant for that But we have to think all the time how to hasten that progress because if we do not, it comes in our way and prevents us from progressing at all.

" We want greater production of wealth in this country We are not going to get wealth

[illegible]uring in from other countries In fact, we do [illegible]t want that to happen I [illegible]ve no objection to [illegible]ternal aid but we have to stand on our own feet [illegible] depend on our own hands and our own [illegible]bour and not on other people's labour If we [illegible]ive to go ahead we have to produce wealth with all our resources including manpower Now as [illegible] in algebraic formula, you put down ' 'Here is [illegible] unemployed manpower which should be [illegible]en work. Work leads to greater production So [illegible] cannot we put an end to unemployment and [illegible] more production ? ' This seems simple, but [illegible] not quite so simple

National Effort

In this matter of course the 19th century [illegible] looking at things *laissez-faire* and all that [illegible]sidered out of date If we have a social [illegible] in view and we want to advance to it, we have to co-ordinate and direct as far as possible all the national effort to that end So we have a kind of planned economy which essentially is a controlled economy By controlled economy I mean more effective controls, not a multitude of controls all over the place "

One of the reasons why he wanted the Swadeshi spirit ", said Mr Nehru, was that he did not believe in any individual or group or nation going soft "We have a tendency to go soft 'we', meaning those who can afford to go soft I am not talking about the millions of our people who have no chance of going soft

" It is a good thing for our own selves, apart from the nation, to lead less soft lives, have a little more austerity in our lives and a little less vulgar display, which is really most displeasing whether it is on some special functions, weddings and so on I do not understand why our tastes have gone down so much Encourage art and so many things in India which are deserving Why encourage vulgarity ? Display of money without art is vulgarity "

" The Swadeshi spirit meant self-reliance, having faith in ourselves and our country and working for it " he said

WHAT IS A WELFARE STATE ?

[As the reader knows Sir George Schuster former Finance Member of the Government of India during the British administration came here a few weeks ago In the course of his short stay in India, he spoke two or three times on problems confronting us today A friend drew my attention to these speeches and chiefly to the one he gave in Bombay In that address he tried to answer three posers — Where do we stand ? Where do we want to go ? Can we help each other on the road ? (The two meant were India and Great Britain)

In India we also have begun to speak in the name of the Welfare State as the goal of our journey The word *Sarvodaya* seems to find less favour in Government circles and with our Planners But that is just by the way What is essential is to know what exactly is a Welfare State. Are we clear about what is meant thereby ?

The idea and the slogan seem to have been born in Socialist England Like many other things, we seem to be copying it and there is all fear that the shibboleth might begin to hinder clear thinking. The essence of the idea lies in collecting from the people as much as a State can [illegible] distribute the same through State [illegible] various sorts It becomes In [illegible] collectivist welfare work organized by the [illegible] of the State and administered through an [illegible]cy This idea of a paternalistic State can [illegible] our joint family system, and it must [illegible] administration involves much red-tape and [illegible] corruption etc.

A [illegible] method of working for the collective welfare [illegible] the people may probably be more suitable and helpful in an industrialized society as has evolved in some western countries We are essentially an agricultural society As we often remind to ourselves India dwells in its lakhs of villages I think it was Shri J P Narain who noted this important distinction when he said at the Rangoon Socialist Conference that Socialism to India and Asia was required to work for an agricultural society and might have therefore to take a different way from that in the Industrialized West. The question needs serious thought on our part

Sir George Schuster touched the question of the Welfare State in his Bombay address Though he did not directly discuss it from the above-mentioned standpoint, he touched it in a way and warned his hearers about one thing viz. that the ideal of a Welfare State is not an economic proposition concerning our material welfare but is a human ideal. The portion of his speech dealing with this is reproduced below from its report in *The Hindu* of 17 1 53

12-3-'53 — M P]

Where do we want to go ? We have both set out to fulfil the conception of a " Welfare State " But I believe we both need to guard against danger of a wrong conception of welfare

I want to give you my own ideas. I believe that the true meaning is best brought out by considering the contrast between " Welfare States " and " Power States ". The Power State thinks in terms of greatness and power of the State | the Welfare State in terms of the welfare or happiness of its individual citizens. The danger today is that ' welfare ' should be interpreted merely in terms of material welfare — that it should be regarded as a static condition which can have no reality unless a certain material standard is reached Of course, certain minimum standards are necessary, and a great effort is now needed (especially in India) to improve material standards But the essential spirit of a Welfare State can start to work even in a very poor country, and that essential spirit may be destroyed in a very rich one According to my conception, a poor country in which every individual citizen is consciously and freely playing a worthy part in a collaborative effort to improve material conditions for the community, is much more truly a " Welfare State " than a rich country in which high standards of material benefits are distributed to all by a government acting as a beneficent providence (We in Britain have certainly erred on the side of the second interpretation, but I think we are beginning now to move away from that error)

I want specially to stress the importance of this dynamic conception of the Welfare State, and to emphasize the dangers inherent in what I have called the static conception of mere material welfare.

The dangers are indeed of two kinds. The first is obvious and practical If we start by laying down standards of material welfare, which — although they may be quite reasonable — may nevertheless involve an expenditure which is more than what a country is — at that stage — actually earning, then we may at the very outset bring our countries to economic ruin. Attempts to build a structure of social benefits before the economic foundations are soundly laid can bring nothing but disaster

The second danger goes deeper If we concentrate only on material welfare, if all our actions are governed by purely materialistic conceptions, then, however successful we may be, we may destroy all that gives true meaning and purpose to human life — individual liberty, human affections and the appreciation of spiritual values

When I talk like this I clearly get into the realm of ideas which cannot be adequately covered by easy and commonplace general phrases such as I have used But I believe you will understand what I mean And then I think you will agree with me that on this matter your people and mine have fundamentally the same outlook We both think that the objective of Government should be conceived in terms of welfare of the individual citizens rather than of the power and greatness of the State We both feel that true "welfare" means something much more than mere material possessions

But we live in a hard material world and we must face hard practical realities However much our ideals and purposes may be influenced by the conception that "man cannot live by bread alone", we have to recognize that he cannot live without it And here I am brought back to what I said in answering my first question. For both of us, as I then said, the fact is that this elementary material task of earning our daily bread has become of supreme and dominating importance

You have a population which is increasing at the rate of 4½ millions a year You have no room to employ more people in agriculture and yet you are not today producing enough food to feed your existing population If you cannot provide fruitful employment in industry for the working class of the 4½ millions that are added every year and produce the food on which they can live, then India must come to disaster That would be true even if there were no threat of Communism in the world.

We in Britain, have a comparable problem We have to support 50 million people in our small island We cannot live on our present basis unless we can maintain a vast flow of exports to pay for our essential imports and owing to our war losses our exports need to be 75 per cent greater in volume than pre-war

So for both of us, our bare living is at stake, for both of us the problem of improving our material production must so dominate all our activities as to set the pattern of our culture and our society

What does this mean? If I look below the surface, if I try to think in terms of true welfare, then I see two fundamental questions arising from the conditions of our two countries

The first is, how can we concentrate all our energies on our material tasks without becoming so obsessed with them that we neglect higher values — spiritual values?

The second is, how can we ensure the co-ordination of the whole national effort which is necessary if we are to make the best of our resources without creating rigid, over-centralized control which will destroy individual enterprise and initiative?

How to answer these two questions? First, and above all there is a need for a complete change of outlook especially for a new outlook on productive work This must be seen not as a mere sordid money-making business People must see in productive work, including manual work opportunities for personal achievement and public service just as honourable as can be found in any other activity Our countries need the best qualities of intelligence education and character to go into this work And they need it for a double purpose — first, for the sake of the efficiency of the work, and secondly — and this in a way even more important — so as to ensure that the work is handled in a way which affords the basis for a worthy human life

PROFIT *v* PURCHASING POWER

(By M P. T Acharya)

If it is true, as pointed out by me (see 'Abolition of Profit Economy', p 434, *Harijan*, 21-2-'53) that even with the abolition of profit, (with interest, rent profit and taxes maintained it will be more impossible) production and consumption cannot be adjusted except without money or exchange i e without wages and prices then all the schemes that are made or tried by all on these old bases are useless even to discuss or countenance, *to talk of them is to neglect vital issues and to experiment with them is only to make matters worse, to practise vivisection upon the people* They are all the same foredoomed to failure.

Every investment is "transferring resources of consumption to manufacture" which again must earn i e take away from consumption. Whether it is done by private people, or Government, the result is reduced consumption even if done in the name of employment and raising the standard of living of the people. There can be

no improvement that way but only impoverishment What is the use of manufacture if purchasing power is taken away? *The manufactures cannot be sold to an impoverished people* Hence they must look out for foreign markets, although ostensibly made for the good of people at home If it is not humbug, it is want of thinking One cannot enrich people by reducing the purchasing power of the people by grandiose plans but can only and will only make matters worse.

Let us know where we are going.

Bombay, 26-2-'53

HARIJAN

March 28 1953

REGENERATION OF COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

Shri J D Khandhadia Bombay, sends me a long communication on the subject of 'Regeneration of Cottage Industry (handloom cloth) in India.' It is dated 2nd March, 1953 I reproduce it below

I have read your editorial and various other articles in the last issue all anxiously touching and discussing the above subject in its various aspects.

I have also been keenly following the development of the suggestion of Shri C. Rajagopalachariar Chief Minister of Madras, (for stopping mill production of *dhotis* and *saris* with a view to rehabilitate the cottage products) followed by the announcement of the Union Minister the Hon. Shri Krishnamachari, of curtailing 40 per cent of mill products culminating in a spurt in mill-made products prices by about 25 per cent to 40 per cent. Apparently, these higher prices will go to the pockets of stockists and mills as extra profits without rendering any appreciable or visible service to the cottage industry for reasons described by me hereunder

In my humble opinion masses in India are governed more by price factor because of their low purchasing power rather than by any sentiment, whereas classes are governed by firstly taste choice and lastly sentiment. If this economic reason is conceded as the fundamental basis of the whole problem, the same can only be solved by some 'economic-cum-legal' jugglery or manipulation which our past British Masters perpetrated with success in killing 'Indian Cottage Industry' and in replacing the same with Lancashire Mill Cloth, without announcing "40 per cent or 100 per cent cut in handloom product" With a similar policy adopted by Government of India since about 1937 by protective duties on foreign sugar they succeeded in consolidating Indian Sugar Industry and making foreign sugar extinct from India without banning its imports This shows that there is a precedent for my plan suggested hereunder based on that 'jugglery or manipulation' but without doing any harm to the mills except subtle and slow

If the people a Governments of ours at the Centre and States and the Congress including the Wardha Group really mean and are sincere to regenerate and revitalize the Handloom Cloth Cottage Industry in India in a way to restore its pre-British self-sufficiency for the happiness of the mute millions of India represented by Mahatma Gandhi, the only way to bring it about is to reverse the British process of ousting the handloom cloth systematically as evident from historical records b[illegible] ar "jugglery" (but in the reverse [illegible]

1 Th[illegible] that mill products prices are about 25 per cent lower than hand loom products (though the latest spurt in prices might have placed both the products on par, but even at par values human tendency is to prefer mill-cloth for its fineness in finish packing easy availability and wide choice, etc.)

2. The said price-position shall have to be reversed by 'economic-cum legal' actions and not merely by propaganda, appealing to sentiment, or half hearted Government measures of "bans by percentages on productions" etc

3 For that matter I suggest :

A. Excise duties to be levied on millmade *dhotis* and *saris*, of course medium variety useful to rural areas and the collection of these duties to be given back as 'subsidy' to the handloom made *dhotis* and *saris* in such a way that automatically the costs of production to the mills and the handlooms for identical varieties would be brought about at 2 to 1 respectively This means that selling prices for handloom *dhotis* and *saris* will out of sheer force of economic necessity be about 50 per cent lower than those of the mill products, which will be a great attraction to masses generally looking to cheap goods

B The duty will be treated as an "Unemployment Tax" on people with higher purchasing power and governed by personal taste and choice rather than by sentiments for national good. Or in Government language it may be treated as a "protective duty" to give protection to cottage industry

C The mill production of these varieties might be gradually adversely affected because there is no room for price adjustment in competition but then nobody will mind a slow downward process spread over 50 years Alternatively the mills may switch over to production of finer varieties on which too proportionate excise duty should be levied to maintain a wide margin of prices from handloom goods

D There will also be some profiteering by the stockists and handloom weavers because of wide margin in the prices but then one should not mind little more profits and prosperity of the dealers in rural areas and the handloom weavers at the cost of classes with higher purchasing power and preferring mill cloth

I hope and trust, my aforesaid plan will have due consideration at all the relative quarters

Surely, the suggestion of Shri Khandhadia deserves all consideration at the hands of those who care for peace and happiness, plenty and prosperity in our country In my article "Price and Sentiment" that appeared in the previous issue, I have touched this aspect of the question raised by the correspondent. I quite agree with him where he says that Government in our country has 'to reverse the British process' of establishing their industries which they adopted in the last century, but in the reverse gear It is for our big industrialists and economists to find out how to graduate this process in the interest of all including themselves For it must be remembered that the State policy is to see that both large-scale as well as small-scale industries are dovetailed into one pattern of a happy all India economy I invite students of industry and economics to study the suggestion reproduced above for whatever worth it may have for us.

12-3-'53

THE TWO VOICES

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

The meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry that met at New Delhi is over From the report of its proceedings we learn that

> 'As regards rehabilitation of industries, Mr Kasturbhai urged that the Government should at least provide a guarantee to industrialists to enable them to go ahead with renovation and modernization of industrial undertakings' (*The Times of India* 9-3-53)

It is not clear what guarantee is being sought from Government. But one thing is clear therefrom that even mechanized industries also are not self-reliant and have to depend upon Government assurances help protection etc for their existence. So it would not be true to say that small-scale industries cannot stand on their own legs Rather they have been all along struggling to stand on their own legs and it is the large-scale industries that have all along depended upon, and have amply got help and protection from Government It is now high time that the same kind of treatment is at least meted out to small-scale industries as well by Government

Shri V T Krishnamachari Vice-President Planning Commission, in the course of his address to the Federation "emphasized that all sectors of industry should work in a co-ordinated manner and asked for suggestions from the Federation regarding the development of cottage industries to relieve unemployment" (*The Times of India* 9-3-53)

This was a very happy thing pronounced at the Federation We do not learn what the Federation replied to this by way of suggestions for the development of cottage industries. However it is a matter of common knowledge that our small-scale industries have to compete with large-scale mechanized industries in mills and factories The small-scale industries generally produce things of common household use like cloth oil, food etc It is here that the question of competition arises and nation wide problem of unemployment is born If a co-ordinated manner of work for all sectors of our industry in homes and factories is to be found out we must realize sooner than later that ultimately cloth food, shelter etc should be left to be organized on small-scale decentralized manner through our village industries and accordingly a plan of reorganizing all sectors of industry in such a co-ordinated manner must be thought out to be completed during the course of a reasonable number of years It is upto the Federation to reorganize and plan their private sector in terms of such a general requirement of our people And it is upto the Planning Commission also to see that a clear picture of such a line of reorganization emerges as we proceed further in implementing the First Five Year Plan so that the second one that is expected to follow might proceed on this clear way of our economic regeneration

17-3-'53

THE WAY OF KARMAYOGA IN EDUCATION

[The following is taken from the Publishers Note to a new book, *The Educational Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi* by Dr M S Patel published by the Navajivan Karyalaya, Ahmedabad Price Rs 5-8-0, pp. XV + 283]

Though not a teacher by profession Gandhiji all his life had been a teacher of man, irrespective of class or creed caste or colour sex or race. It was from that larger aspect of his personality that he was required to touch all sides of man's life on earth — its progress and development Therefore he dealt with the problem of education and developed it not merely for the mural limits of a school but also for other and wider fields of various human activities His view of education, therefore, was to evolve the whole man in us, whom God has created in His own image. Hence education according to him encompassed the entire vista of man's life on earth, from conception to cremation if not before or beyond it Such a view of education was born of a philosophy that holds that education is indivisible, therefore it does not agree to compartmentalize man's life and its problems as individual apart from social, biological apart from ethical physiological apart from metaphysical or spiritual All these contradictory-looking aspects of our being dovetailed themselves in his view as one whole which man surely is and should undoubtedly be so considered, and his peculiar genius as the great teacher of men gave us also a similarly whole technique for the realization of such an entity

Very often Gandhiji described himself as one who had not really discovered any new thing but had only translated or re-defined the hoary truths for the modern age and has chiefly tried to apply them to the group-life of man in society These truths were well known as guiding our individual life but more often than not they were ignored or, if at all, observed only in their breach when it came to the questions of collective or group-life of the individual. So was it in the case of Satyagraha his greatest discovery as the moral equivalent of war A technique was devised by him whereby Truth and Non-violence were to be operative in group-life as well

This peculiarity of Gandhiji's genius is apparent in his educational discovery of Basic Education as well To put it in the terminology of the Gita he only showed us the way of Karmayoga in education The principle of life and creation, according to the Gita is tersely laid down in its following two verses

> From food springs all life from rain is born food from यज्ञ — sacrifice comes rain and sacrifice is the result of Karma — action
>
> Know that action springs from Brahma and Brahma from the imperishable hence the all pervading Brahma is ever firm founded on sacrifice" (Chap 3 — 14, 15)

From this principle the Gita derives the eternal law of life which is *yajna* and enjoins

the following law of man's education and advancement

> Together with यज्ञ —sacrifice did the Lord of beings create of old mankind declaring by this shall ye increase (evolve and progress) may this be to you the giver of all your desires
>
> With this may you cherish the gods and may the gods cherish you thus cherishing one another may you attain the highest good. (Chap 3—10 11)

Man achieves all his good by action It should therefore be productive of the goods that sustain life It has therefore to be a co-operative effort of mutual aid and respect for others And It is through such action which is sacrifice, that man educates and frees himself of bondage Thus is the law of man's education through life It is his real education for freedom Applied to a child's education, it says that the child also learns through doing and associating himself with action which is integrally related to the life of the society Such action, if divorced of life-needs will render its doer either a parasite or a pest to human society it will jeopardize the health of the community As the Gita says (Chap 3-12) it will land us in sin and bondage. It will thus mean mal-education for a child Thus only can education be for life or for a democratic society or for real freedom of all. That is the type of education for Sarvodaya. Gandhiji's view of education was thus a derivative from his general philosophy of life which was Karma Yoga The craft that is to be the medium of education was to be done intelligently and with the full understanding of its know-how Then only can it be Karma Yoga i e synthesis of action and knowledge It is such a synthetic method of teaching which Gandhiji said, was the true and natural way of a child's education It is therefore bound to be the best way also Shri Patel, in his book, has tried to describe this in terms of modern pedagogy and philosophy

MACHINE AND DEHUMANIZATION

[This is a further instalment of Rene Fulop Miller's speech the previous instalments of which appeared in the issues of 14-3 53 and 21-3-53 —Ed.]

Aside from the various scientific and philosophical factors which contributed to the trend of dehumanization, there is of course the development of real machines which played a decisive role Dehumanization would have never attained its present heights had it not been for a thorough industrialization of life

Originally the machine was invented to ease man's burden to increase man's goods, to give him more leisure to develop his higher faculties and to enrich his life But the undeniable blessings of the machine are balanced by equally undeniable curses The very nature of the machine demanded and achieved a change in the concept of man The machine induced an ever-increasing skill of specialization, and of necessity labour became more mechanized and impersonal. Mechanized production mutilated the working man, cancelled out his body, and conscripted only his hand Thus the harmonious interplay of forces in the whole man was reduced to a fragment of man's body.

In this way the machine, which was conceived as a willing slave of man, became a demanding master It is like an irony of fate that the machine which was to serve man also made man its servant Man's unique personality lost all significance, what counted was his use-value in industry

This depersonalization was of course not only confined to the factory worker who produced the goods, but also to the portion of the population that consumed the goods. Just as the worker so did the consumer become an impersonal factor in calculation. Consumers took on more and more the aspect of a mass abstractly considered divorced from individual taste and life. Production was geared to typical averages which were established statistically, that is, by reducing men to numbers

The same applies to other activities which are tailored to fit the depersonalized fiction called average man, whose specific human features are conscientiously blotted out and whose standards are lowered to sub-sea level This fiction of the average man is the target of political campaigns advertising campaigns charity drives TV and radio programmes, magazine serials and movie productions

And in all aspects of production, exchange and consumption there is obvious the dominion of capital which consists entirely of abstractions balances shares bonds and obligations, of capital which has no natural ties with the individual but is guided by rising and falling figures upon the stock exchange

Another trend that leads to dehumanization is the attempt to organize all facets of public life Instead of shaping institutions according to man's needs, man has to adjust his needs to the requirements of existing institutions. This accounts for the appalling lack of humaneness in many of our charity organizations

At the opening of our century the founder of Taylorism F W Taylor declared "Formerly personality came first, but in the future, organization and system will come first." His prediction came true. People have come to be so dependent on organizations that they have lost the capacity to organize their own thoughts and lives

The dehumanizing effect of mechanization is also reflected in our psychological response to the machine. Overwhelmed by the amazing productiveness of the machine, man has come to regard it no longer as a tool but as sort of a higher being a modern idol to be worshipped

Henry Adams realized clearly how entirely the machine had changed man's place in the

universe In his book *The Education of Henry Adams*, we read "To Adams the dynamo became a symbol of infinity As he grew accustomed to the great gallery of machines, he began to feel the forty-foot dynamos as a moral force, much as the early Christians felt the cross Before the end one began to pray to it"

And Gustave Courbet, the great French painter, reflected the same trend of thought when he said in one of his catalogues that machine shops, railway stations, mines and factories are really the saints and miracles of the nineteenth century

In view of this deification of the machine, man no longer tried to be the image of God but rather to make himself into an image of the new machine idol He thus began to apply mechanical laws to all his human activities

The attempt to interpret human feelings and actions through mechanized metaphors started in previous centuries, but it attained dazzling heights during the highly mechanized machine age

Every new technical discovery was applied to man For instance, when the steam engine was invented, man was immediately compared with a steam-engine which produces energy At the time of the first electro-magnetic telegraphs, it was evident that man's nerves and brain worked exactly like a telegraph The invention of the telephone caused Professor Ludwig Schleicht to prove scientifically that the brain is rather a telephone-switchboard, although, unfortunately, without a pleasant-voiced operator The installation of electric alarm system in Parisian banks moved the great French neurologist Charcot to describe the human mind as sort of an alarm system With the advent of the air-conditioning system it became clear that from a scientific point of view, you and I work somewhat along similar lines as an air-conditioning installation

When we analyse all the various forms of dehumanization, we realize that all grow from the common roots of abstractions Whether we deal with dehumanization in science philosophy, sociology, economics, politics or what have you, everywhere the mania to see everything in abstractions or generalities has made us lose sight of the unique individual

Kierkegaard realized the danger of abstractions when he wrote "Abstract thinkers left man in the lurch, sacrificing him to abstract ideas Abstract thinking abstracts from the concrete, and if this is the highest kind of thinking it follows that thinkers will walk proudly out of existence, leaving us with the worst burdens"

Unfortunately we happen to live in a time when abstractions have left the desks, studies and laboratories where they are hatched They have made their way into life, politics, and history The abstract word has become flesh, and the individual human being has suddenly become part of abstract principles Man is not judged on his face value but by the abstract category which he represents

In our lifetime parts of the world were reconstructed in accordance with abstractions Everything that did not fit into the abstract scheme had to be eradicated The conceptual guillotine of living man by abstraction necessarily led in the end to the actual slaughter of millions of precious lives in the name of some principle that demanded human sacrifice upon the altar of abstraction

I want to mention only a few examples of the devastating consequences of ideological abstractions Some of you have suffered the consequences personally, and all of us have witnessed or read about them with horror The abstract idea of the biological superiority of the Aryan race led to the brutal liquidation of millions of non-Aryans in Nazi Germany Sir Francis Galton's eugenetic abstraction which postulated a normal average man was seized and distorted by Nazi biologists, who in the name of "biological utilitarianism" did away with hundreds of thousands of allegedly subnormal or abnormal victims

Hegel's abstract ideas of the State led on the one hand to the deification of the State in Fascism and Nazism, and on the other hand to the omnipotence of the State in Soviet Russia Marx's, Pareto's and Sorel's abstract fiction of "creative violence" again resulted in the establishment to totalitarian rule which brought suffering and death to millions

SCIENTIFIC ATTITUDE IN MEDICINE

To

The Editor of *Harijan*

Sir,

What is the correct attitude which registered doctors taught at the Universities the European system of medicine should, for the public good, adopt towards medical practitioners of other systems of medicine, such as Nature Cure, Homoeopathy, Herbalism, Ayurveda, Unani etc? To this question an admirable and a true reply is given by Dr Josiah Oldfield, Mahatma Gandhi's friend who recently died in London at the ripe old age of 89 years Dr Oldfield says

> "I have lately come in contact with a very interesting life of a physician who lived in the time of the early Georges Dr David Hartley was a Yorkshire man and an original thinker In 1730 he was greatly interested in a popular stir which was raised at that time by the claims of Mrs Joanna Stephens. Stone was prevalent all through the time of Stuarts upto the time of Queen Victoria Mrs Stephens said she could cure stone New Dr Hartley instead of simply condemning her as a quack said to himself 'If this woman has any valuable knowledge whether discovered by accident or how it matters not, my duty as a doctor is to heal my patients and if Mrs Stephens can help me, gladly I will learn from her

[illegible] ch should imbue every physi[illegible] (Dr. Oldfield)

Such [illegible] would be the attitude of the orthodox [illegible] profession to any one who claims to h[illegible]de a discovery of the cure of a disease

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NOTES

Realizing God by Love

God is not a Power residing in the clouds God is an unseen Power residing within us and nearer to us than finger-nails to the flesh. There are many powers lying hidden within us and we discover them by constant struggle Even so may we find this Supreme Power if we make diligent search with the fixed determination to find Him One such way is the way of Ahimsa It is so very necessary because God is in every one of us and, therefore, we have to identify ourselves with every human being without exception This is called cohesion or attraction in scientific language In the popular language it is called love It binds us to one another and to God Ahimsa and love are one and the same thing

(From a private letter dated 1-6-'42) M. K. G

Ibn Saud's Revival of Prohibition

This interesting item is taken from *Time* of December 22 1952 :

' Two of nature's most potent liquids, oil and alcohol came hand in hand to the desert kingdom of Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud In the early days of his reign, his subjects were as dry as the sands they lived on for such is the law of the Koran Then the infidels came to tap the oil and brought with them the other liquid Soon the clink of glass against bottlenecks began to be heard in the new man-made oases of the Arabian desert.

The oil brought Ibn Saud riches but dearer to a Muslim heart than even riches are sons of whom the king has at least 35 In the homes and clubs of Westerners where women mingled unveiled amid the heady mixture of gin and vermouth, the young princes were always welcome guests For the king's younger son it was easy to forget the Koran's teachings in the face of such delights. Several untoward incidents occurred. In one the British Vice-Consul was shot dead by a prince

' Proud old King Ibn Saud was outraged He ordered the arrest of his son and offered the widow the privilege of prescribing his death in any way she saw fit. She declined the offer and accepted $70 000 in damages Then the king cut his son's sentence to a jail term. The fault had not been so much the prince's as that of the foreigners who had taught him to drink. Later on the King issued a totalitarian edict, *forbidding the importation of all intoxicating liquors into Saudi Arabia*

"' Hang it all' said a worried official of Arabian-American Oil Company A tough Oklahoma oil driller just is not going to be satisfied to work here for 6 days a week and have a bottle of Coca-Cola. But neither was a tough son of the desert, as rich as Croesus apt to be worried by such a situation when the welfare of his sons was at stake."

In India the welfare of 360 million children of the Father of the Nation is at stake When is the Congress Government in Delhi going to repay our debt to him by following in the footsteps of 'proud, old' Ibn Saud ?

V G D

PROHIBITION — A WORLD MOVEMENT

Bombay March 10

Prof W A. Scharffenberg, Executive Secretary, told Pressmen this afternoon that ' thinking men and women everywhere have appreciated the noble efforts of your Government in not only taking the offensive in the launching of a new movement for world peace but also in enunciating clear-cut policies on prohibition of liquor "

Addressing a Press Conference, Prof Scharffenberg said " India with her deep religious convictions, rich, cultural and philosophical background, idealistic yet realistic outlook, and a generally accepted position regarding the manufacture, distribution, importation, sale and consumption of alcoholic beverages, is in a strategic position to set an example of total abstinence and national prohibition for the entire world to follow The example of India may well set the pace for the entire world, for, such a move on the part of India will not only meet with the approval of all orthodox Hindus, but will also receive the support of the Muslim world, as well as the endorsement and moral support of those Christians who believe in the fundamental doctrines of Christianity "

Referring to the criticism that the enforcement of prohibition had affected to a great extent the income of the Government, Prof Scharffenberg said : " The liquor interests would have us believe that the Government could not get along or exist without the revenue collected from the liquor traffic Nothing is further from the truth. If the costs of arrests due to drunkenness, the costs of our courts, prisons, insane asylums, traffic accidents and crimes committed under the influence of liquor were computed, it would be found that the revenue collected from liquor would provide for only one-fourth of the actual cost " (*The Hindu*, Thursday, March 12, 1953)

[What a fine thing it would be if only our finance and excise ministers in the States and the Planning Commission realized the greatness and immensity of the noble task that the Constitution of India has entrusted to them by asking them to endeavour for Prohibition !

17-3-53 —M. P.]

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Editor : MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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PROHIBITION

(By Pyarelal)

So long as the State not only permits but provides [illegible] for the addict to satisfy his craving the reformer [illegible] chance of success. State prohibition is not [illegible] of this great temperance reform, but it is the [illegible] beginning of it.

I permit loss of this revenue as of no account whatso[illegible] Prohibition will remain a lost cry if the Congress [illegible] the cost in a matter of first class national [illegible]

— Gandhiji

The Bombay State Government is celebrating its third successful Total Prohibition Year this year. Bombay is the only State until now [illegible] which has introduced total prohibition throughout its jurisdiction.

It is amazing how any son of Mother India [illegible] raise his dissenting voice against a [illegible] which the greatest patriots of India [illegible] Naoroji to Mahatma Gandhi [illegible] themselves hoarse and for which [illegible] Indian sons and daughters risked imprisonment, lathi charges and worse. During [illegible] Gandhiji had some bitter things to [illegible] of us who did the very things which we used to deery under the British regime. The British rule went but the old modes of thought and the machinery of administration set up by our erstwhile rulers remained. No wonder the masses feel frustrated when they hear the old argument trotted out that drink revenue is needed to help the development of the country.

Anybody indulging in such casuistry would have been hounded out of public life when the freedom struggle was on. The sheer instinct of self-preservation had taught us then to distrust the jugglery of words. Reality was the touch-stone upon which every proposition was tested. But the people today feel orphaned in the absence of the Father of the Nation. I for one shall, however, live in the hope that they will before long come into their own. Honest enforcement of prohibition by the Central Government and the States will be an indication that we have definitely broken with the old tradition and begun to think in terms of the people.

But prohibition cannot be achieved by sentiment alone. It calls for an integrated, systematic, all-round endeavour. We must organize, and harness the co-operation of all sections of the public — particularly the students, women and children for the education and activation of public opinion. We must provide to the people still further opportunities for healthy recreation. We could set up People's Vigilance Committees to aid the law and organize prohibition parades and processions, even peaceful picketings, if necessary, to keep the prospective victims away from the fiery element. In this the Students' League and Women and Children's Prohibition Brigades should function as the spear-head. Scientific education into the evils of liquor — psychological, social and economic — should be integrated into the educational curricula in schools, colleges and universities. Graded lessons in what in old days used to be called 'temperance' should be incorporated in all text-books. Summary removal from the education department of any one indulging in the liquor habit — particularly the teaching staff in schools, colleges and universities — should be strictly enforced, if we are at all serious about our business and not bent on using 'Failure of Prohibition' as a dishonest excuse for giving up the attempt.

Thus tackled the prohibition programme can become a means of resuscitating the non-violence discipline and organization among the people, which our present day rulers seem to fight shy of, but which, I am sure, they will remain to bless when it is achieved. With that invincible weapon which the Father of the Nation armed India's masses with, tarnished — a weapon which nobody can foil or deprive them of — we shall then be able to achieve a solution of other pressing national problems also.

Valmiki Mandir,
New Delhi 27-3-'53

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CHANDIL SARVODAYA CONFERENCE

(By Suresh Ramabhai)

The constructive workers of the country met for their annual gathering under the auspices of the Sarvodaya Sammelan at Chandil in the Manbhum district of South-east Bihar on March 7 8 and 9 last some 21 miles from Jamshedpur and 74 miles from Ranchi, Chandil is a small town in the Chhota Nagpur plateau.

Only Hand-made Things

It is no easy task to set up a habitable colony for about two thousand persons in such a hilly and, as it were, forsaken locality as Chandil. But credit must be given to Shri Lakshmi Narain Babu, the doyen of Bihar constructive workers and his numerous colleagues for making the arrangements a success. No cots or *takhats* were laid. The bed simple straw called *pual* and the roofs of our tenements were made from straw. A chit of a stream from the adjoining hills had been temporarily dam had been built by the local people served for bathing and cleaning purposes. Food and flooding were either nature's own or hand made and hand grounded, mill products—sugar, vanaspati, wheat—being conspicuous by their absence. The ground of the pandal was the simplest one. Mats below and above and a small raised platform with a white Khadi sheet serving as dais. No flag, no pictures no paintings or drawings nothing else or glittering.

The conference sitting twice every day was presided over by Dhirendra Majumdar the well known president of the All India Spinners Association. It began at the morning with an half hour silent spinning and then after a few words of welcome by Babu the Sarvodaya exhibition was opened by the ever and indefatigable constructive worker of Bihar Gopabandhu Chaudhari, with a brief speech. The presidential address was briefer still. Dhirendrabhai (the president is lovingly called) drew the attention of the audience to the high hope of the Indian masses and the danger of the Death-mas. If the former was not fulfilled, and if the latter would swallow us all, and it was a menace, he concluded, to devise ways and means to fulfil that hope. Thereafter the report of work done during the last was submitted by Shri Shankarrao Deo, General Secretary of the Sarvodaya Samaj.

Dr Rajendra Prasad's Address

The audience included no less a distinguished visitor than the highest political dignitary of the country, Dr Rajendra Prasad. In a frank and touching address of 20 minutes he confessed that the expectations of the people were not realized at the advent of Swaraj expressed inability to say when they would be met at all. Those in office he continued had not yet to attain the desired objective. Surrounded by pomp they neither followed the cherished ideal believed it. Rajendra Babu declared that he personally believed more strongly than ever in the leftism of the Sarvodaya ideal, but felt lost and wayward and not set up to it. He was happy to see several old familiar faces but happier still to see new ones—a sign of life. He was sure that the society or *Satsangh* of the Sarvodaya people would profit him ever more.

Vinoba on Spirit behind Constructive Work

Next came the main speech of the session by Acharya Vinoba Bhave. A fitting title to his hundred minute address, perhaps the longest ever delivered by Vinobaji, may be, 'The spirit behind constructive work.' Paying a very heartfell tribute to the late Shri Kishorlal G. Mashruwala, he presented a lively and complete picture-cum-philosophy of constructive work—the objective the method and the programme. The objective was to generate an independent public force which ran counter to violent force and differed from legal force. As such he added, he told Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, when the latter saw him a few days ago, that he wanted the State to take upon itself the responsibility to teach [illegible] as it did to impart literacy.

Vinobaji [illegible] and objective could be achieved by following [illegible] method. Conversion or thought-action [illegible] and with decentralisation. For this he had a fourfold programme; (i) Organisation of constructive work institutions into one well knit body; (ii) Collection of five crores of acres of land in the Bhoodan Yajna by 1957 (iii) Sampatti-dan Yajna or wealth-donation and (iv) *Sentanjali* or Yarn-gift. The first sitting of the first day then came to a close.

Jai Prakash's Appeal

The second sitting went on from three to six in the evening the last half an hour being devoted to prayers. Workers from different parts of the country related their experience and pointed out the difficulties they met in their activities.

The last speech of the day was delivered by the renowned Socialist leader Shri Jai Prakash Narain. It was a pleasure to watch this revolutionary pleading for a non-violent technique. He confessed conversion. He appealed to all to come forward in Vinobaji's Bhoodan Yajna Movement and asked the students specially to abandon their schools and colleges for one year for the sake of Bhoodan.

The morning of the eighth also was taken by workers in general discussion. There were three notable speeches. Shri Arun Chandra Ghosh of Lok Sevak Sangh Manbhum, explaining why he or his comrades did not yet join the Bhoodan said that the Government of the day as also the Congress Party were trampling down the fundamental rights of the people in the district. Janab Mohammad Shafi of Kashmir described how they had tackled the land problem in Kashmir. Shri Kakasaheb Kalelkar President of the newly formed Backward Classes Commission of the Government of India, called upon the young men to come forward and help him in the work of ameliorating the lot of the down trodden and the oppressed without which there could be no Sarvodaya. Another remarkable feature was the outpourings of the hearts of the young girl workers in the Bhoodan Yajna Movement in the Gaya district of Bihar. Their touching account testified to the great efficacy and wonderful potentialities of Vinobaji's movement.

Jewellery-gift by Women

For about an hour in the cool morning attending the Sammelan met under the chairmanship of Shrimati Jamnalal Bajaj Vinobaji who was also present asked the women to do away with jewels. In fact many of them actually came forward to part with their ring or chain etc. and thus was initiated the Abhushan-dan (Jewellery-gift) Movement as well. Will our Annapoorna's—sisters please copy?

Kumarappa on Land Distribution

The afternoon session opened with a vibrating speech by Sant Tukdoji Maharaj the distinguished saint-singer of Maharashtra. He was quite confident that Vinobaji's movement would be implemented by the people and transform the shape of the country. Next came the far-famed J C Kumarappa. He stressed on a planned distribution of land not on individual but community basis. He exhorted the Sarvodaya workers to forget Vinobaji for the moment treat themselves as trustees of land and solve the great problem themselves. He fervently hoped that every one of them would become Vinobaji and not rest content till this land problem was satisfactorily solved.

It was followed by a resolution placed by the General Secretary on behalf of the Sarva Seva Sangh (the executive body of the Sarvodaya Samaj). This resolution not only reiterated the decision taken last year—to collect 25 lakh of acres of land by April 1954—but also resolved the establishment of an exploitation-free and equality-full society by the acquisition of five crores of acres before 1957 and appealed to the young men and women of the country to join this silent and solid revolution.

Attitude to Official Plans

The proceedings on the third and last day began, as usual with spinning. Then followed a speech of Vinobaji in which he placed his opinion about two main things:

[illegible] and political [illegible] organization to carry out the Bh[illegible] work. As regards the former he held that the [illegible] difference was in approach and outlook which [illegible] a host of other differences But he said, mere cri[illegible] was a waste of energy which should be utilized in constructive channels like Bhoodan Yajna etc Co-operation he added could be offered at good or useful points but one should not in any case get involved in it.

Vinobaji observed that democracy as in the West, was based on two parties and majority vote But in our country only the common voice of the *Panchas* was regarded as God's voice So all parties must work out the programmes on which they were unanimous and discuss the ones on which they differed

Vinoba's Call for Bhoodan

Tracing the origin and growth of the Bhoodan Yajna Movement from Hyderabad to Bihar Vinobaji remarked that work should be done both on extensive and intensive lines Bihar workers he said had fixed a target of 32 lakhs of acres and they were going to concentrate in Gaya Finally he called upon those present to abandon all what they did and join the Bhoodan Yajna earnestly for one year

This calm and stirring address was followed by a resolution for prohibition It appealed to State Governments not to slacken their efforts and sincerely go ahead in the great mission

Ideal of Gramo Raj

In the afternoon session the General Secretary placed another resolution embodying the ideal of the Sarvodaya Samaj It was village Swarajya or Grama Rajya implying true democracy and full-fledged development of the individual An essential condition for it, the resolution states, is to boycott mill manufactures

Need of Universal Decentralization

The President of the Conference Shri Dhirendhai, then gave his closing speech which was as enviably short as the opening one He was glad at the progress of the Conference and appealed to all to plunge into the Bhoodan Yajna campaign and those who had institutional responsibilities could do so by transferring their charge to youngsters as they did in 1930 Dhirendhai warned that a mere decentralization of land without introducing decentralization in the industrial production and other spheres, would take us to totalitarianism and, consequently to ruin.

Vinoba's Advice to Workers

Then followed the valedictory address of Vinobaji. He dwelt upon the shortcomings of the workers Firstly, he pleaded for tolerance and humanity Secondly he urged upon them to study and continue enhancing their knowledge thoughtfully together with work. Thirdly they must see things as a whole and not confine themselves to one solitary aspect Fourthly they must vitalize their daily prayer which was more like good behaviour rather than an act inspired by real faith. Finally he asked those who could devote whole time to Bhoodan Yajna work to give him or the provincial conveners their names.

The Conference came to a close with the prayers

The Chamali Sarvodaya Sammelan will be remembered for giving a definite and bold shape to the Bhoodan Yajna Movement—a movement which seeks to secure economic freedom and uphold the dignity of man and his labour It enjoins a responsibility upon the people in general and constructive workers in particular to contribute their mite in this speech-making campaign and prove true to themselves as also to the nation.

Allahabad 14-3 '53

TOWARDS NON-VIOLENT SOCIALISM
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WITHOUT COMMENT

An M P friend sent the following questions and their answers given by Government, which are reproduced below, without any comment as it is not necessary :

(Starred Q. No. 331 answered on 25-2-'53)

Shri Dabhi Will the Hon the Minister of Commerce and Industry be pleased to state the policy of Government regarding the purchase of Khadi for their cloth requirements ?

Shri T T Krishnamachari The policy of Government is to encourage the use of Khadi for Government purposes as far as this is feasible consistently, with the specialized needs of the different services and a reasonable degree of economy

Shri Dabhi May I know the value of the annual cloth requirements of the Central Government and the extent which these requirements are met from Khadi ?

Shri T T Krishnamachari I would like to have notice

Shri Dabhi May I know what prevents Government from meeting most of their cloth requirements from Khadi ?

Shri T T Krishnamachari If any reasons do operate, Sir, against the use of Khadi to the extent my Hon friend wants, the reasons have been stated in the answer to the question (Unstarred question No 506 answered on 11 3-'53)

Shri Damodaran Menon and Shri Kalappan

Will the Minister of Commerce and Industry be pleased to state how much Khadi, hand loom cloth and mill cloth separately were purchased by Government for its use during each of the years 1950, 1951, and 1952 ?

Shri T T Krishnamachari The information is given below

		Year	Value
1	**Khadi Cloth**		
		1950 51	Rs 96,000
		1951-52	Rs 67,000
		1952-53 *	Rs 27,000
2	**Hand-loom Cloth**		
		1950-51	Rs 6 83,000
		1951-52	Rs 12 95,000
		1952-53 *	Rs 4,76,000
3	**Mill Cloth**		
		1950-51	Rs 3,04,10 000
		1951-52	Rs 3,86 60 000
		1952-53 *	Rs 3,52,28,000

* Figures are upto 31-1 '53

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HARIJAN

April 4 1953

THE BHOODAN MOVEMENT

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

Shri Vasant Nargolkar, a worker in the Adivasi area of Thana District, sends a long article defining a question that agitates him regarding the Land-Gift Movement which he likes and loves to work for. I summarize it below in his own words:

> The Bhoodan Yajna Movement is unique because it is completely free from any trace of hatred and violence. This is all the more remarkable against the background of the Communists' efforts in India and their achievement in Russia and China in the matter of redistribution of land without compensation. In fact as Shri Vinoba is never tired of pointing out the movement aims at achieving something much higher than mere peaceful redistribution of land. He wants to appeal to the nobler instincts of not only the rich but also those who are usually classed as belonging to the middle class and the poor. He would induce them to give their mite as well in the sacrifice in the form of money if they are landless or in the form of voluntary free labour if they are also poor. For they too are in need though in a much smaller measure of the preaching which gently persuades them to give up notions of private property and personal gain to live for a larger ideal and to work for the sake of the community as a whole.
>
> The movement is undoubtedly grand in conception and without a parallel in history. If it succeeds India will have marched another step forward in the fulfilment of her mission of proving to the war-weary world the efficacy of non violent solutions of the many small and big problems which plague the world today.
>
> "It cannot however be denied that the success of the movement largely depends on the change of heart of the numerous big landlords who are expected to donate one-sixth of the entire land in their ownership. It has been the experience up till now that people are prepared to donate land to eminent Gandhians like Vinobaji and Shri Shankarraoji to a few leading constructive workers and to well known political leaders like Shri Jayaprakashji. Hundreds of other constructive workers however have nothing better to do than make personal appeals to the landlords to make some contributions to the *yajna* in view of the leaders visit to some particular town or village as their word and presence carry conviction with landowners and turn sceptics into willing donors.
>
> The next who share the honours of the day on such occasions are naturally the landlords who of their own accord or under moral pressure from local workers perform the ennobling act of renunciation of a part or the whole of their landed property. Their names are announced with great eclat. In exchange for the material loss they gain what is spiritually more valuable — the respect of their neighbours. None would grudge them the honour for it must be remembered that they have succeeded in overcoming the possessive instinct to some measure not under the threat of law nor of physical violence but under moral persuasion only. The whole atmosphere at the Bhoodan meetings is certainly elevating and evokes the noblest sentiments in all who gather there.
>
> "But one feels that still something is lacking which results in the lop-sidedness of the movement. And in my [illegible] The donee or the landless cultivator [illegible] the picture except as a passive receiver of [illegible] it comes to be distributed. There is no [illegible] present procedure for the active part [illegible] landless labourer. He is merely one [illegible] spectators and admirers.
>
> He [illegible] lop-sidedness of the Bhoodan Yajna [illegible] make it more dynamic it is, therefore [illegible] the ways and means to fully as[illegible] the landless labourers with it [illegible] will ease their stakes in the [illegible] movement.

Shri Nargolkar has put two or three main questions which I fear might be shared by many others as well. For example many feel sceptically enough whether the change of heart on which depends the success of the movement will be enough and [illegible] forthcoming or whether a sanction of the nature of a compelling law or a violent revolution will be necessary or not. Now obviously this is a matter of faith and the Bhoodan Movement is based on building faith in the sure success of an appeal to the human heart which always responds if there is enough non-violence mobilized behind it. And just as success in a violent battle depends upon the abilities of its general, so also in some measure it is true in a non violent action also that its success depends on its leaders. Therefore it is no drawback of the movement that people respond only to persons like Shri Vinoba Shankarrao J. P. Narain and such others. What is rather obvious and necessary is that such people should come forth and carry a whirlwind campaign and also that they should be aided at the base by an equally necessary army of hundreds of workers spread over the whole country. For they also serve. Shri Nargolkar is wrong where he magnifies the importance of the former and minimizes that of the latter. Both are equally important in their respective functions.

What about the landless? How do they — how should they function? This is another and the main question of Shri Nargolkar. If Bhoodan Movement is mere giving and receiving surely the landless would function as a dumb recipient and naturally he cannot be anything else. But the movement is not merely that as has been repeatedly told by Shri Vinoba. Giving land is only a part of it. one may grant its important part. However it is as much a part as receiving. Both are to be in the spirit of *yajna* and as items of a magnificent picture of a new society to be brought about. The giving is not to be in a patronizing or obliging manner. nor is receiving expected to be any way an obliging gift. Both these acts are aimed to be component parts of a process of readjustment of our land problem and to restore social justice and dignity of labour in our body politic. If at all, the landowner by giving away his land only makes a प्रायश्चित्त — makes atonement for his past sins of omissions and commissions. That is for his own good as well. Surely the landless can have no function in this atonement — प्रायश्चित्त. But he also had had his own

share of commissions and omissions for which self-purification is necessary Surely the landless has to make himself ready to receive and benefit by and serve society through the land-gift The Bhoodan has a message for him as well, and it is that he too should rise and be ready to become an intelligent and co-operating partner in the decentralized and self-reliant agro industrial economy that the movement aims to bring about In India In it is contained in a nutshell a whole programme of social work and education to which the landless are called by this movement It is a vast programme both for the landless as also for those that work among them as well as the landowners Like Khadi during the days of our fight for independence the Bhoodan has become an emblem of, and a slogan for, the establishment of a just and non-violent social order in India based on the dignity of labour which is really the emblem of universal *yajna* that sustains creation I invite Shri Nargolkar to evaluate the Bhoodan Movement in this larger perspective wherein all are called and all can have full measure of "opportunity for self-expression and development of personality" for the larger good of us all

18-3-'53

ROOTS OF SOCIAL CONFLICT

[The following is reproduced from the speech of Dr Rajendra Prasad President of India, at the Gandhian Seminar in New Delhi on the 17th January, 1953]

Gandhiji was not a philosopher or a thinker in the sense that he had studied and thought out a philosophy of life and chalked out a programme of action which he left to others to study and to implement. He had some fundamental principles to which he stuck in his life but with regard to the rest he took up the work that came to him found solutions for problems that presented themselves to him and in that way without defining and putting down on paper, as in a text-book, his entire conception of life and society he dealt with particular individual questions and covered almost the whole of life, particularly in this country There was no department of life in India which he did not touch which he did not influence and in which he did not make his own contribution and in that way he evolved a complete picture of society arising not from a study arising not from abstract thought but arising out of practical experience of every-day problems finding their solutions meeting their difficulties and getting others to see his point of view and accept them

* * *

Gandhiji had a picture of his own for society because he felt that non-violence could not be established and violence could not be abjured unless the causes which lead to violence which make non-violence difficult of application are removed We know that all conflicts of this world arise because of conflicting desires of individuals and these desires relate to something material something [illegible] which the [illegible] be made [illegible] Paradoxical [illegible] moval of the poverty [illegible] de as o[illegible] fundamental planks [illegible] prom[illegible] but at the same time [illegible] I can [illegible] was never enamoured [illegible] fined [illegible] unlimited rise in the [illegible] pending upon external [illegible] While he [illegible] that we should have our [illegible] no one should be troubled by want of [illegible] tials he also felt that no one was [illegible] any rate no one should desire to [illegible] the essentials These essentials [illegible] determined by the individual himself [illegible] other considerations One of these [illegible] must be that what is essential to [illegible] essential for others also and the [illegible] could be capable of being shared by all [illegible] so long as that was not possible I had no right to regard it as an essential for myself In other words he insisted upon a limitation on our physical and material needs Again in a society which is based primarily on a desire to extend and expand these needs, he felt you could not avoid violence and therefore you have to go back to a stage when you have to limit your requirements and when you have to set a limit not only upon what you want for yourself, but upon what you want for others because it is this want which is at the basis of all conflicts and has in it the seeds of violence Therefore it was that he wanted a society in which the principal factor would not be the multiplication of wants or the means of supplying these wants in the quickest manner possible but a society which will ensure to all what is absolutely necessary and at the same time not creating the conditions which cannot but end in competition and ultimately end in violence Whenever we think of conflict we have to consider the various aspects which create conflict I have mentioned one There are various other things which create conflict We have got differences of opinion may be with regard to religion, may be with regard to our ideas of society may be with regard to the individual's rights and duties and Gandhiji wanted that we must remove from the society the causes which lead to these conflicts also By limiting our physical and material requirements we would be removing one such cause We would be removing the other causes by recognizing the rights of others to have similar rights and our own duty towards others to allow them to have and enjoy those rights This could be done only by non-violence In a society if some people want to force their own opinions upon others be those religious opinions be those opinions relating to politics relating to any other department of human life and thought we cannot avoid that conflict and there must be violence It is only when complete freedom of thought is assured to everybody that conflict can

be avoided But this [illegible] only when it is recognized and emphasized [illegible] duty rather than as a right to have your own opinion. These are some of the aspects of society, which we envisaged for us and which we should have at any rate in this country

USE LABOUR AS CAPITAL

[The following is from an article in *The Economic Weekly* of January 26 1953 But for an irrational bias against Khadi and other cottage industries we would easily realize that the quickest available way to tackle our colossal unemployment and under-employment is to take resort to Khadi and such other cottage industries, which will not only directly put more purchasing power in the hands of those who badly need it but will also not entail our economy into the vexed questions of distribution, as village industries goods will sell away not through centralized stores or in a highly collectivist way The following article from *The Economic Weekly* tries to bring out these potentialities of our village-industries and suggests that a plan based on labour as capital is possible and more practical and advisable than one based on capital which is growing scarce and difficult and cannot be worked without creating a capitalist or bureaucratic order in some manner

18-3-53 —M P I

Mahatma Gandhi pointed out a truism many years ago which has recently been repeated by Mrs Joan Robinson. Gandhi mentioned that if we spend a rupee on goods manufactured in large industrial undertakings most of the money received goes to Capital whereas if we spend it on hand-made goods, it goes to Labour Moreover, in India the agriculturist is idle for about eight months in the year The supreme need of all planning therefore is to utilize two-thirds of the time of 249 millions of people (our agricultural population in 1951) or, in other words, to give employment to about 165 millions In the U K. the industrial proletariat numbers about a fifteenth of this and even in the U S A. it is about a quarter The U S A. produces *inter alia* 600 million tons of coal and 100 million tons of steel a year Till we have raised our production to four times these figures, we cannot hope to absorb our surplus labour in industry, working on modern labour-saving machinery According to the estimate made by the Commission, the additional employment provided in the country, which will arise after five years when the industrial and other undertakings contemplated in the Plan are fully established would be as follows

		Additional employment (annual, in lakhs)
1	Industry, including small-scale industries	4
2	Major irrigation and power projects	7½
3	Agriculture Due to additional area irrigated	1¼
	Due to repairs to tanks	1½
	Due to land reclamation schemes	7½
4	Building and construction	1
5	Road	2
6	Cottage industries	20 plus 36 (part time)
7	Tertiary sector and local works	Not estimated

All this adds up to say 5½ millions fully and 3½ partly employed To make even a dent in the net unemployment of say 165 millions would thus require not Rs 2,069 crores but about thirty times that sum

It is a corollary to the truism mentioned above that an underpopulated country, rich in material resources should try to economize Labour while an overpopulated and poor community, must economize Capital but use Labour with a lavish hand While therefore, the Plan can be regarded as an interesting intellectual exercise or even as a gaudy and tinsel toy, it should be clearly understood it will solve no problems for us The solution lies along less attractive plans of Gandhian economics, viz cottage industries The economy of cottage industries is hard to understand Such products are presumed to be very expensive and to require special protection to combat against mill-made *products* but once it is realized they are merely by-products of the peasant's spare time when he would otherwise be earning nothing so that labour can be valued very little, the difficulty would it is imagined disappear Naturally this will not be an attractive philosophy to the peasant who has got used to a schedule of four months' work and eight months' holiday (he values leisure much more highly than food) and only a very sustained propaganda effort, firmer and more intensive than has ever yet been attempted towards a reorientation of this outlook, can induce any change in the situation

Apart from village industries, agricultural production should also be raised Till major irrigation and fertilizer projects are completed, more homely methods should be tried Thus there is considerable doubt as to final utility of chemical fertilization, while canal irrigation, it is said, leads to gradual salination of land. In our country all human excreta is allowed to run to waste due to ancient superstitions and prejudices If this was fully utilized the necessity of erection of numerous fertilizer plants might be almost eliminated and the resultant increase in agricultural production be perhaps greater and more secure In the same manner *kachha* wells in the areas where the water level is not very deep could be an immediate solution to the problem of irrigation, while improved cropping practices, e g, the Japanese method of rice cultivation of which we hear so much of late, could also improve the yields.

CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME
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CHANDIL SARVODAYA SAMMELAN

(Resolutions passed by the Sarva Seva Sangh at its sittings held at Chandil on the occasion of the Fifth Sarvodaya Sammelan.)

1. Bhoodan Yajna

Last year, at Sevapuri, the Sarva Seva Sangh pledged its support to the Bhoodan Movement and decided to collect 25 lakhs of acres of land within 2 years. One year is now over and we have only been able to collect 7 to 8 lakh acres of land. Still, when we remember how deep man's attachment to land is and how little faith the people and the majority of workers had in the beginning, we will have to admit that securing 7 to 8 lakh acres of land is indeed a surprising achievement.

We are glad that not only big landowners but also a good number of small landowners and poor peasant-proprietors have donated land in this *yajna*. This has strengthened our faith. We congratulate them, and are grateful for the response we have received from them. They have purified themselves and have helped in creating an atmosphere conducive to the purity and enrichment of our society.

Various institutions and workers and many from among the people, have extended their co-operation to us even in the face of difficulties. The Sarva Seva Sangh is grateful to them for this co-operation.

Today we pledge ourselves anew to this great task. We have to collect 17 to 18 lakh acres of land in the next 12 months. For this it is necessary for us to carry on our work with greater devotion and concentration during the coming year. We have to remember too that the objective of the Bhoodan Yajna is not merely to collect 25 lakh acres of land but to prepare the background for a non-violent revolution and to lay the corner-stone of the structure of a Sarvodaya society. A special responsibility, therefore, devolves on all those who believe in the Sarvodaya philosophy, and more especially, on institutions and workers carrying on constructive work. For their object is to strive for the establishment of a Sarvodaya society, and it is evident that this object of theirs cannot be fulfilled without integrating their programmes with the effort to bring about a peaceful transformation of our society. The Bhoodan Movement is such a dynamic movement for a non-violent revolution on the basis of which and in integration with which alone can the constructive work institutions progress towards the fulfilment of their objectives. We therefore hope that these institutions and workers will give first place to the Bhoodan Yajna in their programmes of work, and see that they not only collect 25 lakh acres of land in the coming 12 months but create the atmosphere necessary for the establishment of a non-exploitative and equal Karian society by collecting 5 crores of acres of land by 1957.

We also appeal to all political and social workers to forget all their differences and to co-operate in the great work of this *yajna*.

Our youths are today anxious for a revolution. They must realise that the revolution is already in their midst, and that what has to be done today is to ensure the success of this great revolution, by cutting aside all other work and placing their services at the disposal of the Sarva Seva Sangh. Such dedication on the part of the youths of our country can certainly strengthen the revolution and make it take firm roots in the soil.

In conclusion we appeal to landowners especially to big landowners to realize that this *yajna* will be beneficial to them too, since Sarvodaya which this *yajna* wants to usher in, means the wellbeing of all. We appeal to them therefore, to work in every possible way to ensure the success of this movement. Up to now, only Vinobaji and his co-workers have been going from village to village and house to house asking for land gifts. But the time has now come for landowners to come forward voluntarily and to donate land for the new society we seek to build up. This can only be built up by those who have undergone a change of heart and realized the greatness of the ideals that prompt this *yajna*.

Many want the work of redistribution of land to be completed through legislation. The Bhoodan Yajna does not stand in the way of legislation, but creates an atmosphere favourable to legislation. Still we believe that the power that the people will acquire if we accomplish this task through a genuine change of heart will be the real basis of a Sarvodaya society.

We hope that all those who have received the message of the Bhoodan Yajna and realized the supreme and inescapable duty of our times will come forward, take part in this *yajna* and co-operate in the fulfilment of our pledge without waiting for any one to go to them and appeal for land.

2. Grama-Udyog

It is our firm conviction that Sarvodaya Samaj can only be brought into being through the establishment of *Grama Rajya*. In order to attain this ideal every village must develop the capacity to be self-sufficient at least with regard to the primary necessities of life, viz. food, clothing, shelter, health and education so that it may not have to depend on centralized production for the satisfaction of these primary needs. This will enable the people of the villages to establish *Grama Rajya* by their own unaided efforts through the decentralization of political as well as economic power. In the opinion of the Sangh unless power and wealth are decentralized the individual will not have the opportunity for the harmonious development of his personality through labour rather than by capital.

Therefore with a view to give a countrywide impetus to the development of decentralized industries or in other words village industries the Sarva Seva Sangh had in its Sevapuri resolution, appealed to the nation to begin with the boycott of such centralized industries as have been found to prove detrimental to the self-sufficiency of the villages in regard to food and clothing. The Sangh again calls the attention of the people to that resolution with all the earnestness at its command and earnestly hopes that the whole country will make a determined effort to make the programme the success for the fulfilment of the Bhoodan Yajna.

3. Prohibition

Prohibition has been an important part of our national movement. Under the leadership of Gandhiji, there was always insistence on prohibition so much so that even when all the other programmes of the Civil Disobedience Movement were withdrawn after the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, the right of peacefully picketing liquor shops was insisted upon. It was, therefore hoped that with the attainment of Swaraj the drink evil will be rooted out from the country. Even the Constitution of free India has accepted this as a duty of the Government. This insistence on prohibition has been due to the fact that alcoholism not only lowers the moral and ethical standards of the people but also destroys the lives of the poor and brings about their total ruin. The Sarva Seva Sangh therefore congratulates the Madras and Bombay Governments for the courage and idealism they have shown in legislating for prohibition.

But of late the wellbeing of the poor and the moral standards of the nation are being judged from the point of view of the revenues of the State, and the Central Government seems almost to have made 'Go slow' a religious aphorism for the guidance of the State Governments. Central Ministers have even gone to the extent of implying that State Governments which have proceeded with legislation on prohibition have exhibited a kind of short sightedness. The Sarva Seva Sangh rejects this point of view as it is sure that an instruction to 'Go slow' in this respect can only mean an invitation to 'fall fast'.

The Sarva Seva Sangh also believes that the responsibility for eradicating alcoholism should not rest entirely with the Government and that social and political workers should also take up the responsibility for creating an atmosphere favourable to prohibition.

SERVICE OF FELLOWMEN

(By Gandhiji)

Man's ultimate aim is the realization of [illegible] all his activities, social political reli[illegible] have to be guided by the ultimate aim of [illegible] of God The immediate service of all hu[illegible] becomes a necessary part of the ende[illegible] simply because the only way to find God [illegible] see Him in His creation and be one with [illegible] can only be done by service of all I am [illegible] parcel of the whole and I cannot find Him [illegible] from the rest of humanity My [illegible] my nearest neighbours They have [illegible] helpless so resourceless so inert that I [illegible] concentrate myself on serving them If I could persuade myself that I should find Him in a Himalayan cave I would proceed there immediately But I know that I cannot find Him apart from humanity

Harijan 29-3-36

THE LORD OF THE AGE

(By a Rebel)

There's a master whose name is GREED,
Whose rights the world does flood,
He claims the right his slaves to feed
Or starve or murder in cold blood
Says he I do great wealth procure,
My rights are all divine.
Well protected I am secure
Forever Yes the world is mine

' Civilization is the stool
Upon which I can rest
Proud dignified , I am no fool.
Priests declare I am forever blest

' Even statesmen praise and admire
My glory and my fame
Preachers and teachers I can hire
To play the camouflaging game

" My colleagues are the billionaires,
Then wives sons and daughters,
Also the Multi Millionaires
Who promote gigantic slaughters

' My hirelings do faithfully heed
My call because they know
They can continually feed
And drink from GRAFT'S perpetual flow

" My slaves I love their ignorance
And their childish notions !
How easy it is to enhance
Their patriotic devotions !
I'm poisoning their happiness
UNITING efforts quell
And stir their inwrought selfishness
Which leads them swiftly toward hell

Throughout every generation
Slaves silently atone —
I laugh at their degradation
While I am placed upon the throne "

(From the *Industrial Worker*, Jan 16, 1953)

NOTES

Preventive Medicine

Major Gen Sokhey deplores that [illegible] to the Five Year Plan, it will take a cent[illegible] before we can expect to turn out 290 000 do[illegible] (at the rate of one doctor for 1 000 populati[illegible] in U R) and praises socialized medicine [illegible] in Russia as what should be our guiding star

But he neglects the fact that malnutrition multiplies sick people which then requires a large medical service — ever increasing number of doctors nurses and medicine and hospitals

The proverb says The more doctors the more diseases

The solution is *preventive* medicine which means adequate nourishment for all and hygienic conditions for living That is however an economic matter — economic adjustment question We must create economic conditions for it Russia is giving less nourishment and more inadequately trained doctors (even without medicine)

M P T ACHARYA

"Devoid of Mother Wit"

The Editor *Harijan*

The Chief Minister of Bombay richly deserves congratulations on his courage of conviction and on his much-delayed action against the paper that suffers from prohibition phobia and delights in holding to ridicule in season and out of season, the Bombay Ministry and its prohibition policy which is an unmixed blessing to the poor misguided people

The action taken by the Chief Minister who is wedded to thoughtful moderation seems to be very mild in comparison to the magnitude of evil brought by subtly opposing the prohibition policy which has been one of the main planks in the Congress programme How can one be so devoid of mother wit as to hold to ridicule a certain government and in the same breath expect it to supply funds for carrying on one's work which is calculated to create hatred for the government and spell ruin to the poor misguided millions ?

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A Warning and a Pointer

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

VOL. XVII No 6 AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, APRIL 11, 1953 TWO ANNAS

PRIME MINISTER'S DECLARATION

[The following declaration of policy by the Prime Minister Shri Jawaharlal Nehru contained in his message to Bombay State on the occasion of the celebration of its Prohibition Week from April 5 to April 12, will be endorsed as a landmark in the implementation of our National Prohibition policy. It lays down that whatever step it has to be a step forward and the direction will remain the same. States that may still be hesitating or wavering have in this new clear directive from the Centre if at all it was needed. Bombay State may well congratulate itself for winning the credit of securing such a clear statement of this national policy from the Prime Minister of India.

6-4-53 — M. P.]

For a long time past prohibition occupied an important place in our national programme. When the Constitution of India was drafted and passed, the policy of prohibition was mentioned as one of the guiding principles of our policy. Some of our States have given effect to it fully, some partly and some have proceeded more slowly.

Conditions differ from place to place and those responsible for the governance of each State have to decide on what steps to take and when to give effect to this national policy. Naturally all these steps should be carefully thought out so that each step should be firmly taken and any untoward consequences avoided. But it should be remembered always that we have to go in a certain direction as laid down in our Constitution.

There has been a good deal of controversy over this issue, more especially because of financial difficulties. Financial considerations have to be borne in mind. But if, from a social point of view, a particular reform is considered desirable, then financial considerations have a secondary place. We may well consider the best method and the most suitable steps to bring about that reform but the direction should remain the same.

The major consideration should always be the good of the masses of our people. I have little doubt that the masses of our people profit both in the short run and in the long run by a policy of prohibition.

I send my good wishes, therefore, on the occasion of Bombay State observing a Prohibition Week.

EQUAL DISTRIBUTION

(By Gandhiji)

The real implication of equal distribution is that each man shall have the wherewithal to supply all his natural wants and no more. For example, if one man has a weak digestion and requires only a quarter of a pound of flour for his bread and another needs a pound, both should be in a position to satisfy their wants. To bring this ideal into being the entire social order has got to be reconstructed. A society based on non-violence cannot nurture any other ideal. We may not perhaps be able to realize the goal, but we must bear it in mind and work unceasingly to near it. To the same extent as we progress towards our goal we shall find contentment and happiness, and to that extent too, shall we have contributed towards the bringing into being of a non violent society.

Now let us consider how equal distribution can be brought about through non-violence. The first step towards it is for him who has made this ideal part of his being to bring about the necessary changes in his personal life. He would reduce his wants to a minimum bearing in mind the poverty of India. His earnings would be free of dishonesty. The desire for speculation would be renounced. His habitation would be in keeping with his new mode of life. There would be self-restraint exercised in every sphere of life. When he has done all that is possible in his own life, then only will he be in a position to preach this ideal among his associates and neighbours.

Indeed at the root of this doctrine of equal distribution must lie that of the trusteeship of the wealthy for superfluous wealth possessed by them. For according to the doctrine they may not possess a rupee more than their neighbours. How is this to be brought about? Non-violently? Or should the wealthy be dispossessed of their possessions? To do this we would naturally have to resort to violence. This violent action cannot benefit society. Society will be the poorer, for it will lose the gifts of a man who knows how to accumulate wealth. Therefore the non-violent way is evidently superior. The rich man will be left in possession of his wealth, of which he will

use what he reasonably requires for his personal needs and will act as a trustee for the remainder to be used for the society In this argument, honesty on the part of the trustee is assumed

If however, in spite of the utmost effort, the rich do not become guardians of the poor in the true sense of the term and the latter are more and more crushed and die of hunger what is to be done ? In trying to find the solution to this riddle I have lighted on non violent non-co-operation and civil disobedience as the right and infallible means. The rich cannot accumulate wealth without the co-operation of the poor in society If this knowledge were to penetrate to and spread amongst the poor they would become strong and would learn how to free themselves by means of non-violence from the crushing inequalities which have brought them to the verge of starvation.

Harijan, 25-8-40

B.C G AND TUBERCULOSIS

[Shri S R. Mistri, Bombay, sends me a leaflet issued by the British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection, London, on the subject with a request to publish it in the *Harijan* At a time when Governments in India today are rushing in for B C G where doctors are divided, it is good to see the other side of the matter depicted in the leaflet reproduced below At least it will amply show that B C G vaccination should be voluntary and Governments need not be propagandists of B C G at public cost.

3-3-'53 —M P]

Vaccination against tuberculosis is now very much in the news The vaccine used is known as ' B C. G "—Bacillus-Calmette-Guerin, Calmette and Guerin being the joint inventors It had not long been in use before it was responsible for two grave calamities at Lubeca in Germany out of 263 children vaccinated 178 were made ill and over 70 died (the number has been variously given between 73 and 75) while at a Madrid children's home, 333 were made ill and 164 died.

These two tragic happenings naturally put the vaccine in bad odour and for some time stopped it from being used extensively However even tragedies on this scale are forgotten fairly quickly and B C. G gradually came into favour in certain countries, notably Scandinavia, France and the U S A. Conditions resulting from the Second World War vastly increased the number of cases of tuberculosis in many parts of the world, and even in Britain the death rate which had been steadily falling for decades, suddenly began to rise again. This state of affairs gave the B. C. G propagandists their chance, and the once discredited vaccine is now being used on an enormous scale Despite differences of opinion among experts in this country, it has now been introduced into Britain though for the time being only on a limited scale the groups it is intended to vaccinate being those who are regarded as particularly exposed to infection. No doubt every effort will be made, later on, to bring B C. G into general use, as in the case of immunisation against diphtheria.

In Britain, the wartime increase in deaths from tuberculosis applies only to the years 1940 and 1941 After that, the downward trend was resumed, and will probably continue. No doubt an attempt will be made, at some time in the future [illegible] decline in mortality is due to the introduction of B C G vaccination.

What is B C.G ?

Some inoculation substances consist of dead bacteria or their toxins B C G contains *living* tubercle bacilli, though in an attenuated (weakened) form. They are weakened by means of repeated culture on a certain medium usually glycerine-bile-potato. Each injection contains millions of these bacilli. Many different vaccines have been tried (babies children and lunatics as well as animals, have been used in testing them), both with dead and living bacteria, and research is going on all the time but for the present, B C G holds undisputed sway and all the B C G cultures in the world originate from the Paris strain at the Pasteur Institute This was originally a virulent bovine strain — that is from cattle. B C. G vaccine was first tried on infants in 1922, and it was soon taken up on a considerable scale in France mainly because of Calmette's enthusiasm. For some years the vaccine was administered by mouth, but it is now usually injected. B C G like all other similar products, makes high profits for commercial manufactures.

Dangers of B C.G.

It was claimed that the Lubeck and Madrid tragedies occurred through the contamination of the vaccine with virulent organisms from outside but whether this was so or not there is always the possibility of the so-called non virulent bacilli in B C G becoming virulent again. Professor Much at the trial of the Lubeck doctors, stated with emphasis that weakened tubercule bacilli can always become virulent again This has in fact happened when they have been cultured on certain media. It is known that the characteristics of a bacterium depend very largely on its environment. B C. G is supposed to be sufficient virulent to in rease the human subject s resistance to tuberculosis but not virulent enough to cause an attack of the disease This balance Calmette claimed to have achieved after 230 sub-cultures, and he also made the large claim that its characteristics were then fixed, that is to say that all subsequent cultures would hold the same delicate balance — a most improbable theory. In fact, Petroff cultured a Paris strain of B C G on gentian-violet-egg, and produced a virulent type of bacillus, which fact made Calmette angrily indignant. He insisted that, in this and other similar cases the culture had been infected from outside—a most unlikely happening in view of the precautions taken.

Guinea pigs have been used on an enormous scale in tuberculosis research because they are highly susceptible to the disease In many experiments it was found that guinea pigs inoculated with B C. G developed tuberculosis in varying degrees of severity Ligniere reported in 1928 that he had produced progressive tuberculosis in rabbits by injecting them with B C. G. It has been claimed that this has not happened in recent years, but the vaccine was fixed' once and for all in 1924 and its virulence is not supposed to vary The rabbits and guinea pigs had not changed so what had ? The answer may be that the experimenters are now so concerned to back B C G that they interpret their experiments differently.

It seems there is always a possibility of B C. G. giving instead of preventing tuberculosis and it is known that it may 'light up ' (reawaken) dormant tuberculosis. If the injection results in giving the disease, the supporters of the vaccine have an ingenious excuse. They assert that the injection does not always succeed in conferring immunity If, therefore, a vaccinated person develops the disease he is regarded as a case of unsuccessful vaccination who has caught the infection from an outside source

Dr G S. Wilson, M D F R. C. P., D P H—writing in the *British Medical Journal* of 29th November, 1947, said:

(1) B C. G is a live vaccine and should be used within a week of its preparation. This means that

very great care has to be taken in its preparation to avoid contaminants, and in its distribution to make sure that a high proportion of the organisms are alive at the time of injection (2) The virulence of B C G is not fixed. If it is too virulent harmful reaction may occur in those who are injected if it is not sufficiently virulent the degree of protection it affords will be reduced. (3) The injection has to be made intracutaneously with considerable care If the vaccine is injected too deeply serious ulceration may occur at the site of injection in a high proportion of subjects and persist for weeks or months sometimes accompanied by suppuration of the regional lymphatic nodes. Even if the injection is made strictly into the superficial layers of the skin a small local ulcer may *normally* (our italics) be expected to develop (Holm 1948) '

An article in *Le Concours Medical* of 1st May 1948, which was one of a long series on the subject, referred to "— . the many cases of suppurating adenitis or the severe local reactions which have been reported by authentic supporters of B C G and which are enough to give the lie to the perfect harmlessness' of this vaccine"

Causes of Tuberculosis

A century of investigation has shown clearly that, whatever germ may be associated with the disease its real causes are mal-nutrition and bad environment. The death rate from tuberculosis was reduced enormously in Britain by improvements in the conditions of living and this is, in fact the only scientific way to tackle the disease The widespread use of B C C may do infinite harm by diverting attention from the factors that really matter

Effectiveness of B C G.

The nature of tuberculosis and the many and complex factors involved, make it almost impossible to determine whether in fact B C G does confer some degree of protection from the disease Some investigations have been made in which numbers of vaccinated and unvaccinated persons, living under fairly similar conditions have been concerned. In most of these it is claimed that the results prove the efficacy of vaccination, but in others there was no difference in the incidence of the disease between the vaccinated and the unvaccinated. The highest claims refer to a "control" experiment made in respect of Indian children in the Qu'Appelle Indian Health Unit during the period October 1933 to December, 1945 These claims were torn to shreds in a letter in *The Lancet* of 15th October, 1949, which showed that the statistical evidence which purported to prove the efficacy of B C G were totally unreliable. The writer referring to the figures given said 'The critical reader must inevitably and wholly reject the claims made for them."

In those favourable to vaccination it was significant that the *general* death-rate as well as the tuberculosis death rate was higher in the unvaccinated.

As the vaccination cannot have prevented other diseases factors must have been at work that invalidate the conclusions drawn.

Experiments on Animals

The following species of animals have been experimented upon in connection with B C G vaccination dogs, monkeys, sheep cattle goats, pigs rabbits, guinea-pigs, mice The routine tests of samples of each batch of vaccine are done on guinea pigs These tests are useless as a safeguard, as the vaccine has always been used *before* the tests are completed. The vaccine has to be used quickly—some experts say within a week. Thus if a batch turns out to be virulent, the fact would not be known until too late

Summary

B.C.G vaccination is potentially dangerous, and there is no convincing evidence that it gives protection against tuberculosis. Its widespread use will give a false sense of security and make it less likely that the conditions that cause tuberculosis will be dealt with.

BHOODAN MOVEMENT AND FRAGMENTATION

(By U Keshava Rao)

Some doubts are being raised as to what is the safeguard after giving lands to the landless, against (a) fragmentation by inheritance (b) sale in parts or whole to others which would defeat the purpose of the movement.

The fragmentation of donated lands by way of inheritance and sale is a fact to a certain extent In order to meet any such contingency, the Bhoodan Yajna Samiti (Hyderabad) had imposed the following conditions on the donees

1 The donee shall not transfer the land within ten years and shall keep the land for his personal cultivation.

2 If a co-operative society is formed in the village, the grantee shall, if so required by the Tahsildar become a member of the society.

The experience gained during the distribution of lands shows that the cultivators have no such fears of fragmentation. Generally they do not favour the subdivision of land when it affects the agriculture and it becomes difficult to cultivate the soil There are several instances where the agriculturists had taken up for joint cultivation instead of dividing the land because the land is too small and co-sharers are many As per example, (two) acres of land in Kolhalapuri village in Devarkonda Taluka is being cultivated by ten joint co-sharers The joint farming system is an old one prevailing in our villages Whenever the agriculturists find that it is not profitable to divide the lands beyond a certain limit they automatically take up the land for joint cultivation If it is organized in a systematic manner, it would help very much to minimize the fragmentation of land

The Bhoodan Yajna aims to provide the landless with lands without compensation by way of peaceful means It exhorts that land is a gift of nature and as such, everybody has a right to benefit by it.

The fact that nearly 8 lakh acres of land have been collected within two years clearly shows that people are ready to donate lands for the benefit of society, if they got more than necessary. History shows that there are two methods to acquire lands

(1) Acquisition by force, (2) Acquisition by compensation But Bhoodan Yajna has showed the third way of acquisition by voluntary relinquishment.

26 3-'53

Bhoodan-Yajna Samiti,
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HARIJAN

April 11 1953

A WARNING AND A POINTER

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

A sub-committee of the Public Accounts Committee of the Union has submitted its report on the working of the Hirakund Dam Project. The details of the report are out and the Government of India has accepted most of its recommendations

The facts brought out before the public eye by the inquiry are very disturbing indeed and are so glaringly damaging to the reputation of a careful and honest administration that it is in no way an exaggeration to say that the whole episode will have very adverse effect on the confidence of the people in the soundness of the working of the Five Year Plan and its implementation by the present administrative set-up To say the least there has been unjustifiable haste in the work, bordering on irresponsible negligence and decisions involving crores of rupees expenditure seem to have been taken in an irregular and unauthorized manner And the proverb that 'haste is waste' seems to have fully come true and tragically illustrated by it

There is another side of the picture also Thank God that the scandal is out betimes at the vigilant eye of an important Government committee and the public has been taken into confidence about it It is both a timely warning and a needed pointer as to how even high placed Government servants might or could behave if left to themselves and without due control of proper procedure and regard for public money Do they realize what a rude shock they have given to public confidence in them and in democracy and how tragically they injure the good name of their Government ? We hope the Government will restore the confidence of the people by dealing with the matter in a strong manner and by purifying the administration concerned so that the people might be assured of proper use of their money. There is a lesson for the Government servants also Will they not be the real civil servants of their own countrymen and put their country's cause before their own self ? May it not be said of them that they failed their own people at the very time when they ought to have quitted themselves better

31-3-'53

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THE MESSAGE OF THE CHANDIL CONFERENCE

(A Letter to a Worker by Vinoba)

The Chandil Conference has made for greater clarity of thought among our workers who will now realize the far-reaching implications of the Bhoodan Yajna and their role in its implementation more vividly than ever That to my mind, has been the main achievement of this Conference Many constructive workers are occupied with their various normal activities When Bhoodan work was launched they thought that one more activity had been added to the ones they were carrying on The deliberations held at Chandil have now made it clear that what they were required to do was to wind up as many of their present activities as possible and plunge themselves in the Bhoodan work. The Bhoodan work does not mean just one more addition to their activities but something which comprehends all of them and which is therefore entitled to claim their sole attention

The old, experienced workers are limited in number Hundreds of new workers will get an opportunity to help them in their work and receive necessary training From the amount of enthusiasm that I find for this work in the country I hope that new workers will be forthcoming in sufficient number They will also have to be trained for which arrangements should be provided by the Sarva Seva Sangh

Collection of land-gifts is the least part of the work of Bhoodan Yajna. The main part of the work comes after that The land collected will have to be distributed Then those who receive land will have to be provided with the wherewithal so that they may start work, that is they will have to be securely settled on the land Then in the villages where land is received we will have to work for the establishment of Gramarajya with Khadi, village industries Nai Talim etc

Where we have received or might receive uncultivated but cultivable land efforts will have to be made for establishing new villages and help them settle down to new life. It will be necessary for this purpose to secure co-operation from all concerned to rouse the people to a sense of their strength and create Jana-Shakti i.e. democratic force, and seek all possible aid from Government which will have to be moved to see its duty

The Bhoodan Yajna and the work following it cannot be carried to fulfilment without *Sampatti-dan Yajna*, i.e. sharing of property This will call for efforts to explain to the people the idea of *Sampatti-dan* as an inescapable principle of social life and make them accept it

The work we are out to do is as vast and extensive as it is deep and solid This is Sarvodaya Land is the foundation of this structure Constructiva workers are the builders The *Sampatti-dan Yajna* provides the tools and the

attainment of self-sufficiency in food and cloth represents the various items through which the work proceeds to its fulfilment, and the people are the deity by enlisting whose goodwill and favour on our side, we will march to success I hope that all lovers of Sarvodaya will, simultaneously and in concert, lend their entire might to the fulfilment of this great endeavour

Mahato Maro, 23-3-'53

(From Hindi)

A POSER TO THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT

(By Shrikrishnadas Jaju)

The readers would recall that a few months ago the Madras Chief Minister Shri Rajaji had made an appeal over the radio pleading for support to the handloom cloth, in which among other things he had hinted at the advisability for this purpose of mixing mill-yarn with hand-spun yarn and thus producing a composite type of mixed-yarn cloth He then got samples made of this type and now the Madras Government has come to the decision that such cloth be manufactured for the use of the *chaprasis* in various departments of the Government According to its previous decision, Khadi was prescribed for such use That goes now and henceforward instead of Khadi this mixed cloth passes into vogue for use in Government offices

This new cloth will use, as laid down in the decision, a double-thread twine made up of one mill-made thread of 20 counts and one hand-spun thread of 18 counts in the warp and two hand spun threads of 18 counts in the waft Thus there will be three hand-spun threads for every mill made thread This slight admixture of mill-yarn will certainly make for some economy, but the question is whether it will be appreciable enough to sacrifice the long-established tradition of the purity of Khadi by going in for this mixed variety of cloth It is true that the use of a single-thread hand-spun yarn in the warp makes weaving difficult which therefore takes a longer time with the consequent rise in the weaving charges But if the yarn is double-twisted, then in spite of both the threads being hand spun, it becomes sufficiently strong and may be woven quite easily without any higher charges being paid for it In case of double-twisted hand-spun yarn it would not be necessary to mix any mill-yarn for reducing the cost of weaving It may be that this mixed type of cloth will have a neater texture But the point can be decided only after sufficient quantities of this cloth manufactured by ordinary weaver are examined and found to be so

Of the two centres, where this mixed variety is proposed to be manufactured, one is Uttam Avinashi which the Madras Government took over from the Charkha Sangh for working their cloth self-sufficiency scheme but which they did not care to return to the latter even after the scheme was abandoned The spinners at this centre are skil[illegible] produced at this centre will [illegible] before be [illegible] sufficiently neat texture Why then mix a thread of mill yarn ? Will it make that cloth more durable ? To this it may be said that the double-twisted hand-spun yarn cloth — being of the same quality as at the Avinashi centre — will be equally durable The experts are of the opinion that there cannot be much difference in respect of durability On the contrary, some of them fear that the twisting together of a hand spun thread and a mill-made thread will result in the latter biting the former which will render the yarn used in the warp weaker.

The price of this mixed cloth has been estimated at Re 1-14-0 per yard of 28 inches width The Charkha Sangh offers its pure *da-suta* Khadi used in the dress for the *chaprasis* at Rs 2/- per yard which will now sell at the reduced price of Re 1 10-0 per yard as a result of the decision of the Khadi Gramodyoga Board to grant subsidy at the rate of three annas per rupee Its yarn is a bit thicker, but in the opinion of the experts it is not less durable than this mixed cloth

Unfortunately people in the South have begun to call this cloth by the name of Rajaji Khadi This is patently unfair to Rajaji because he regards it as belonging to the class of handloom or mill cloth and has made it clear that it should not pass under the name of Khadi But who can restrain the people ? It is likely that it may become known as mixed Khadi, because three out of every four threads in it are hand-spun But it would be an offence to call this mixed cloth Khadi according to a Government of India Act For the present this cloth is being produced for use in the Government offices only and there is no intention to put it in the market But in case the production outstrips the needs of the Government, it may find its way into the market and sell there under the name of mixed Khadi Then others may also manufacture it and sell it by whatever name and those who have no genuine regard for Khadi but use it under the compulsion of rules and who may therefore go in for any cloth resembling Khadi, will gladly purchase it. Of course, the Madras Government has made it clear that this cloth will be produced only at the appointed centres and has warned that other weavers must not produce this special variety The warning says that if they do so and indulge in mixing mill-yarn in Khadi, they will be strongly dealt with But it is not clear how they will implement this warning When some weavers are allowed to manufacture it, others will be naturally tempted to follow suit and this will give a serious setback to pure Khadi

The naming of this mixed cloth raises a difficult problem It will be said that in the event of this cloth going into the market it should go under the name of the hand-loom cloth But by what name actually will it be called ? It cannot

be called mill-cloth, because there will be three-fourths of hand-spun yarn in it. The term 'mixed cloth' is inadequate because it is necessary to show that it has a greater quantity of hand-spun yarn The name mixed Khadi is likely to gain currency and though it looks very incongruous to put the adjective 'mixed' (मिश्र) before Khadi it seems it will be difficult to prevent the word 'Khadi' from being used as a part of its name The use of the word Khadi however even though qualified by 'mixed' may still be against law It is therefore suggested that if the use of the word Khadi for this type of cloth is unavoidable the proper thing to do would be to call it adulterated (or अपमिश्र) Khadi

The Charkha Sangh has always insisted that the Centre and State Governments should make use of Khadi for their need of cloth in all their departments The Khadi Gramodyoga Board recently constituted by the Union Government has also placed the same demand. People expect that the Board will give a great fillip to the production of Khadi Khadi will be produced in great quantities and since the Khadi scheme of the Board aims at providing relief from unemployment, all hand-spun yarn wherever produced and in whatever quantity, should be used The spinning should not be curtailed on the plea that there is no corresponding consumption of Khadi It is expected — there is also some assurance in this regard — that barring the needs of the Police and Military for their uniforms every other need of cloth in all the departments of the Central and State Governments would be met with Khadi. It is the duty of the Governments to give at least this much support to Khadi When Government want that the people should use Khadi and thus encourage hand-spinning with a view to providing relief in unemployment how can they themselves refuse to use it? This being so it is not clear how the Madras or any other Government can reasonably use the mixed cloth for their needs.

The mixed cloth is bound to cost more than the mill or the hand-loom cloth because it uses hand-spun yarn — even though in part only — which is much costlier than the mill-yarn. How then can it sell in the market against the inevitable competition? People cherish a feeling of regard for Khadi and agree to pay more for it which they will not do in case of the mixed cloth. Under the situation the mixed cloth cannot hope to get a market. It is evident that Governments whose duty it is to encourage pure Khadi can be the only customers for it

If it is argued that the use of the mill-yarn in warp will facilitate weaving and make for cheapness then may we ask the Government whether they will be prepared to accept the responsibility to make use in this way of all the hand-spun yarn produced in the country so that the problem of the hand-spun yarn may be solved once for all? As things are at present I cannot think of Government agreeing to do so If however they are prepared for it they should give an express promise in this regard And if this is not possible why is this mixed Khadi being used? The Madras Government owes it to the people to explain why they are bent on introducing this disturbing innovation and creating the consequent muddle in the field of Khadi They should come out with a clear explanation of their stand If they do not do so people will be justified in blaming them. One can understand that if the outturn of the hand spun yarn goes beyond the point where it becomes impossible to sell all the Khadi thus produced then the price of the hand spun yarn itself will go down under the competitive condition of the market But one cannot understand how the Government itself can undertake to promote the manufacture of this mixed cloth and use it for their needs or be instrumental in bringing it into the market

(From Hindi)

DAWN OF HUMANIZATION

[This is the last instalment of Rene Fulop-Miller's speech for previous instalments see the issues of 14th, 21st and 28th March, 53 — Ed.]

The original trend toward dehumanization was started by Descartes' introductions of abstract concepts of man, and it found its most dangerous expression in the tenets of the nineteenth century

Since then, especially during the last decades, science has embarked on a startling new course which has led to a second Copernican revolution of thought The newly evolved world picture discards all the pre-requirements for the various dehumanizing abstractions and terms them an untenable myth

Modern science disproved positivist materialism and with it the basis of dehumanization by terming it a primitive mistake J B S Haldane, the great British biologist spoke for all of progressive science when he said: "Materialism, once a scientific theory, is now the fatalistic creed of thousands. But materialism is nothing better than a superstition on the same level as belief in witches and devils"

In contrast to the materialists who deny the spiritual roots of man, modern science holds that man and life are not restricted to matter, energy and mechanical functions, but that behind all material creation a spiritual principle operates This spiritual aspect of things alone can give access to that ultimate reality which remains barred to a mere physical view

"Today mind no longer seems to us a chance intruder into the realm of matter," Jeans wrote "It is slowly dawning on us that perhaps we ought to hail it as the creator and ruler of the realm of matter" And Eddington said "We are no longer tempted to characterize the spiritual aspects of nature as illusory Rather, the

physi[illegible] where on the spiritual and its [illegible] is due solely to this connection "

Before closing I would like to give you a short glimpse of the results of modern scientific research that led modern biology, psychology and sociology to realize human nature in its totality and uniqueness

Nobel Prize winner Erwin Schroedinger, who tackled the problem of life from the angle of a physicist, discovered that every individual has its own unique arrangement of chromosomes Thus every living being carries the mark of its individuality already in the germinal cell. In opposition to the materialist conception of the characterless uniformity of all nature, the "principle of individuation" is a basic element in organic nature Schroedinger compared the structure of inorganic matter with a wallpaper on which the same motifs form a repeat-design, while the structure of organic nature resembles a master-piece of tapestry The latter employs no repetitions, for the weaving forms a coherent and overall picture by a great master

Thus, uniqueness of personality is today a scientifically proved fact, which makes the fiction of mass-man an empty slogan With this new concept of man, human values have come into their own again. As the great scientist and philosopher Alfred N Whitehead explained: "Values and ideals are behind every act. Apart from values the human life is but a bagatelle of transient experience." And the Swiss neurologist Konstantin v Monakov even declared that values are a biological principle

The social concept of liberal and Marxist economists who reduced man to the product of his material environment has been scrapped by modern sociology, which takes account of the complexity of man and society

The cynical anti-human philosophy of violence which was propagated by Nietzsche, Sorel, and Pareto, is viewed by truly progressive philosophers as philosophical aberration.

It is interesting to note that the recent insights of modern science and philosophy are in complete accord with the wisdom and teachings of all great religious leaders and sages throughout the centuries

Those who put their faith in the uniqueness and totality of man, those who believe in the reality of intellectual and spiritual values, are furthering the evolving realization of a great truth, they help to bring about a dawn which will put to flight the dark night of dehumanization and thus chart the way toward a meaningful and valueful life

As far as I am concerned, I would like to cast my lot with the forces of a new dawn of humanization.

(Concluded)

RECOVERY OF SPIRITUAL VALUES

[*The Sower* is a small world wide agricultural and village news bulletin issued from England It is devoted to the recovery of spiritual values in modern life in all its aspects—agriculture and industry trade and commerce A friend from England sent us its Spring, 1952 number which contains very interesting material bearing on agriculture As the reader will remember an article by Shri Wilfred Wellock— Adopt Gandhian Economy or Perish —was reproduced from that bulletin in the *Harijan* of January 31, 1953 The following is culled from the editorial of the same number of *The Sower* It will be interesting to read it in continuation with a similar plea put forth by Sir George Schuster in his address that appeared in the *Harijan* of 28-3-'53

—M. P.]

As the process of our decay advances the urgency of the discovery of the way of salvation grows We shall not make that discovery until we realize that our root problem is spiritual. The economic collapse that is now overtaking the nations is the outcome of moral decay, of the triumph of material or money values over spiritual values.

Increasingly we have identified living with higher levels of consumption of goods and services Quantitative production thus becomes our ideal. Quality of things and of life has ceased to count.

To get quantity of production we cover our land with chemicals, thrust our poultry into batteries and into deep litter, feed them and also our cattle on highly stimulating foods, thus debilitating them so that they become subject to numerous diseases, while land and animals yield food that is lacking in vital minerals, vitamins etc.

The beginning of salvation must be the recovery of spiritual values.

Spiritual values include respect for human personality, to develop which vocation is an essential factor, and where there exists a sense of vocation, honesty of purpose and sincerity in action will be manifest

This philosophy applied to agriculture involves a close study of nature and a deep concern for health in every sphere of life — in the soil, in plants, in animals and in man. This involves spurning all the short-cuts to maximum quantitative production without regard to the health of the organisms from which our food is drawn.

It is an urgent problem from several standpoints For example, what will happen to Britain when the already well stocked world markets are brimful and our unwanted exports fail to pay for the imports of food necessary if we are to maintain the present-day ration? Britain imports half her food requirements, and prices will rise as food gets scarcer, as, for instance, Argentine meat The law of modern commerce is, the scarcer the commodity the higher the price For both these reasons we shall do well to reconsider Lord Boyd Orr's warning concerning the world food shortage, and resolve to grow more of our own, here in our island home

Local and regional agricultural planning and development committees would be an asset

to Engla[illegible] varied land conditions each with it[illegible] and particular attributes

The [illegible] mentions the reclamation of unproductive [illegible]en acres one is hailed with a torrent of protest on grounds of finance and labour difficulties It makes one wonder how much longer we shall be able to put off this urgent task, and to which generation the worsening soil will eventually fall to be brought back to fertility at a cost which each neglectful year multiplies Is there no solution to this problem of converting our waste land into fertile acres? When our foreign markets fail we shall be driven back to our neglected land — why not take time by the forelock? Can we recruit an army of rural civil servants, young men and women wishing to exchange city life for a life of service on and to the land, and to the country? The wartime Women's Land Army was a very real source of agricultural labour, and the money was somehow found to pay for it

In a rural civil service have we an answer to the materialism of our age, to the flight from the rural areas to the food shortage, to the ill-health and actual disease which demands the support of a welfare scheme at a terrific cost?

A new economy will call for many sacrifices and a lowering of the present standard of living If it is to be an economy of permanence its roots will be in the soil To embark on such an adventure will require courage of the highest order Instead of a call to arms and possible death it is a call to life and abundant living, to the greatest exploration and adventure of all, creative living as a gateway to true democracy and a well balanced 'economy of permanence".

NOTES

It Was a Misunderstanding

Shri Rajagopalachari, the Chief Minister of Madras, was reported to have spoken a few weeks ago at the Madura College on the occasion of its anniversary, about the importance of the study of English in India at present. As papers reported, he made a strong plea for the retention in India of the English language which he claimed was a 'gift by our goddess Saraswati."

From the reports we had about the speech it appeared that he was very probably answering a section of the people who held that English also along with the English rulers ought to quit India. However, from scant reports that appeared on this side of the country it was felt by some people that Shri Rajagopalachari was in support of the re-introduction of English that has been agitating the Bombay State It was naively held that Shri Rajagopalachari suggested that English might be introduced as early as the 5th standard I felt, and said in a public meeting, that it was not right and it would be doing injustice to a shrewd and versatile statesman of the calibre of Shri Rajagopalachari to believe that he supported such a proposition. To assure myself I wrote to him [illegible]ing to tell me whether I was right in my presumption described above He was good enough to give me a prompt reply wherein he says

"In Madura I was only referring to the general importance of the study of English along with the study of other languages As you have guessed rightly it was intended to answer those people who hold that the English language also should out with the English people It had nothing whatsoever to do with any proposal anywhere that English should be introduced at an earlier stage in primary education than it is now done'

I hope this will clarify the position and remove the misunderstanding the people might have regarding Shri Rajaji's opinion

1-4-'53 M P

Our Language Policy

Nagpur March 18 The Chief Minister Pandit R S Shukla assured a deputation here last night that the Government would shortly amend the Madhya Pradesh Official Languages Act to place Hindi and Marathi on an equal status

The deputationists told the Chief Minister that the enforcement of the Act from August 15 1953 would adversely affect the cause of Marathi as it stipulated only Hindi as the official language to be used in all Government rules, regulations, bye-laws and Assembly Bills and Act although under the definition of official languages the Act included both Hindi and Marathi. The contradictory provision, they said would disturb the balance between the two regional languages and would result in a separatist movement.

Pandit Shukla is understood to have said that the necessary amendment would be introduced in the current session of the State Assembly"

The above news-item is important as it illustrates the spirit of the directive in the Constitution of India about the language policy to be followed by us henceforth It is in refreshing contrast to the avoidable controversy going on in Uttar Pradesh about the recognition of its two regional languages, viz, Hindi and Urdu Let us hope the Uttar Pradesh in this matter follows the good thing being done by the Madhya Pradesh, for which it deserves to be congratulated

31-3-'53 M. P

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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STATE ENTERPRISE

(By Gandhiji)

I look upon an increase in the power of the State with the greatest fear, because, although while apparently doing good by minimizing exploitation, it does the greatest harm to mankind by destroying individuality which lies at the root of all progress.

The State represents violence in a concentrated and organized form. The individual has a soul, but as the State is a soulless machine, it can never be weaned from violence to which it owes its very existence.

It is my firm conviction that if the State suppressed capitalism by violence, it will be caught in the coils of violence itself and fail to develop non-violence at any time.

What I would personally prefer, would be, not a centralization of power in the hands of the State but an extension of the sense of trusteeship as in my opinion, the violence of private ownership is less injurious than the violence of the State. However, if it is unavoidable, I would support a minimum of State-ownership.

What I disapprove of is an organization based on force which a State is. Voluntary organization there must be.

Modern Review October 1935

GOD'S TRUTH

(By C. Rajagopalachari)

[The following message was sent by Shri Rajaji on the occasion of the celebration of the Bombay State Prohibition Week.]

It is unwise to imbibe alcohol in any quantity. It is immoral to encourage others to take any form of intoxicant and this is what we are asked to do when people tell us to open liquor shops to catch wage-earners. It is not just immoral but extreme wickedness to do this to get a revenue for the benefit of persons other than those to whom the drink is sold. All talk of loss of revenue is a confusion of words. It is equivalent to saying we sacrifice what we could get by decoying wage-earners and deceiving their wives and children. All this is not argument but God's truth.

OUR GREAT HERITAGE

[This is the Gandhi Memorial Lecture delivered by Dr. Sushila Nayyar on 2nd December, 1952, before the students of the Agra University.]

I do not claim to be a learned person and was hesitant to address a gathering of men of letters. But on second thought I realized that as an eye-witness, who had the rare privilege of seeing the Master at work at close quarters, it was my duty to bear testimony to the greatest phenomenon of our age. I am therefore here to share with you some of the rich experiences that came to me not because of any merit on my part, but as a result of chance to use the language of the sceptic, and because of some good deed in a previous birth. If one may speak the language of faith.

I

It is amazing how memories begin to fade so quickly. Mahatma Gandhi is already becoming a legendary figure. Sometimes I sit back and wonder within myself whether such a one actually trod the earth and we saw him, heard him and served him in the flesh! It has become the richest memory for those of us who had the good fortune to sit at his feet.

There is a spark of divinity hidden within every human being. But in the case of the general run it lies dormant unawakened. In the course of history, there come occasions when a rare being, a chosen instrument of His will, through His grace, succeeds in uncovering it from the ashes and cinders of error and ignorance with which it gets overlaid. He then becomes a beacon light to illumine the path of benighted humanity. The world recognizes such a one as *yuga purusha* — an *avatar*. One such being was Mahatma Gandhi.

India has seen many such *yuga purushas*. Mahatma Gandhi was the latest. What meaning, what significance has his life-story for the youth of our day? Shall we place him on the icy heights of the Himalayas and provide ourselves with an excuse dismissing all that he taught us as a counsel of perfection — a Utopian exhortation of an unpractical idealist? Or, does it contain something which we can all follow and practise with advantage in the present-day world? Mahatma Gandhi has ushered in a new era, an era in which

[illegible] hing [illegible] and [illegible] e of non violence is but new [illegible] can be used as a potent weapon in putting an end to all forms of exploitation that it is an instrument that can be wielded by large masses of ordinary men and women for the redress of social and political wrongs and even for the settlement of international disputes is Mahatma Gandhi's special discovery and contribution to human thought

His experiments in South Africa and in India have demonstrated the efficacy of his non-violent technique sufficiently to create an incentive for thinking men and women all the world over to further explore its possibilities in a systematic and scientific manner It requires a great man to make a new discovery But once the discovery is made lesser men can carry the research further The discovery of the principle of creating active immunity in man by injecting disease germs was made by Louis Pasteur as a result of years of patient study and hard work. But since then other scientists have added to and enlarged his original discovery Today even ordinary technicians are able to give preventive inoculations by making use of the new knowledge and save millions of men from death and disease

Gandhiji was a great scientist and as a result of years of penance and research he has given us a unique weapon We have his written testimony that to begin with he was a timid, young student of average ability Yet he became the architect of our nation's destiny with tremendous spiritual power What was its secret? It was simply observance of the principle of Truth, out of which flowed all his strength. The moment he saw he had made a mistake he had no hesitation in announcing it from the house tops The path found to be wrong was given up once for all without a moment's hesitation and the course be considered to be right was followed with set determination irrespective of consequences There are moments in one's life when it becomes really difficult to know what is right and what is wrong Life is not always a plain pattern in white and black Often there are intermediate shades of grey which are hard to distinguish one from the other But as a rule we have a fair sense in our heart as to what is right and what is wrong If on such occasions we succumb to the weakness of the flesh and follow the path of least resistance, our faculty of discrimination becomes dulled On the other hand, if we have courage to follow the right path as we see it, our capacity to distinguish between the shades of grey becomes progressively keener That is how Gandhiji became a sensitive barometer of moral right and wrong and developed that marvellous intuition and insight which caused his guidance to be sought by all in every difficult situation. His judgement of men and matters was unerring His opponents learnt to [illegible] n and to fear it if [illegible] ther [illegible] mean well He once wro[illegible] men I have found to be poli[illegible]e, but I who am considered to [illegible] a religious man at heart.'

(To be continued)

TRUSTEESHIP

THE BEST MALIGNED GANDHIAN TENET

(By Wilfred Wellock)

It seems irritatingly paradoxical that a man who proclaimed his sole concern service of the downtrodden should have had sanguinary associations with the well-to-do who would not be such except by exploitation One cannot serve two masters at a time How, then, could Gandhiji, a friend of the exploited, have friends in the camp of exploiters? How can a person who exploits the poor be expected to hold and use his gains for the benefit of the poor? The paradox, like other paradoxes, remains baffling so long as things are viewed superficially or with a set purpose We have to go deep and find out the basis which influenced Gandhiji's behaviour in this regard It is the theory of trusteeship that explains his association with the rich

As early as the 4th February 1916 during the opening ceremony of Banaras Hindu University, Gandhiji while addressing the audience, *inter alia*, reprimandingly referred in his speech to the earlier speakers, the Rajahs and the Maharajahs, who waxed eloquent at the poverty of India Proceeding, he bluntly observed: "I compare the richly bedecked noblemen with the millions of the poor, and I feel like saying to these noblemen: 'There is no salvation for India unless you strip yourselves of the jewellery and hold it in trust for your countrymen in India.'" So, he got to the theory very early, and was at it till the end of his life Two things are quite clear here. His plain speaking to the richly bedecked noblemen and his concern for the poor Let us bear in mind these two things while examining his theory of trusteeship

If we want to transform the capitalist society we have to understand its wrong ways so that we may find the right ways to get out of it. In the atmosphere prevailing today, even a dispassionate attempt to understand anything which has any connection with what is dubbed capitalism would be suspect. I am sure I run the risk of being dubbed an agent of capitalism vainly trying to perpetuate it

The tenets of Gandhiji must always be examined in relation to his whole philosophy. He had a definite view of the future society he was trying to ring in It would not be scientific to tear out an item from that framework and to view it in the background of the framework of present day society It would help nobody to take as specimens the capitalists of an acquisitive society to judge the 'capitalists' of a non violent society So, we must know precisely the forms

and functions of the economic institutions in particular and social political and other institutions in general, operating in a non-violent society

Yet, it is difficult to divest ourselves of the idea of a rich man behaving, these days, in the interest of society A parallel can be found in religion Religion is admittedly good, but as in its name bad things are done, many refuse to have anything to do with religion So, when moneyed men mishehave a strong tendency naturally arises to do away with them But will that solve the problem ?

Gandhiji's ideas on the way in which the economic institutions should function in a non-violent society are clear and emphatic Some of them may be noted here Basically, economics should be subordinated to ethics The State should provide work for all its citizens so that they may earn and acquire the means of their existence. It is implied that every man's needs are guaranteed Another implication is that the "haves", if there be any, will not have the free rein they have at present while the "have-nots" will no longer be in their present hapless state Further, in a non-violent society the great majority will produce primary necessities, and not be slaving for others Cottage industries would be part and parcel of such an arrangement, also village industries in a self-sufficient economy The State and the local bodies would own all the key, and the big industries and the social services In the sphere of distribution co operative societies would be preponderate Trade and commerce would conform to this set up Hence the money which the capitalists now get by exploitation would go to the people

Today a man is a millionaire because he owns big key industries, monopolizes productive and distributive trusts, cartels and combines, is his own commission agent, his own bank and insurance agent All these wells of the acquisitive society would dry up in an altruistic co-operatively organized society

The question is, then, how shall we make the transition from the present capitalist or semi capitalist-semi-socialist order, to a peaceful social order, that is, a social order in which there is no exploitation ? By way of Communism, or Socialism, or Trusteeship which is the Gandhian method

Communism is the way of liquidation, ruthless dispossession and usually accompanied by the imprisonment or death of the possessor That is complete liquidation because it includes the capitalist as well as his capital.

This leads to such a condition as we have today — powerful class hatreds and fears both in the Communist countries, and in the world at large between Communist and non-Communist countries At the moment the whole world fears, and is arming in preparation for a world-shattering world war, which its very arming is insuring

Socialism is the way of very slow liquidation, so slow that many of the "have-nots" lose patience and go over to Communism But in fact, as Western Socialism everywhere proves the end of Socialism is maximum levels of material living. Hence no class is ever satisfied, but plans and plots in order to get the lion's share of the national income Its politics becomes based on that principle, as is the case in Britain today British Socialist leaders have latterly moved into the lower and upper middle classes This is preparing the way for more class struggle and also for more international struggle, since under a materialist conception of life, the demand for the earth's resources will quickly outstrip the supply, when competition for their possession will pass from the realm of diplomacy and normal trade to war

Hence both Communism and Socialism terminate in violence.

Then what about Gandhiji's principle of Trusteeship ?

In the first place, Gandhi starts from the ethical principle that none should live in luxury while many are driven to penury and starvation He indeed makes that principle the very basis of Trusteeship.

In any case, a very rich man is a social exploiter His accumulated wealth is the product of the brain and muscle of a large number of people What he pays in wages or salaries and what he charges for whatever production he controls is fixed by him and is backed by his financial social and political power

The question is therefore, how to achieve the re-direction of that power, so that the community get their due ?

Gandhi's answer is, by the exercise of soul-force or non-violent resistance to evil, on the part of those who are wronged, assisted by their sympathizers Soul-force is the dynamic by which righteousness or Truth are to achieve recognition of the obligations of Trusteeship.

Applied to Industry, this boils down to the adoption of the ethical strike, or "striking" for the victory of Truth which is also justice

In order to organize such strikes education in Basic Social Truth is necessary This can be easily done as Gandhi himself showed He claimed to be an expert in the organization and conducting of strikes — factory strikes. He led many, and in every case he achieved complete victory He explained and expounded the moral and spiritual justification for strike action Schooled the workers in it, showed the absolute necessity for non violence in carrying on the strike. He then asked the workers to strike if they felt spiritually equal to the task They usually did Then he led them and shared their rations

In due course he began to prepare for demanding the right of labour to share with capital ownership and control, and had he lived it is possible he would have gone ahead until he had brought the whole of Indian industry within the

possession and control of all who participated in it

Thus the doctrine of trusteeship is a part and parcel of the non-violent ends and non-violent means in the Gandhian scheme of things It establishes the sovereignty of the people in the conduct of their daily avocations It is 'no makeshift, certainly no camouflage' According to its author "It has the sanction of philosophy and religion behind it No other theory is compatible with non-violence" It deserves to be studied carefully by all sincere students of human well-being

(From *The Sewer* Spring 1952)

HARIJAN

April 18 1953

THE NEW STATE OF ANDHRA

(*By Maganbhai P Desai*)

It is declared that Andhra will be formed into a separate State some months after Well may the Andhra people congratulate themselves on the realization of their dream after a fairly long time of perseverance, though not of patience which seemed to have left them in the last few years of this their journey to the cherished goal Let us hope that patience returns to them and that they muster many more other virtues also which will be called forth from them in the service of the new State to be constituted soon

There is a school of thought among us which holds that parcelling out India on a linguistic basis will be a dangerous thing On the other side there is an equally strong and perhaps bigger section of the people who hold that the sooner this is done the better for us as its absence according to them is a bar to progress of rebuilding India Here also the golden mean is the wise course and it is good that Government has accepted it and it moves carefully and cautiously in this matter The creation of the new State of Andhra is to be watched carefully and further work in the formation of linguistic-cum-adminis-trative units of the Union will depend on what experience we gather from this experiment This is a wise decision and it is to be hoped that other provinces will heed to it and mind first things first and be patient about a problem which is surely not the topmost priority

As was feared a quarrel has arisen over border areas on the linguistic frontiers between two States In the case of Andhra, Bellary District has been a bone of contention between Karnatak and Andhra Government, before deciding over the matter of separate Andhra State had appointed Justice Wanchoo to go into the whole question and report on all matters that might arise in the wake of such separation from the parent State of Madras A Boundary Commission seems to have been recommended to settle difficult questions of such a nature, and it would be good if the line of least resistance is adopted in this matter and such questions are referred to it. Till then the controversial parts may well remain in the residuary State.

Justice Wanchoo was asked to go into the financial aspect of separation also He has reported that the new State will perhaps run into a deficit of about 2 crores or more and therefore it will have no money for new ventures in reconstruction etc And he suggested how to remedy this probable state of affairs, which he might have better left to the leaders and the Government of the new State

Looking to the Report that appeared in the Press we find that various suggestions were made both by the political parties and the Madras Finance Department (F D) to make good this deficit For example, the F D suggested that the Sales Tax (and the Motor Vehicles Tax also) might be tightened up to render a crore, the water cess in the Godavari and Krishna Delta Systems for wet lands can be increased to give a crore more It is only Rs 5 per acre, whereas it is Rs 10 in the residuary State of Madras under the Mettur project and in some cases as much as Rs 22-8-0 per acre in Tinnevelly district These are obviously helpful suggestions and should be fully exploited It is also noteworthy that no one suggested scrapping of prohibition as a remedy against the deficit Therefore it becomes really surprising to see that Justice Wanchoo advised, of his own accord, that Andhra might decide to be off-prohibition which is State policy at present, and thus not only make good the expected deficit but also have a few crores surplus for new works and schemes of public welfare The suggestion requires serious consideration from various points of view

It must be obvious now that scrapping of prohibition will be clear 'disservice to the poor' and a criminal betrayal of the people as it involves going back over the nation's plighted word As Shri Rajaji, intervening in the debate in the Madras Legislature on the 'excise' demand in the supplementary estimates, said a few days ago "the scrapping of the Prohibition Act would be a 'deliberate act of cruelty and injustice on the poorest section of the people' In his opinion, the excise was immoral not because it held any religious horror to him but because it was collected from the poorest by the State" (P T I message from Madras, March 28) and I may add in the interest of the rich Thus not merely from the moral or ethical point, but also from the point of public finance * as well it is bad and unjustified. It is bad in law too The Constitution of

* The following observation (*Free Press Journal* p 2, April 3 1953) by Shri Jivraj Mehta Finance and Prohibition Minister, Bombay, while addressing newsmen on the

India lays down that "the State shall endeavour to bring about prohibition " (Art 47) Now to scrap prohibition is surely not an endeavour for prohibition, and is therefore *ultra vires* of State policy as laid down to be followed, if at all regarding drink and drugs It must be noted that Andhra has prohibition, and hence the question of going back over it is bad in law as well as in practice and policy

Therefore it is surprising to see that the Wanchoo Report does not consider these weighty reasons against scrapping prohibition and goes into saying what it might have well avoided The leaders and new rulers of Andhra State may be requested to see that drink cannot be a proper gift to their wards on the occasion of the birth of the new State The people and their leaders should raise their voice against this bad advice There may be other ways to get money from the people The way of drink revenue is no way, nor a true monetary foundation for rebuilding new Andhra as it ruins the people and is destructive of their wealth and happiness Andhra should be courageous like Bombay and start well with prohibition which is a sure foundation, both material and moral, and is an undisputed blessing to millions of our poor people — chiefly women and children

Andhra has seen in its neighbourhood the birth of Shri Vinoba's Bhoodan Movement It has seen the worst of the Communist menace also The leaders of the people have to rise to the occasion and make the best of all the good things like prohibition etc that they inherit and start with and avoid what is proved bad and undesirable, and with courage and conviction march on to Sarvodaya, our common national ideal.

6-4-'53

significance of the Prohibition Week' deserves to be noted here in this connection

"The Minister pointed out that prohibition had made taxation more equitable inasmuch as the Sales Tax which has replaced excise taxes falls on the consumer in proportion to his purchasing capacity whereas the excise taxes used to come mainly from the poorest strata of society'

4-4-53

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OBJECTIVES OF EDUCATION

[From translation of the Address in Hindi of Dr Rajendra Prasad President of India, at the Convocation of the Patna University on March 11, 1953]

In my view the objectives of education are three two of which relate more or less to the life of the individual as such while the third is concerned with his collective life Its first objective is to enhance the power and capacity of reason of the individual given to him by God It is true that reason is a gift made by Nature or God to man at his birth But in its pristine form its capacity and power are extremely limited If a person were to be left to depend on his untutored reason alone he would not be able to use it to do any good to himself or to his fellows due to severe limitations of space and time But if this rational faculty is enriched by the accumulated experience of the past generation its power and capacity are increased very greatly , for then, the individual is able to grasp numerous truths of great utility relating to himself and the animate and inanimate world around him which he could not possibly have learnt by means of his own unaided reason In other words the educational process makes his reason so powerful and capable as to understand the nature of his own personality and that of the animate and inanimate world around him and while living in it to direct his life in the right channel It is therefore, not improper to say that education in one sense, is a process of acquainting and enriching every new generation with the accumulated experience and knowledge of the past generations and thereby enhancing the capacity and power of their reason

The second objective of education is to so train the senses of every individual human being as would employ them for fulfilling successfully all his physical and other needs While knowledge is no doubt essential for a proper employment of these organs their training is also necessary for the same purpose However vigorous or energetic a man may be, he cannot effectively undertake any work unless his bodily organs are also properly trained and have some experience of that kind of work

The third purpose of education, in my view, is that it should evoke in the individual the qualities necessary to enable him to live and work with his fellows Whether a person likes it or not, he has to live with his fellows No one can wholly retire from the world and live in an isolated cottage of his own The life of complete solitude is nothing but a beautiful fancy of the poet ; it is not and cannot be a fact of life It is possible that an individual may live in solitude for a little time but he cannot do so for all his life So when collective life is an inevitable and ineluctable fact of human life, it is absolutely necessary that every individual should be fully conversant with the art of collective living

In the ages gone by when the scale of collective life was quite limited and when economic

processes have not become highly concentrated, there was no great necessity for an organized effort to achieve these three objectives or to maintain at every instant a balance amongst them. But today when the scale of collective life is almost world wide and when economic processes have become concentrated beyond imagination it has become highly necessary to make intense efforts to help individual realize these objectives in his life not only in the realm of mind but also in that of action

So it is that in the past few decades people have been feeling in all parts of the world the necessity of a fundamental change in the educational system inherited by them from the past We find that different kinds of changes have been taking place in the educational system of different countries of the world I would not be wrong if I say that in the educational sphere also a revolution has been taking place similar to that which has occurred in the economic and political spheres In our country and especially in the State of Bihar unfortunately there has been no such far reaching change or revolution in the sphere of education People here have no doubt been thinking about this problem but I am afraid that so far there has been no outward effect worth mentioning of such reflections

(To be continued)

REMOVAL OF PROSTITUTION

(By Suresh Ramabhai)

The human body is often subjected to ailments which aggravate with every additional dose of medicine Likewise, human civilization suffers from diseases which seem to intensify with every onward march of progress and betterment Among these unfortunate diseases one is traffic in women, also called prostitution. As old as civilization, prostitution has been defined as the "supreme type of vice which is ultimately the most efficient guardian of virtue", and is held by many a moralist, thinker, philosopher, or champion of civilization to be a social necessity Priests and worshippers of the shrine of civilization may therefore well remain unmoved at one of the most startling facts of free India, viz increase in women traffic and extended prostitution Formerly resorted to by forsaken or helpless women in known localities of towns and cities, it has now begun to be practised as an art (as a means to raise the family proceeds) in some of our regular modern households whose external appearance just like that of any other, gives a complete lie to the unholy trade within Thus the honour of our sisters and mothers has been reduced to a commercial proposition My feeling is that if things were allowed to move or drift on as at present, the relationship between the sexes in our country will be thoroughly demoralized and with it will go to dust the ideal of family life, perhaps man's happiest and most wonderful institution

Surely there is no clear-cut or immediate solution of this terrible development in free India One can only point to the ways and means of controlling this evil and gradually wiping it out Wipe, yes, I use the word deliberately for I am not among those who regard this evil as an inevitable concomitant of life It is an evil, a disease which has to be done away with sooner rather than later. This takes me to the causes of the malady

It cannot be gainsaid that inequality, both in the social and economic spheres has proved to be the most serious germ responsible for the case But it is also true that social or economic inequality apart, prostitution has ever been hailed and hence preserved as an indispensable requirement for the soldier In other words, militarism and prostitution have gone and go together and will go together To expect that this evil will be uprooted while militarism, under any form of statecraft, prospers is as vain as to expect a silver ore from a tin mine

Another factor that has worsened the situation is the surpassing conquest of money or machine over man, i e enhancement of centralization in the social and economic aspects of life This is why the manifold wonders of science have failed to stem the tide of prostitution Nay by their very nature, they have only countenanced it. Also centralization of power or pelf has led to more and more social-cum economic inequality In fact greater the centralization greater the inequality and greater the inequality greater the centralization. Hence, greater the militarization. And, greater the prostitution

It can, therefore, be safely concluded that prostitution or women traffic cannot be stopped in any country so long as it resorts to

(i) Arms to defend itself,
(ii) Machines to develop itself,
(iii) Centralization to govern itself;
(iv) 'Might is right'

The necessary conditions for the curing of the said malady can now be put down. They are –

(i) The country should rely on the weapon of progressive non-violent non-co-operation to defend itself,

(ii) Its smallest units should be economically self-sufficient (at least so far as the basic needs of food, cloth and shelter are concerned) and machines be made use of less and less

(iii) The State should, at the Centre to begin with have the minimum powers which should progressively decrease with the lapse of time and this power should accrue from the lower unit to the higher simply by virtue of service rendered, and

(iv) Where rights are a result of performance of duty.

Note, these are the necessary conditions I do not claim them to be both necessary and sufficient. For who knows what may be in store for man in future? But it can be confidently stated that an attempt to check prostitution while not

[illegible] the [illegible]

Now a word about the practicability of the proposition Undoubtedly, the said lines are very different from those on which is said to be built a 'Welfare State", hankering after the three monsters of mechanization centralization and militarism But these lines stand for a Sarvodaya State an objective higher still in which there would be actually no exploitaton, and whatever it be would be met and held up by the matchless instrument of progressive non-violent non-co-operation for an objective in which there would be a true democracy of the villagers (as they constitute the largest number), by the villagers and for the villagers So if we of India copy the English, American or Russian model of Welfare State" we are doomed to be ruined. We have to discard it and construct the ever-green pattern of the Sarvodaya State of a classless and casteless society, claiming the single sanction of progressive non-violent non-co-operation Then and only then would our mothers and sisters blossom into queens of households or *devis*

Allahabad 14-2 '53

BHOODAN AND LAND REFORMS

(*By S N Agarwal*)

A Conference of Members of Parliament in New Delhi on Friday the 27th March passed a resolution on Bhoomidan Yajna and placed on record its "sense of deep appreciation" for Acharya Vinoba Bhave's movement which has "ushered in a new chapter in the socio-economic reconstruction of India." The Conference also appealed to the public in general, and Members of Parliament and State Legislatures in particular, "to lend their active support and co-operation to this great and noble work" and help Vinobaji in achieving the target of 25 lakh acres by the end of March 1954.

In the course of his inaugural address, Pandit Nehru observed that he attached the greatest importance to the Bhoomidan movement which was a "novel way" of solving the most difficult problem of land distribution in the country. Moreover, it was helpful in creating a new atmosphere in India by trying to bring about a revolution through non-violent and peaceful means. "This movement," remarked Pandit Nehru, "may be beyond the understanding of the economic pandits, but it reaches the minds and hearts of the people"

Dr Radhakrishnan, who presided over the Conference, said that Vinobaji was preaching the "Law of Love" in place of the "Law of the Jungle" because he believed more in persuasion than in force and coercion The Bhoomidan Yajna would show to the world that 'drastic socio-economic changes could be successfully brought about not through authoritarian methods or authoritarian governments but through democratic methods"

Acharya Vinoba has fixed the target of 5 crore acres of land donations by the end of 1957 which will complete hundred years after the first struggle for Independence in 1857 and also witness the next general elections Five crore acres represent approximately one-sixth of the total cultivable land in India The total number of landless labourers in the country is also about five crores Vinobaji will be satisfied if each member of a family gets one acre of average land or a family of five receives five acres for cultivation On the basis of an average family of five members, Vinobaji expects every landowner to donate one-sixth of his total land by regarding Daridranarayan (the poor landless labourer) as the sixth member of the family According to Acharya Vinoba Bhave, therefore, there is no question of fixing a 'ceiling" as two, three or four times the average economic holding According to him, five acres of land of average quality ought to be the "low roofing' in India Like food land is the basic necessity of life and nobody should be allowed to possess more than what is absolutely necessary for subsistence

In the course of his address to the Conference Pandit Nehru made very pertinent observations regarding the responsibility of the Government in regard to Bhoomidan movement. "The Government's responsibility," stated Shri Nehru, "is not reduced by one jot as a result of the Bhoodan Yajna." However great a success Acharya Vinoba may achieve, his movement could not take the place of law "So the responsibility of the Central Government as also of the State Governments in solving the land problem remains and has to be fully discharged" In the first Five Year Plan, the Planning Commission have recommended that there should be "an upper limit to the amount of land that an individual may hold" This limit will have to be fixed by each State having regard 'to its own agrarian history and its present problems The census of land holding and cultivation, which it is proposed to hold during 1953, will give the data relevant to this decision by each State The plan has also suggested that there should be established a Central Organization for Land Reforms for conducting research and investigation relating to land reforms in various States and "pooling knowledge and experience'. We would like to know from the Central Government as to what steps have already been taken by them to implement these recommendations of the Planning Commission. So far as we are aware, no arrangements have so far been made for conducting a Land Census during the current year, three months of which are already over We suggest that the Government of India should not lose any further time in appointing a Land Census Commission for the speedy collection of all the requisite data of the number and sizes of land holdings in different parts of the country The proposed Central Organization of Land Reforms should also

get in touch with the progress of land legislation in various States and find out how far the State reforms fall short of the main recommendations of the Planning Commission as laid down in the Five Year Plan A few States have, undoubtedly, gone far ahead of other States in introducing far-reaching land reforms on progressive lines The remaining States are yet lagging behind and there is much leeway to be made up Their enthusiasm for radical measures of land reform will have to be 'whipped up' so that they may not retain the old feudal traits any longer

Acharya Vinoba's Bhoomidan movement is very helpful in creating the right climate for the introduction of far reaching land reforms in India through peaceful and democratic measures It is now for the Government to fully utilize this favourable atmosphere of public opinion for the introduction of suitable land legislation at an early date Mere lip-support and sympathy for the Bhoomidan Yajna will be of no avail. Let the generations to come not say with regret that a Gandhian Saint like Vinoba walked thousands of miles in his frail body on foot asking for land donations from village to village, but the Government of the day did not utilize the golden opportunity for enacting progressive land reforms with speed and determination'

(From the *Economic Review* published by A.I.C.C., New Delhi April 1 1953)

PROHIBITION AND WELFARE STATE

(By M S Aney)

[Message by Shri M S Aney on the occasion of the celebration of the Bombay State Prohibition Week]

Prohibition has been the recognized policy of Indian National Congress And I congratulate the Government of Bombay on having given effect to it, courageously न सुरा पिबेत् is the injunction of the स्मृति and all the Smritis are unanimous in including सुरापान or drinking as one of the five major evils, i.e., पञ्चमहापातक which every human being ought to avoid

A programme of a Welfare State in a Nation like India will always be incomplete so long as it excludes prohibition on one ground or the other Prohibition aims at the eradication of the social evil that eats into the vitals mainly of poor classes Prohibition introduces some comforts in the family life of people living in cottages, and lays down the sure and firm step for their uplift

I wish the example of the Government of Bombay in this matter be emulated by the Governments of other States in India and even by the Central Government Dry India will be in a better position to preach Spiritualism and the Gospel of Peace and Non-violence than Wet India. Its voice will then command greater attention and respect

NOTES

War and Pe[illegible]

The *P[illegible]* [illegible] London of February 27 1953 gives th[illegible] [illegible]ing interesting news

An in[illegible] [illegible]et of 43 Dutch jet fighters lost through [illegible] [illegible]een February 1950 and December 1952 m[illegible] [illegible] death of 30 pilots and total cost of approxi[illegible] [illegible] 1,700,000 is published in a recent issue of the D[illegible]h journal *Vreda*

' The money would have been sufficient for the building of 1[illegible]00 flats or a week a holiday for 300 000 children

Many similar instances can be added to show what a vast amount of precious wealth we are diverting to death and destruction even though its legitimate place is to support and preserve life and happiness How many so-called industries in peace-time are maintained unnecessarily only because they are capable of being switched on to the war machine when unhappily it is to be brought into action in case of war ? The world can surely live without these things only if peace and love for all irrespective of class or creed, colour or race becomes the religion of man

7 4-'53 M P

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7-4-'53 M. P

WHY PROHIBITION

By Bharatan Kumarappa

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Two Questions

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(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

VOL XVII No 8 AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, APRIL 25, 1953 TWO ANNAS

OUR PRESENT EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

[The remaining part of the address by Dr Rajendra Prasad that appeared in the last issue of *Harijan*]

II

It is true that our educational institutions are fulfilling to a certain extent the first objective of education The alumni of these institutions are, no doubt, being acquainted with some part of the accumulated wisdom of the past generations but the purpose for which such acquaintance is undertaken, that is to say, to awaken and strengthen and make more capable the individual mind, is not being fulfilled. Our young men and women of the rising generation are not found to be foci of thought It is true that from these institutions come out now and then some rare individuals whose mind is fully alert, awakened, and quite forceful But I feel that it would not be proper to say in the name of these few and rare individuals that our present educational institutions are illumining the heart of man In my view there are several reasons for its failure in this direction. I may mention here some of the most important.

Firstly a great part of the accumulated knowledge or experience of the past generations with which our young people are being acquainted in these educational institutions, has absolutely no relation or relevance to the daily life of these young people or to the world around them or to their collective life. Naturally this heritage of the past appears to these young people somewhat unmeaningful, useless and unassimilable It, therefore, remains a mere burden on their mind and they forget all about it soon after leaving these institutions. Another reason appears to be that the linguistic medium through which they are acquainted with this accumulated experience of the past is not an element of their daily and collective life and remains more or less unfamiliar to them inspite of their making all efforts to master it. It is, therefore, quite natural that this heritage of ideas, instead of being a torch to light the lamp of their mind, has become a sort of absorbent which soaks up even the oil of that lamp Whereas this heritage of the past should have been a lever increasing a thousand-fold the capacity of the individual mind, it is in fact a sort of festering sore rendering the latter quite impotent and ineffective.

But the story does not end here Our educational institutions are doing almost nothing to realize the other two objectives of education We have hardly any educational institutions where an effort is made to make the individual so efficient in manual work as would enable him to earn by his own labour sufficient wealth to meet all his needs. Arrangements for practical training in Trade, Agriculture, Industry, etc. are almost non-existent in our country Our primary and secondary schools do not concern themselves at all with this kind of practical training Even amongst our higher educational institutions there are only very few which have anything to do with such training Nearly all of them are at present engaged in acquainting their students with the ideas and thought of the past generations or of the elders of the present generation. Naturally we find that the graduates of these institutions are not skilled in practical work though they may be quite good at talking So long as they had to earn their livelihood as the brokers and interpreters of the foreign empire in this country, their ability to talk was useful to them, but today when we have to rear a new India by our own hard labour this skill in talking cannot have that importance. The result is that even those of our graduates who are quite good at talking are now finding considerable difficulty in making a place in life and often have to drink the bitter cup of failure.

Even this is not all Finding their labour for years to be quite useless and fruitless for their own life, many of our youths are becoming victims of blind discontent and anger against their own fate and fellows and are not able to see a way out Moreover those now at our educational institutions are not even able to acquire a good acquaintance of the heritage of the past with which these institutions seek to familiarize them In my view one of the reasons for the fall in the standards of education of which there is a general complaint today, is that our youths do not benefit at all from the education which is being now imparted in our educational institutions

This poison has not only corroded our individual life but is also now spreading into our collective life Our present educational system

does not concern itself at all with implanting the essential qualities for a collective life amongst our new generation So if in this situation our new generation remains devoid of the qualities essential for collective life there should be no reason for surprise Indeed it appears to me that our present educational system does not at all seem to concern itself with the development of those qualities in our youth which are essential for a good collective life

Our present educational system is thus as unbalanced and ill-formed as would appear to be a man with a protruding body and skinny hands and legs Whatever may be the reason for this the entire effort of our present-day educational institutions seems to be merely to acquaint the students with a very limited aspect of knowledge and not at all to make them skilful at work or nice social beings. I therefore, believe that amongst other reforms necessary in this system, it is also necessary to establish a balance in its objectives

We in this country must decide as to how many scholars and skilled workers we require for our country It is quite evident that for every age and for every country both scholars and workers are necessary But in the circumstances in which our country is placed today we are in need of a large number of skilled workers as compared to mere scholars We have to expand our economic production as early as possible so as to meet the needs of the millions of our countrymen I may also add that amongst the conditions that have to be fulfilled for expanding production are a fairly good standard of health of our people and familiarity with modern economic and industrial organization and processes So we have at once to work to realize these three objectives, and so we need today hundreds of thousands of skilled technicians These technicians would have to understand that they cannot expect to get a greater share of the national cake merely because of their having technical skill They would have to approach their task with the faith that at all costs to themselves they have to provide conditions which would make the life of our future generations happy and prosperous It is, therefore, my view that our educational institutions should now start laying more emphasis on technical skill and that there should now be arrangements for providing technical training of different kinds. If technical institutes could be established in every one of our towns and districts or if our present educational institutions there could so transform themselves, I think much of the unbalance in our present educational system would disappear

I also believe that there should also be arrangements in our educational system for implanting qualities essential for collective life I feel that we should not remain satisfied by trying to impart team-spirit in the game field alone. One of the other ways in which this can be done is to organize teams in our educational institutions which would compete to make their contribution to collective development and progress of our country and would not only become thereby acquainted with the life of our masses but would also become one with them

It is of course not a matter of doubt that our Universities should especially be the centres of the life-giving Light of Knowledge There should be arrangements there for every kind of research and particularly there should be arrangements for that type of research which is related to the problems of the region in which that University is situated. While I agree that the University should be detached from the madding noise of our daily life, yet I think detachment need not imply that it should not have any concern whatever with our national and regional life On the other hand I feel that it should be considered to be successful only when it has become such a guide of the region, as after fully understanding the problems of that area, can show the people there the way to solve their problems successfully. I am afraid that our Universities have not so far assumed this role in our lives But I am convinced that they cannot succeed and cannot be useful for our people without doing so

(Concluded)

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

[The following thoughts are collected from Gandhiji's writings on the subject]

One of the objects of a newspaper is to understand the popular feeling and give expression to it, another is to arouse among the people certain desirable sentiments, and the third is fearlessly to expose popular defects

(*Indian Home Rule*)

Liberty of the Press can be said to be truly respected only when the Press can comment in the severest terms upon and even misrepresent matters. Protection against misrepresentation or violence being secured not by an administrative gagging order, not by closing down the Press but by punishing the real offender, leaving the Press itself unrestricted.

(*Young India*, 12-1-'22)

From the very start I set my face against taking advertisements in these journals (i e *Navajivan*, *Young India* etc) I do not think that they have lost anything thereby On the contrary, it is my belief that it has in no small measure helped them to maintain their independence.

(*Autobiography*, p 681)

I do not believe in publishing newspapers indefinitely at a loss or by means of advertisements If a paper supplies a felt want it must pay its way

(*Young India*, 3-4-24)

The sole aim of journalism should be service.

(*Autobiography*, p. 849)

RACIAL COLONIALISM IN KENYA

(By Fenner Brockway)

[We are all very much moved by how the British are leaving in their imperial colony Kenya, at present. I fear afraid Gandhiji's phrase 'lesnine violence might perhaps be its apt description. The rights of a modern militarism seems to have been pitched against the understandable though wrong and ill-advised violent anger of the Mau Mau agitation The latter requires sympathetic dealing at the hands of those foreigners who should understand better Of course terrorism is no way to any good, so also is counter-terrorism even in the name of law or order Just so in South Africa so also what is going on in East Africa is no domestic question of the rulers. For, by now it is evident that the happenings we hear of in that Dark Continent have their roots deep down in the racial imperialism of its White rulers and the clash of cultures resultant therefrom. The following article of Shri Fenner Brockway, M.P., from the *Peace News* London of Feb 27 1953 gives an inkling into this and presents the reader the other view of the problem in Kenya.

17-4 53 —M F]

Fifteen years ago Jomo Kenyatta, who is now being tried on the charge of the "management" of Mau Mau, (now convicted and sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment) was a student at the London School of Economics

For his degree thesis he wrote a study of the life of his own tribe, the Gikuyu It was of such interest and value that Professor Malinowski recommended it for publication and wrote an introduction It appeared just before World War II under the title *Facing Mount Kenya* Now it has been republished by Secker and Warburg (18 s)

I read this book when it first appeared I have re-read it now, and I am impressed by the light it throws on present events in Kenya, in an anthropological rather than a political sense

When Leslie Hale and I visited Kenya recently the economic and psychological causes of African discontent were immediately evident to us No one (except, perhaps, Mr Lyttelton) could fail to understand the effects of land hunger and the colour bar But it was some time before we understood the *social* background of the frustration When we did, it appeared as the deepest mal-adjustment

No Substitute for Tribal Life

In a sentence the British administration has destroyed the old tribal life of the Gikuyu (or Kikuyu, as they are more often called) and has failed to provide a satisfying substitute

Facing Mount Kenya is not propagandist, though the author's passion for the freedom of his people sometimes breaks through It is an objective picture of the earlier social pattern and customs of his tribe Kenyatta does not hide practices which are revolting to most Westerners. These serve only to emphasize the disastrous disintegration of tribal life which has occurred

This is the essence of our failure, in destroying the democratic expression of the tribe, we have driven back part of it to the evil things reflected in Mau Mau

The basic structure of the tribe was in the community of the family, the age group and the clan. Each formed a conscious community The family farmed together until it became too large, then the third or fourth generation started a new family farm The boys and girls of the same age remained a closely knit group all through their lives, passing from adolescent ceremonies to growing responsibilities The clan was administered through an elected Council of Elders, which had the duty, with the mothers, of teaching the youth their social duties and of settling disputes between individual members This three-fold community consciousness was the dynamic life of the tribe.

The Land Problem

Now it has gone — or is going Family unity has been destroyed by land hunger There are only narrow strips of earth for the sons, there is no new land to which they can go. Age group unity has been lost in an unhappy division between the European missions and the independent African Church The clan Council of Elders has been replaced by British District Officers and British-selected Chiefs administering a much wider area, and District Councils with very limited powers For local democracy expressing the life of the people has been substituted by bureaucratic officialdom repressing the life of the people

Of course, this is only one side of the story British administration has ended the tribal wars It has saved the lives of thousands of infants and prolonged the life of thousands more by its new ideas of hygiene and health. But its success in these directions has aggravated the land problem by the resulting increase in population. And its provision of education has not been sufficient to remove the hold of witchcraft and oaths, whilst the social economic, and political injustices of which we have been guilty have repulsed any African desire to co-operate with us in new ways

The consequence has been that the parts of the tribe denied community democracy have reverted to the bad in its own past.

The solution is to give the tribe the opportunity to establish a new and satisfying life. In concrete terms this means the recreation of clan and tribal democracy, meeting the demands of land hunger, initiating modern farming on a co-operative basis, removing other desperate economic grievances, providing universal education, ending the humiliation of the colour bar, and moving towards full racial equality, social, economic and political, so that injustices can be removed constructively

Then, and then only, will the urge to relieve frustration by violence be removed. Then only will an adjusted new society be evolved.

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HARIJAN

April 25 1953

TWO QUESTIONS

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

A correspondent has sent some questions and asks for a public reply, if I agree to do so I take up the two most important of them One is regarding cow-slaughter He says, just as Government enacts prohibition, so also it should ban cow-slaughter And he argues that, if it might be said that unless people of their own choice take up the work of cow-protection, legislation will not be of any help, then the same can be said for prohibition also why does Government enact prohibition and not wait till people forgo drink and drugs by themselves?

Though apparently plausible the argument of the correspondent suffers from a serious fallacy The analogy between prohibition of cow-slaughter and that of drink and drugs is not right There is a fundamental difference between them, which escapes attention. However it does not mean that banning of cow slaughter should not be thought of on its own merit and in a manner proper for it

Let us examine for fundamental difference in the position of these two Sale of drink and drugs is a Government monopoly These things are bad, as they degrade their victim and his family, and their effects injure society also Drink and drugs being intoxicant affect the brain of their victim, resulting into crime and many other social maladies Admittedly, it is individually and socially a bad thing

And it is also evident that people are drawn to drink almost invited to it by the regular shops legally plying their trade Therefore the first step to stop them from drink is to close these shops It is absurd to expect people not to drink on the one hand and to provide it through regular shops on the other Therefore closing these shops by a law of prohibition becomes the duty of the State Such legislation of course, does not remove the need of persuasion and propaganda against drink, the point is that persuasion will be fruitful only if there is prohibition by law, it being the first prerequisite for its success

Now let us see cow-slaughter This arises from and continues due to various causes, social and economic, obtaining in our body politic. It can stop only when these are removed Again all do not taboo beef-eating However, the cow and calves and other milch and draught cattle are useful in our economy, and hence we wish to keep and preserve them So much so that Hinduism has trained our minds to worship the cow, but that we may not discuss here We may only note here that Government in regard to cow-slaughter and drink, comes in the picture in a different way Regarding drink it is Government that sells or causes to sell it But so with cow-slaughter, the causes for which he in the present social order Therefore legislation cannot come first Our Hindu feeling for the cow is for individual fulfilment by ourselves. What I say above is from the pure socio-economic standpoint because it is proper for the State as a whole to be so guided

The other question is regarding Government advertisement in the Press The correspondent asks does it behove a Government calling itself popular to withhold advertising in papers that adversely criticize it? Obviously the question is in connection with *The Times of India* controversy with the Government of Bombay I may well leave off this specific case and discuss this question of advertisement and the Press in a general way.

In a democracy, there should be no ban on honest criticism It may be that the criticism might be faulty or based on wrong facts or misunderstanding However it behoves a democratic Government not to stop it Such *bona fide* mistakes or misunderstandings or misrepresentations will correct themselves or readers and the Press will discuss them out to a correct position

But, what has this freedom of the Press to do with advertisement? The Press evolved as it is today has a great source of income in advertisement without it a paper can hardly be an economic proposition Therefore just as a merchant always expects and is on the lookout for customers, so also papers do it not only for subscribers but for advertisers as well. Hence the Press may probably succumb to this temptation and go down into accepting advertisements good, bad and indifferent, indiscriminately so much so that it is said that such discrimination is not even necessary on the part of a paper Therefore we have the queer spectacle to see that a paper might be advertising a thing against which it might be advocating! It is necessary to discriminate in advertising also, but it is a difficult job indeed Hence it was that Gandhiji held it as a safe and good rule of policy for a paper not to have any advertisement and thus be free from temptation or from undue pressure or influence from the advertiser

Let us now look at the other side of the case Just as a customer has his discretion as to what and wherefrom to buy, so it is obvious that an advertiser has his discretion where to advertise Government also would have it, even though a popular Institution Only it will exercise it as a trustee of the people and for the social good, i e it will exercise it with due consideration of the public good and in the interests of social security good taste, decency decorum etc As every act of a State, it must be free from any injustice Therefore, it is not an unrestricted right of a paper to get Government advertisement Those papers which go-down in the necessary standard of good taste, decorum etc or so conduct themselves as to jeopardize the security of the State and its people will naturally incur displeasure of the people, so also of the Government as well,

and if it be so needed Government might have to proceed against them in a legal manner as well Thus a Government may not move because of any criticism good or bad As we saw above, honest criticism must be free. But if a paper goes out of the bounds of requirements of general social taste decency decorum etc it will not be liberty but licence Both the State as well as the people should surely show their displeasure at it Freedom of the Press is a responsibility to see that it is not misused is always a function of the State and Society also

13-4-'53

(From the original in Gujarati)

OUR GREAT HERITAGE

[This is the second instalment of the Gandhi Memorial Lecture delivered by Dr Sushila Nayyar on 2-12-52 before the students of the Agra University]

Gandhiji's religion did not consist of observance of certain rituals He believed in and practised the spirit of religion Out of his religious experiences grew his firm conviction that the essential message of all great religions in the world is the same, namely the realization of Truth And so he came to believe in equal respect for all religions He had no use for religious tolerance for that implies a patronizing attitude towards other religions We tolerate something that is not quite as good as it should be If we tolerate other religions it means that we consider them as inferior to our own. That cuts at the root of true understanding and friendship which is only possible when there is a feeling of equality He therefore attached no importance to labels and went straight to the fundamentals Truth is the pivot round which all religions revolve Gandhiji went so far as to say that Truth is God Adherence to truth in thought word and deed is the essence of all religion

It was Gandhiji's devotion to truth which resulted in revolutionizing his life. In South Africa he was a successful practising lawyer, who refused false cases, adopted lost causes and made his profession a means of defending justice and upholding the rights of the poor and down-trodden While proceeding on a journey, he had a book given him by a friend to read on the train It was Ruskin's *Unto This Last* You know the rest of the story As a result of a heavy meal, he could not go to sleep and finished reading the book during the night Ruskin's thesis propounded in that book that the value of the work of a doctor lawyer and a labourer, sweeper or shoe-shine to society was the same and therefore all kinds of useful social services should carry equal remuneration and every worker should get enough to satisfy his or her basic needs appealed to him strongly He was intellectually convinced of the rightness of Ruskin's theory Consistency between thought, word and deed demanded that he should practise what he believed to be right Before he detrained next morning he had made up his mind to change his life He advertised for a piece of land and with his family and friends took to Ashram life

What is Ashram life—some of you might ask? In a nutshell it means putting into practice the principle 'from all according to their capacity, to each according to his need' Gandhiji's various Ashrams were an attempt to set up in miniature his ideal social order, based on truth and love where all worked and lived as members of one big family The Ashrams embodied his passion to live truth as he saw it It goes without saying that the establishment of this type of social order can only come through conversion and not compulsion This is a fundamental difference between Gandhism and Communism Experience taught Gandhiji that the practice of Truth is not possible except through love Truth and Love or Ahimsa are like the two sides of the same coin One cannot separate them

But you will perhaps say 'We know all this What you tell us is as old as the hills' I concede the point That is precisely what I am here to tell you — if we only practised what we knew and believed, the world would be a far better place to live in But we do not. We allow ourselves to be caught in the spider's webs spun out by our own intellects We are ruled by clinches catchwords and slogans, which we repeat parrotwise We — and this is particularly the case with our youth are hypnotized by 'isms', we tend to over-simplify matters and develop a contempt for things that are simple There lies the rub Life is not governed by 'isms' And to neglect the practice of simple things saps the very roots of our belief It is the bane of the present-day intellectual As an English poet put it "A few plain maxims and a few plain thoughts" have wrought far more for the world in its periods of trail than "all the pride of intellect and thought"

When shall we learn that a gram of action far outweighs a ton of theory? We all pay homage to truth But have we ever tried to live the whole truth as we see it? The reply, I am afraid, is 'no' The result is that the fire of unbelief has burnt up our spirit and our easy-going attitude in regard to the practice of truth has made us cynical and sceptical about the value of idealism itself We assume that truth and its obverse non-violence are mere beatitudes — virtues meant for the attainment of spiritual excellence with no application to our social and political dealings in the national and international spheres

The living example of a great soul alone could possibly cure this unbelief and soul-killing cynicism — the spiritual malady from which we with the rest of the world were suffering — and renovate mankind's faith in the great moral and spiritual ideals that have been proclaimed by great teachers and Prophets in all ages but which are again and again reduced to mere platitudes and copybook maxims by the tyranny of custom and usage and the inherent inertia of the human spirit That living example was supplied to mankind in our times by Mahatma Gandhi I am convinced that the world will need him more and more and he will more and more become a living force as the time passes and the travail with which the world is afflicted deepens

(To be continued)

PROHIBITION AND THE CONSTITUTION

(By P Kodandarao)

Divergent Politics It is an open secret that the Prime Minister of India had advised the States to "go slow" on Prohibition Recently the Finance Minister had advised the Bombay Government to 'go back' on Prohibition Chief Minister B C Roy of West Bengal would not go on with Prohibition even by stages because of the revenue involved. But surprisingly enough, they have not asked that the Constitution should be amended to make Prohibition. They apparently hold that the policy of not go on', or "go slow", or "go back", is consistent with loyalty to the Constitution If such be the case is it valid?

Status of Directive Principles It has been argued that Prohibition was one of the Directive Principles which are discretionary and not mandatory and justiciable like the Fundamental Rights that the Directive Principle concerning Prohibition enjoined only that an "endeavour" should be made to achieve it and that therefore Prohibition could be deferred introduced or recalled without any violence to the Constitution.

Fundamental and Mandatory The Status of the Directive Principles was defined in the very first Article in Part IV concerning them. It said

The provisions contained in this part shall not be enforceable by any court but the principles therein laid down are nevertheless fundamental in the governance of the country and it shall be the duty of the State to apply these principles in making laws (Art. 37)

When the Article said in so many words that the Directive Principles were *fundamental* in the governance of the country and that it shall be the duty of the State to apply them in making laws' *it could not have made them more fundamental and mandatory on the State*

It may be recalled that the Advisory Committee on Fundamental Rights presided over by the late Sardar Patel entitled Part IV of the Constitution as "Fundamental Rights of Governance The Drafting Committee changed it to Directive Principles of State Policy" On November 1948 Mr H V Kamath moved in the Constituent Assembly that the word 'Fundamental' should be used in the title in the place of 'Directive' for the reason that

He believed that Parts III and IV of the Draft Constitution embody certain rights Part III being enforceable and Part IV non justiciable But both are to be regarded as rights which are fundamental *(Constituent Assembly Debates* No 13 1948 p 474)

Bringing the word Directive" to' Fundamental" Dr B R. Ambedkar, who piloted the Constitution said

It is an amendment is really incorporated in the Constitution as it now stands the word "Fundamental' as Mr Kamath will find, in the very first article Therefore his object that these principles should be treated as fundamental is already achieved according of the Article. (Ibid p 476)

In opposing the retention of the word "Directive in Part IV Dr Ambedkar said

It was the intention to introduce in this Part these principles as mere pious declaration It is the intention of the Assembly that in future both the legislature and the executive should not merely pay lip-service to these principles enacted in this part, but they should make it the basis of all executive and legislative action to be taken hereafter in the matter of the governance of the country I therefore submit that both the 'Fundamental' and 'Directive' are necessary and should be retained (Ibid, p 476)

Thus it is the Directive Principles are not as fundamental or mandatory as the Fundamental Rights in Part III. This seems to have been borne out by the wording of Art 37 and by Dr Ambedkar's speech. Further a directive is not discretionary

Supreme Court's View On the relation between Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles the Supreme Court, in its unanimous judgement delivered on the 2nd April in the "Communal G O Case' from Madras observed

Directive Principles of State Policy, which under Article 37 are expressly made unenforceable by a Court cannot override the provisions found in Part III which notwithstanding other provisions are expressly made enforceable by appropriate writs orders or directions under Article 32 The Directive Principles of State Policy have to conform to and run subsidiary to the chapter on Fundamental Principles

The High Courts at Bombay and Nagpur and the Supreme Court in New Delhi held that Prohibition did not infringe any of the Fundamental Rights and was therefore *intra vires* of the Constitution

Non justiciable but Obligatory The only difference between the Fundamental Rights and the Directive Principles is that the former are justiciable and the latter are not. But it does not follow that the State is free to ignore the latter It should not be the duty of the State to conform to the Constitution only when it is threatened with the legal sanction of the courts It may well be urged that the State is under a greater obligation to honour the Directive Principles than even the Fundamental Rights it only because the former cannot be enforced legally against it. To ignore the Directive Principles simply because they are not justiciable will expose the State to the charge of disloyalty to the Constitution

Dr Ambedkar compared the Directive Principles to the Instrument of Instructions issued to the Governors under the former British Constitution They were not justiciable but nevertheless were as binding on the Governors as the Constitution itself In their case the sanctions against violation were extra judicial namely, higher executive authorities and public opinion Similarly in the case of the Directive Principles the sanctions against violation are extra legal namely public opinion within and without the legislatures But they come into operation only when the State violated them There should be no occasion for the Directive Principles may be compared to the Conventions that supplement the Constitution in any country and in India also They are not justiciable but they are honoured

Endeavour It has further been argued that, whatever be the status of the Directive Principles the one concerning Prohibition enjoined the State to "endeavour" to implement it and this word permitted the State to defer it indefinitely as recall it if necessary Commenting on the word "strive' which occurs in Article 38 Dr Ambedkar said

We have used it because our intention is that even when there are circumstances which prevent the Government, or which stand in the way of the Government giving effect to those Directive Principles they shall even under the hard and unpropitious circumstances always strive in the fulfilment of these Directives That is why we have used the word 'strive' Otherwise it would be open for any Government to say that the circumstances are so bad that finances are so inadequate that we cannot even make an effort in the direction in which the Constitution asks us to go. (Ibid p 465)

The Consembly was not unaware of the arguments against Prohibition, and among them that it had 'failed' in America and that it involved surrender of current Excise revenue Nevertheless it chose to include it in the Directive Principles, and enjoined the State to endeavour to implement it in spite of odds and financial difficulties

The test of 'endeavour' is better applied by public opinion rather than the courts. Indeed is the extent that the courts are excluded, the Constitution throws greater responsibility on public opinion to ensure that the State

[illegible] Directive Principles by judicial [illegible] intervene to *invalidate any recall of steps* [illegible] to *implement them*. While they cannot [illegible] "go on" they may veto a "go back" [illegible] on the Indian Constitution, Dr N C [illegible]

[illegible] while they will not *enforce* any of these [illegible] take account of them as Fundamental [illegible] determine incidentally, for example the [illegible] validity of any Acts and also to interpret [illegible] of any statute in recognition of the [illegible] *The Constitution of India*, [illegible] Press p 88)

If for [illegible] attempted to *repeal an existing* Village Panchayat [illegible] an Act to separate the judicial and executive [illegible] or a Prohibition Act, the courts are likely to [illegible] veto it as unconstitutional and illegal. [illegible] Supreme Court alone can give judicial [illegible] It seems obvious that the judiciary will [illegible] going back on steps already taken to implement [illegible] the Directive Principles and Prohibition [illegible]

Mysore Instance In Mysore where education is at present free for the first eight years, a proposal to levy fees on those pupils who could afford to pay was dropped on the express legal and constitutional ground that it would be a violation of the Directive Principle of the Constitution contained in Article 45 It is a constitutional obligation for the State to "endeavour to provide within a period of ten years from the commencement of the Constitution for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen" If the State does not "endeavour" public opinion can apply political sanctions but not through the courts But if a State proposes to go back on the steps already taken in that behalf the courts may be moved and they may declare it illegal and *ultra vires* of the Constitution *It does not seem open, therefore, for any State which has already taken some steps to implement Prohibition*, to go back on it legally, the courts are likely to intervene and veto the same

Strange Advice It is indeed passing strange that the Congress Party in India headed by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who is also the Prime Minister, which takes the name of Mahatma Gandhi on every conceivable occasion and which was largely responsible for enacting the Indian Constitution and for including Prohibition in its Directive Principles should seek to ignore it in practice, to discourage the States which, in spite of heavy odds and financial difficulties, had heroically striven to implement Prohibition and honour the Constitution, and to advise them to "go slow" or "go back" on them. If the Congress Party and the present Government of India have come to the view that Prohibition was not worthwhile at any rate for a long while, there is no reason why they should not secure a suitable amendment of the Constitution particularly as they have the necessary majority in Parliament. Elimination of Prohibition from the Constitution will not stand in the way of India as a whole, or any unit thereof, pursuing Prohibition at discretion by statute Only it will cease to be a Constitutional obligation failure to implement which will expose the State to the legitimate criticism of ignoring or violating the Constitution.

Enforce Prohibition or Amend Constitution: It is difficult to sympathize with the plea of some confirmed anti-Prohibitionists to retain Prohibition in the Constitution and violate it in administration. As long as Prohibition stands part of the Constitution, it is obligatory on the State including the Union Centre to endeavour to implement it in all earnestness, and not seek to defeat it, legally or otherwise The Wickersham Report on the Enforcement of Prohibition Law in the U.S.A., 1931 said:

[illegible] less to [illegible] of than [illegible] ment. It [illegible] of the honest [illegible]

[illegible] no Prohibition but he insist[illegible] being enforced [illegible] and [illegible] loyalty as long as it [illegible] the law and the Constitution [illegible] his message to the American Congress he said

My own duty and that of the executive officials is clear —to enforce the law with all the [illegible] at our disposal without equivocation or [illegible]

The appropriate alternatives for India today are E[illegible] force Prohibition or amend the Constitution

SHRI VINOBA IN MANBHUM DISTRICT

[As readers know Shri Vinoba is at present touring Manbhum District (Bihar). The following is from his post prayer speeches in that district.—Ed]

1

The Language Controversy

Here in the Manbhum District the Hindi speaking and the Bengali speaking people have come together The districts which lie on the border between two provinces and where therefore two or more languages meet one another are I should say, extremely lucky, because the people have there the God-given opportunity of loving one another and learning not only their own language but also those of others But quite unfortunately we find that these different languages are not given each its due place and honour One of them is sought to be imposed on the people in suppression of others or all are equally neglected and English allowed to retain its present position.

Bengali is a rich language and its modern literature perhaps stands superior to that of any other language of India On the other side Hindi is not a rich language but our accepted national language If the people of the area where these two languages have met together demand that the students there should be taught through their own language, their demand cannot be dismissed as wrong It is quite just and proper There are at present two or three different views in the field on this question There is a powerful section of public opinion which holds that the provincial language should be the medium of instruction at every stage of education Others say that while the provincial language should be the medium of instruction in the primary stage, it would be well thereafter to take recourse to Hindi for every purpose for which at present we use English Hindi is the national language and if students all over India receive their education through it, all will be equally benefited There are still others who hold that English should not be rejected because it is a very rich and widely spoken language It should be continued as it is at least in the university stage Thus there are three different views with regard to this question and each can

[illegible] distinguished [illegible] d servants of the country

The Provincial v The National Language

In my opinion while the entire education from beginning to end should be imparted through the provincial language, the national language should be compulsorily taught to all along with the former When professors from one university are invited to another for delivering a course of lectures, they may, if they do not know the provincial language, speak in the national language I have expressed this view quite frequently and I feel that this will be better able to serve our best interests than any other This will not retard Hindi in any way On the contrary I hope it will promote its growth and expansion Most of these provincial languages are quite developed languages and they are possessed of the genius to develop new words and expressions If they are adopted as the media of instruction each in its own area and the national language is taught compulsorily alongside of them, the latter will not suffer any diminution of importance and both will enrich each other Unfortunately there is disagreement among the scholars about it and it has led to some bitterness I would like, however, that in this part where fortunately Hindi comes into contact with Bengali which is a rich language, the latter should be compulsorily taught along with the former I would go even further and say that those whose mother-tongue is Hindi should be compulsorily taught some other Indian language While formerly I merely wished that this should be so, I now insist on it. I am sure that if those who are concerned with this question will look at it from the educational point of view, they will agree about the desirability

(From the speech at Purulia 18-3-'53)

2

Land v Language

The workers in the Manbhum District are greatly agitated over the language policy of the State Government Whatever the justification for their feeling of discontent, Bengali and Hindi are mere words after all and one cannot eat words People are hungry for bread and hunger will not be satisfied with Hindi or Bengali. The question can be solved only through love and kindness Given the atmosphere of love for one another, all our problems can be met quite easily. I therefore urge those of you who love the poor to apply themselves to the Bhoodan work. When the house of our neighbour is on fire, we do not insist on the solution of our minor differences as a condition precedent to offering our services for extinguishing that fire There are certain things which cannot brook a moment's delay and must be immediately attended to The solution of the land-problem belongs to this class of things Bengali and Hindi are both old languages Who can suppress the Bengali of Rabindranath and Chaitanya and Ramakrishna ? There is therefore [illegible] danger to the Bengali language But the land-problem is more important and must be given precedence over others

(From the speech at Garhjaipur 20-3-'53)

3

The Middle Class

A friend asked me that since I was showing so much concern for the poor I should also give some attention to those of the middle classes, who were also in a bad way The poor were in a way better off because they worked with their hands and were used to the rigours of poverty. But the middle classes were neither in possession of the means of production nor had they the wealth of the rich I said we are prepared to give land to the needy among them in the same manner as we do to the poor, if they ask for it. But then they must be prepared to work on it with their hands. The present plight of the middle classes arises from the fact that they are totally ignorant of the arts of production The remedy lies in introducing some industrial crafts as part of the educational curricula At present, the schools do not provide any training in physical labour But education without such training must remain incomplete A B.A. adopting weaving as his vocation and an M Sc going in for agriculture after he has finished his studies would be a much-needed corrective to the present day tendency of seeking employment in white-collar services And then they should make use of their learning in what they do This is the way the unemployment among the educated can be solved, and the country be made to go forward We will give land to all those who are ready to work with their own hands The rich and the poor and the middle all classes are dissatisfied with their lot under the existing conditions Some are mentally unhappy, some physically and others financially, and all are ill at ease These are the 'three afflictions' spoken of in the *shastras* If we take to labour, we will rise above them and be free from them.

(From the speech at Jhalda 22-3-'53)

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OUR UNIQUE MISSION

[The report of Shri Vinoba's opening speech at the Uhandji Sammelan.]

I

Tribute to Pujya Kishorlalbhai

I will begin by remembering Pujya Kishorlalbhai. As we know, he was utterly devoted to the great work which God has entrusted to us and to which we have pledged ourselves. The Gita has stated: There can be action in inaction and inaction in action. This is a characteristic of the perfectly developed souls and the key to the *yogic* life. He was extremely weak in body and though he was doing something or another all the 24 hours, yet he could not do much in the way of what we call outer (स्थूल) work. The work he did physically could not therefore be very imposing in its physical magnitude. Yet he showed us by his great example what tremendous work one can do despite the handicap of physical incapacity. What is the secret of it? The explanation lies in the fact that those who are pure of heart, whose attractions (राग) and aversions (द्वेष) have ceased through the grace of God are in a position to do good to humanity by their mere presence. Such men are few indeed; only occasionally do they make their appearance in our midst. I regard Shri Kishorlalbhai as one of these few. After Bapu, he was our great sustainer. Whatever our difficulty, we could always depend on him and with his innate goodness he would always help us out of them. He was unique in this regard and no one else amongst us has developed this capacity in such measure. We therefore feel his loss very acutely and will always so feel it. We can make up that loss now only by love and goodwill to one another and hope this we will do and help increase the spirit of good fellowship amongst us so as to be able to discharge the responsibility God has placed on us.

Why We Have Met

We are a group of workers. On an occasion like this when we are meeting in a conference we do talk a little, but even this little talking which we permit ourselves is part of work. It is not empty talk nor mere eloquence unrelated to work. We work all round the year, offer what we have done to God and then gather here, compare our notes, exchange thoughts, and hope to draw and take away with us enough strength and inspiration for the next year's work. We shall then with this purpose in our view try to see the philosophy which lies behind our movement and inspires it and also examine and revise our programme of work if necessary. Let us consider our approach and the programme we have set ourselves and the final picture of what we wish to achieve.

The World Situation

However remote the corner of the world we may be working in, today the world situation is not such that we may ignore it. We have to take into account the forces which are working in the world today; we have also got to look at the new currents which are emerging and consider the ideas and motives which are in collision and conflict with one another. All these must be considered before we can take any step forward, be it ever so little. In the absence of a right view of things action becomes blind.

Today we find that there is too much of instability in the world. The situation is pregnant with explosive dangers. We seem to be sitting on a volcano which may blow up any moment. I am not overdrawing the picture. I do not fear it nor do I intend to frighten you. I am only drawing your attention to the impending fearful reality. The shadow of disaster bestrides the world, there is no peace within or without.

Some two or three months back, some scholars and philosophers drawn from all over the world had met in Delhi in a seminar and they discussed the philosophy of non-violence. Some of their deliberations were reported in the daily Press. Pujya Rajendrababu had an occasion to observe in the course of its proceedings that no country in the world today had the courage to declare that it would do without the military. He expressed his regret that though we had the good fortune to hear Gandhiji's teachings from his own mouth and the privilege to work with him for a considerable time, even India was not prepared to launch on this bold venture. Our great leader Pandit Nehru has declared on numerous occasions that no problem of the world could be solved through physical might.

[illegible] the people have [illegible] of governing and leading the [illegible] believe in the supremacy of non violence with all their heart They do not believe in violence And yet it is strange that under the pressure of the existing conditions they are required to consider it their duty to build up an efficient military force and to make it ever more strong Such is the situation with which we find ourselves hamstrung today We believe in one thing and yet we are driven to do things which are quite contrary to our belief. We desire that people in India and in the world should change over from violence to non violence, that they should love and not fear one another. We are fully convinced that only love can succeed and love alone can conquer But our mind which pins its faith in what we call practical intelligence distrusts this truth which issues from the heart The heart says · Violence can solve no problem , it may appear to succeed at times but for one problem which it may appear to have solved, it will create a score of new ones But the mind does not see so clearly It is beset with the three *gunas* — qualities which obstruct true understanding It sees partly and partly it does not see Thus this turbid mind says, " We cannot do away with the army The people, whose representatives we are, are not strong enough for that Therefore we as their representatives have a responsibility laid on us to build up and strengthen the army " This is the situation The heart desires that we should do some constructive work but the mind says we must build up the army and put into use such machines as will help us in doing so When those who have faith in Charkha are asked whether they can build up and equip the war-machine through Charkha and village industries they and we along with them, for we are included in them, are forced to reply in the negative.

An Impasse

Let us take for instance the Community Projects The Government wants to start these projects in 5 lakhs of villages They have been introduced in only a small number of villages at present but the Government intends to extend them further and hopes to end the poverty and bring prosperity to our rural population But supposing war breaks out tomorrow, no one, not even they who have started them, can say that these projects will continue to work. The mind will then dominate the heart and say they should be wound up in face of this danger to our national existence I am speaking by way of self-introspection I am sure were we to occupy the position and shoulder the responsibility which they do we would act much in the same manner as they Whoever occupies office and wields governmental authority must needs think in a narrow, cramped, and a set circle. There can be no freedom of thinking for him He finds himself, as it were, under an obligation to think and act as the world seems to be doing Even big nations like America and Russia fear each other Nations less big like India and Pakistan do likewise. We know this fear of one another leading to ever growing dependence on military strength will not solve anything and yet we stick to it Such is the strange situation which surrounds us Not that we are hypocrites It is helplessness from which we suffer, and though people may charge us with hypocrisy, in fact our condition calls for pity The question then is how are we to get out of this impasse ?

Our Special Responsibility

Rajendrababu just told us that it is the special responsibility of the Sarvodaya Samaj to find the way out of it because people expect it of us They expect that we will keep unflinchingly to our faith and create the necessary atmosphere to bring it into actual practice under the existing conditions If the Sarvodaya Samaj does it that will be the best help it can give to our Government We have to work for creating a society which may function without any military force

I am sometimes asked as to why I remain outside of the Government Why do I not take up administrative responsibility ? I reply — when two bullocks are already yoked to the cart how will the addition of a third one help it ? If instead I can repair the road for the cart to go on it right merrily, I can render it the greatest possible service Those who are in the Government do not want us to do things which they are doing, but look to us for filling in if we can what is wanting in their work. We have to understand all this and bear it in our minds and devote ourselves to the kind of work which may create what I call स्वतंत्र लोकशक्ति or the self-reliant power of the people Then only shall we be able to render real help to the Government and real service to our country

The State and the People

I said we should create — *Swatantra Loka-Shakti* the self reliant power of the people Let me make it clear It should be distinguished from the other two forms of power — the power of violence (हिंसा शक्ति) and the power of State (राज्यशक्ति) The power of the people is the opposite of the power of violence, and though there is no such trenchant opposition between the power of the people and the power of the State, yet the two are different There is of course an element of violence in the power of the State too, but inasmuch as this power has been entrusted to the State by the people its character differs from that of naked violence and the two cannot be put together in the same class We however intend to go further ahead of it and create conditions which will do away with the need to use even the power of the State Then only could it be said of us that we have realized

[illegible] done it On the contrary if we [illegible] political power in the [illegible] taken belief that it is the only way to serve [illegible] people we will not only fail to fulfil the [illegible] expectations people have of us but may also [illegible] a burden to them

I admit political power can be an instrument [illegible] service That was why we sought it and accepted it and so long as the society needs it we are not going to give it up It is certainly an instrument of service but not the kind of service which may be conducive to creating the conditions which will do away with the use of this particular sanction I will give an illustration

Kingdom of Kindness Our Aim

Suppose there is a war going on There will be some who will undertake to nurse the wounded soldiers These men are full of love and sympathy and compassion for living beings They [illegible] make the distinction of friends and foes [illegible] volunteer to go to the front at mortal risk [illegible] their lives They serve the sick and the [illegible] with the devotion of a mother to her [illegible] There is no doubt that they are kind and [illegible] are valuable. Nevertheless it should [illegible] recognized that their service cannot [illegible] to the abolition of the war evil Their [illegible] only an aspect of a society which [illegible] war Just as the wheels in the [illegible] working apparently in different and [illegible] contributing in different ways to [illegible] the killing of living soldiers [illegible] the wounded soldiers are both [illegible] machine Only the appearances [illegible] Evidently one is a cruel [illegible] However both the [illegible] the kindness of the kind [illegible] machine To be scientific [illegible] so long as we recognize war [illegible] both the doctor who undertakes to [illegible] wounded and the soldier who kills are on [illegible] footing Both are guilty of war This [illegible] by mere acts of kindness we cannot [illegible] the kingdom of kindness, that is, [illegible] where kindness will rule We do [illegible] doing acts of kindness but at creating [illegible] of kindness Kindness can and does [illegible] in the kingdom of wickedness but only [illegible] of salt does in food — kind acts only [illegible] taste of that with which they are [illegible] Such kindness brings a sort of flavour to [illegible] of war it cannot end war So if we merely indulge in such acts of kindness as will make of it a handmaid to wickedness, acting in obedience to the latter we will not have done our real work We must therefore develop a longer view and desist from undertaking any activity merely because it appears to be a constructive act of service Though we may thereby do service of a sort but it is not the service which is our special responsibility and [illegible] accepted as our *Swadharma*

Why Not through Legislation ?

Let me give you another example Many ask me You seem to have considerable influence with the Government Why do you not then press them to pass a suitable legislation and thus bring about the distribution of land without compensation ? I reply I do not stand in the way of legislation If however this does not satisfy you and you want more from me, I may tell you that whatever the measure of success I may achieve in my work it will surely facilitate the passing of such legislation I am creating the atmosphere which will smoothen the way for it But there I must stop If I go a step further and start repeating that our objective cannot be achieved except through legislation then it means I have strayed from my duty the duty imposed on me by the particular path that I have chosen to go My duty is clear It demands that without taking recourse to legislation we should be able to bring about a change of heart among the people so that they may voluntarily distribute land without waiting for the legislation Is it because of legislation that mothers suckle their children ? There is then such a power as love in the hearts of men which enriches human life Man lives on love he is born through love and through love is he sustained in his life and finally when he makes ready to depart from here and looks around to catch a sight of his dear ones It is love which consoles him and strengthens him to start on his unknown journey If inspite of such overwhelming evidence of the power of love on every side, I do not endeavour to enlarge the bounds of this force so as to make it the basis of social life, if instead I merely keep harping on legislation I fail to discharge my duty and I falsify the hope of the Government. I therefore want to devote myself to the creation of *Jan-Shakti* , the forging of the sanction of enlightened masses — a power which is opposed to the force of violence and different from the authority of the State

(From Hindi) (To be continued)

The Ensuing Kabil Examination

The ensuing *Kabil* Examination of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Wardha, will be held on the 18th and 19th of July 1953 Applications, together with the fees, should reach the Wardha office before the 18th June 1953 For detailed information please write to the address below

27-4-'53 AMRITLAL NANAVATI
Secretary
Hindustani Prachar Sabha Wardha

Erratum

In para 2, line 3 of the article "Shri Vinoba in Manbhum District published in the *Harijan* of 25-4 '53 for 'Hindi is not a rich language' please read 'Hindi is not *only* a rich language' etc.

HARIJAN

May 2, 1953

DISTURBING NEWS

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

In reply to the debate on the Finance Bill in the House of the People on 16th April 1953 the Finance Minister Shri C D Deshmukh referred to suggestions made for remitoducing the Salt Duty and is reported to have remarked as follows

> Mr Deshmukh expressing his personal view said that it has not been left indefinitely to the future. One has to consider it in proper time I do not admit that the time has arrived I admit that it might come he said" (*Hindustan Times* 17-4-53)

It would have been good if the Finance Minister had said when was the time going to be proper, how it was not so at present and what drove him to feel it might come He said that he was speaking personally which means that it was not the view of the Government of India, but might well be so at the proper time Does Shri Deshmukh bide his time to bring the Government of India to his view? But that is another story It might be well for us all to recollect that salt, liquor, and cloth have been three chief things round which the national sentiment for freedom and fight for it had been woven into a pattern of a non-violent rebellion against the foreign Government There was nothing peculiar which made us resent this impost on salt then and which should not apply now

As Gandhiji said

> 'The salt tax oppresses all alike It hits the poor most hardest The little babe and the invalid and the aged—all suffer alike from this iniquitous tax
>
> "There is no article like salt outside water by taxing which the State can reach even the starving millions the sick the maimed and the utterly helpless The tax continues therefore the most inhuman poll tax that the ingenuity of man can devise

Therefore, the above news from the Finance Minister is vey disturbing indeed It must be opposed by all betimes

20-4-'53

By Mahatma Gandhi

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SATYAGRAHA IN SOUTH AFRICA

(By John P Fletcher)

[Peaceful and non-violent resistance which the coloured people in South Africa are putting up before the organized might of the White State there is in direct and very welcome contrast to the Mau Mau agitation of Kenya, about which the reader must have read in the previous issue of the *Harijan* from the pen of a peace-lover like Shri Fenner Brockway M P England The South African movement has a special claim to our attention help and sympathy as it bears historical and spiritual descent from Gandhiji's South Africa movement which gave to the world the matchless weapon of Satyagraha The recent movement is about 2 years old now and thank God it is still going strong and volume even against very heavy odds born of elemental racial hatreds and jealousies A resume of this two year old story is reproduced below from the 1953 Spring number of *The War Resister* England with the hope that it will help the reader to focus his attention on it There is a lesson in it for the Kenya people which they should heed to to their own benefit and also of humanity because terrorism and counter terrorism which it unhappily provokes should be beyond the pale of modern civilized world and it must be considered barbarous whether it may be from the State or from the people

18-4-53 —M P]

I am glad that I have been asked to discuss the significance of the South African Passive Resistance Campaign and its importance to the War Resisters' International To me it is of the utmost importance that we should understand and give our strongest support to the Campaign which began on June 26th 1952

At its 39th Annual Conference held in December 1951 the African National Congress resolved to embark upon a mass Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign with the co-operation of the South African Indian Congress Dr Moroka Chairman of the Congress, wrote to Dr Malan that if certain laws which were "undemocratic, unjust racially discriminatory and repugnant to the natural rights of man" were not repealed before February 29th 1952 they would have to start the Campaign Dr Malan's long and considered reply was published on January 29th He said that the Government had no intention of repealing 'the long existing laws differentiating between Europeans and Africans". Answering the three points made by Dr Moroka Dr Malan said

> 1 "You will realize I think that these differences (between the Bantu and the Europeans) are permanent and not man made
>
> 2 "You demand that the Union should no longer remain a State controlled by the Europeans Racial harmony cannot be attained in that manner Compliance with such demands inevitably leads to disaster for all population groups
>
> 3 Your third point is that the differentiating laws are of an oppressive and degrading nature This again is a totally incorrect statement.

To this Dr J S Moroka, on February 18th 1952 replied

> "The question at issue is not one of biological differences, but one of citizenship rights which are granted in full measure to one section of the population

[illegible] of man [illegible] serve the [illegible] but to [illegible] African people

[illegible] to the [illegible] action [illegible] Congress intends to launch [illegible] as a defenceless and voiceless [illegible] explored other channels without [illegible]

[illegible] people are left with no alternative [illegible] the Campaign. We desire to state [illegible] is our intention to conduct this [illegible] peaceful manner and that any disturbance [illegible] occur will not be of our making [illegible] plea for direct representation we [illegible] our firm determination to [illegible] for the attainment of full citizenship [illegible]

The [illegible] began on June 26th Preparations [illegible] had been the holding of mass [illegible] in the chief cities Congress [illegible] ten thousand volunteers had been secured On June 20th the Action Committee published a notice

> Only non Europeans nominated by the Action Committee of the A N C and the S A Indian Congress should take part in the campaign against unjust laws beginning on June 28th The Campaign will be undertaken by active volunteers ' trained to remain disciplined No others may publicly transgress laws All non Europeans must go to work as usual there is no call for a general strike'

The plan of Campaign was also announced It had three stages

1 For selected and trained persons to take action in a few big towns

2 For groups of voluntary resisters well organised to act in the big towns

3 When the leaders had exemplified non violent resistance in action the movement would be extended to general action in town and country

The Campaign (now at its second stage) has proceeded for six months and over eight thousand men and women have taken part and been arrested The behaviour of the resisters according to the Johannesburg correspondent of the London *Economist* has been "impeccable" On their side too the magistrates and police have responded in an orderly way There have been no excesses The Campaigners are charged with contravening pass laws failing to produce passes entering post offices and railway stations by entrances marked 'For Europeans only' breaking curfew regulations and entering forbidden areas" Punishments are restrained usually being a fine of £ 2 with twenty days' imprisonment though some sentences of three months have been imposed and younger resisters are being caned

In a leading article entitled 'Suspense in South Africa' *The Times* (London) of August 16th assessed the significance of the Campaign in the present age of political turbulence in South Africa There has so far been little or no violence on the part of either the rebels or the police" it says "Each side seems to recognize that by first resorting to force it would give the moral advantage to the other There are signs that the [illegible] the administration.'

These signs of stress and of [illegible] are as follows

1 An incident told to Agatha Harrison (an English Quaker) by Dr Z K Matthews of two bridges across a river, one for whites, one for blacks "A group defied the law (having given notice of what they were going to do) and of course were arrested Others took their place and eventually the prohibition was removed"

2 On August 28th a Cape Town Magistrate declared a Native "defier of unjust laws" not guilty of a charge of sitting in a European waiting-room at Cape Town station on August 3rd The Magistrate said that there was no waiting-room provision for First and Second Class male non-European passengers The equipment in non-European waiting-rooms was also "greatly inferior" to that provided for Europeans

3 The most important report however was in *The Times* (London) of 5th November from its Pretoria correspondent

> "Police in Natal are adopting a new method of dealing with breaches of such laws as the curfew regulations by native resisters The policy is to ignore such demonstrators so long as they remain peaceful.
>
> The Defiance Campaign has given the South African police much extra work and the authorities appear to be taking the view that they cannot afford to waste so much time on passive resisters but must concentrate on preventing crime and violence"

This action of magistrates and judges of South Africa is a significant factor in the present history of South Africa and is shown in the moderate sentences in these passive resistance cases and in the struggle between the present Government and the Courts over the constitutional question In August last the Government decided to charge the Campaign leaders, Dr Moroka and Dr Dadoo and eighteen members of the Executive under the vaguely defined new ' Suppression of Communism Act" They were charged with the offence that the open defiance of the apartheid laws and regulations was designed to change the industrial and social organization of the country through unconstitutional and disorderly means In December the Transvaal Court gave judgement Mr Justice Rumpff sentenced them to nine months' imprisonment each but the sentences were suspended for two years on condition that they were not convicted of further offences against the Act In giving judgement the Judge said that "the accused were in his opinion guilty of encouraging a scheme which aimed at bringing about a political, industrial, social or economic change within the meaning of the Act, by means that included unlawful acts or omission — contravening certain Union laws and municipal regulations The Judge said the offence of which the accused had all been found guilty was "Statutory Communism" The charge has nothing to do with Communism as it is commonly known Leave to appeal was granted (*South Africa* 6 12 '52)

On November 28th the G[illegible] published an order mai[illegible]ing it an offence [illegible] Africans to break laws and to hold meet[illegible] more than ten Africans the punishment [illegible] imprisonment up to three yea[illegible] or a fine up to [illegible]00 In response a European participation in the Defiance Campaign was announced to be led by Patrick Duncan There had been careful preparation for this, and on December 8th (*Times* report) seven Europeans were arrested in Johannesburg for taking part in the defiance of unjust laws campaign against apartheid They entered Germiston an African location and held a meeting of Africans The Europeans who were the first white people to be arrested in the Defiance Campaign, were accompanied by 14 Africans and 18 Indians, including Manilal Gandhi who were also arrested

"Within a few minutes (of entering the location) a crowd of about 1,000 singing Africans was following the group The procession was accompanied by police wireless cars and members of the special branch of the C I D Addressing the Africans in both English and Sesuto Mr Duncan said 'Today South African people of all kinds have come among you They have come with love for you and with peace I ask you to do what you have to do without making trouble but in the spirit of love (*Times* 8-12 52)

It is early yet to appraise the importance of this new movement It is early also to appraise the importance of the year-old Resistance Movement but it is very clear that many sections of South African life and thought have been moved into fresh thought and action by the appeal to their conscience

The South African Council of Churches urges the calling of a National Convention, at which all races would be represented to work out the means by which partnership to all racial groups in the country's life could be achieved The Institute of Race Relations urges a Conference between the Government and the African leaders A "Liberal Group" of religious and social leaders has called for a liberal policy of equal rights. The Dutch Reformed Church has announced a Conference of all Church leaders to discuss the problem

According to a report in *The Friend* (Pretoria) specific reference to passive resistance was recently given by the Bishop of Bloemfontein when addressing his synod He said that it was a fundamental principle for Christians not to endanger public order except when defying a law which was contrary to moral principles "It is unchristian and wrong for rulers to impose upon those whom they rule laws which restrict and humiliate the dignity and liberty natural to man laws whose chief effect is to fill gaols to overflowing with non-criminal prisoners" There is evidence of world opinion too in the declaration of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches Under the Chairmanship of the Bishop of Chichester in its meeting at Lucknow from 31-12-'52 to 3 1 '53 the Central Committee affirmed "all political social and economic discrimination [illegible] of race, wherever they may [illegible] to the will of God as expressed in the Christian gospel Recognizing that existing racial discriminations are increasing tension and bitterness in various parts of the world the Committee calls upon the member Churches to engage in the Christian ministry of reconciliation and to do all in their power to end such discrimination wherever it exists"

This passive resistance technique is that oppressed people by willingly accepting the punishment the law imposes for breaking unjust laws appeal to the conscience of their oppressors

The resisters' relations with the police are friendly the police are informed when the acts of resistance are planned and have responded in a friendly way Magistrates and judges have been "friendly" in the mildness of the sentences imposed and by a surprising number of "discharges"

I believe that now that prominent white South Africans have joined the Campaign the Campaign Committee will be more determined than ever to go forward and that the Malan Government will be more hesitant to break it The new President of the African National Congress, Chief Albert Luthuli said at the fortieth Conference held in December 1952 in Johannesburg, his policy would be never to resort to force to invite more Europeans to volunteer and to allow nothing to stand in the way of his people's freedom

15-1-'53

BHOODAN FIGURES

[Upto April 10, 1953]

S N	Name of the Province	Land Collections
1	Assam	256
2	Andhra	7,097
3	Orissa	5,102
4	Uttar Pradesh	4,74 529
5	Karnatak	595
6	Kerala	5 800
7	Gujarat	5 501
8	Tamilnad	6,976
9	Delhi	1 124
10	Punjab and Pepsu	1,045
11	Bengal	102
12	Bombay City	—
13	Bihar	5.50 027
14	Madhya Pradesh	15,042
15	Madhya Bharat	2,491
16	Maharashtra	5,000
17	Mysore	343
18	Rajasthan	22 072
19	Vindhya Pradesh	2 382
20	Saurashtra	3 000
21	Himachal Pradesh	1,008
22	Hyderabad	42 177
	Total	11 51,667

Note Of the collections from Bihar 4,00 027 acres have come from Hazaribagh District alone

KRISHNARAJ MEHTA
Office Secretary
Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh,
Sevagram, Wardha (M P)

OUR GREAT HERITAGE

[This is the third instalment of the Gandhi Memorial Lecture delivered by Dr Sushila Nayyar on 2-12 52 before the students of the Agra University]

III

Why do we want to study Gandhiji's life and techniques ? He was the greatest revolutionary of our age and was the architect of India's freedom He came to an India physically powerless and morally bankrupt The ruthlessness with which the revolt of 1857 called Mutiny, was put down had crushed India's nationalistic aspirations There were a handful of revolutionaries on the one hand who frittered away their energies in a series of reckless but futile acts of terrorism on the other, there were liberals who confined themselves to the holding of meetings and passing of resolutions The vast majority of the Indian people cringed before the foreign rulers and quarrelled among themselves for the crumbs that fell from the table of the white masters I need not repeat to an audience like this the story of mutual rivalries and betrayal among the Indian Princes which forged the chains of India s slavery All the moral degradation and selfishness which is associated with political subjection under an alien rule was present amongst us in its ugliest form when Gandhiji arrived on the Indian scene He was not discouraged or dismayed The great revolutionary that he was, he set to work steadily and silently He prepared and presented a programme which purified and revolutionarized our entire national life Indians who had trembled at the sight of a white soldier learnt to face bayonets with bare breast, with courage in their hearts, and a determination to break but not bend His simple message of fearlessness and relteration of the age-old thesis 'Die we all must, why not face death bravely for a noble cause ?' had a magical effect Words proceeding from the lips of one who never preached what he did not practise went straight to the heart and India, humiliated and prostrate, felt the thrill of new life. The masses of India were awakened from their slumber of centuries

You are all familiar with the history of India's freedom struggle The whole concept of non-violent resistance rests on the basic belief that men are not bad at heart They can be made to see and do the right thing Non violence never aims at humiliating or hurting the opponent It seems to win him over so that the victory is complete and permanent But he alone can kindle the spark of divinity in the opponent's breast, who has it burning bright within his own Hence Gandhiji's insistence on inner revolution

The eleven disciplines repeated morning and evening at the Ashram prayer meetings were calculated to revolutionize the individual and from an average human being make of him a Satyagrahi To the extent that a Satyagrahi practised those disciplines, he became a better soldier of non-violence "The weapon of Ahimsa never fails" said Gandhiji. "But [illegible] wield it must acquire the skill to do so" His own life story is an illustration of how he acquired that skill and how his skill grew so that he became the general who could lead men and women of common clay — with very inadequate understanding of the technique of non-violence on to a mighty struggle of nationwide non-violent resistance which altered the course of history The cry of the millions — 'British power must quit India' and their readiness to silently suffer for their rights without inflicting injury, at last made Britain to pause and ponder The result you all know The peaceful transfer of power from the rulers to the ruled has left no trail of bitterness behind and India and Britain are today the best of friends Non-violence alone could have achieved it The mighty British empire which had come out victorious against many nations with mighty armies and unheard of weapons of war, had to yield before unarmed Indians It was a milestone in human history The world saw a new light in the midst of dark clouds of wars which keep on perpetuating themselves and never solve any problems. Here was a ray of hope Gandhiji had shown a new way of righting political wrongs and settling international problems.

His adherence to absolute truth made him see clearly that if Indians were to successfully rouse the conscience of the British against the sin of the exploitation of Indians under foreign rule, their own hands must be clean They must cease to be exploiters in their own country. And so he led a crusade against untouchability, and vowed not to rest till the evil was eliminated from Indian society, root and branch He created a social revolution without the shedding of a single drop of blood which battered down the citadel of an ages-old tyranny His intense humanity made him feel horrified at the treatment meted out by the so-called caste Hindus to those born in Harijan homes He declared open war against the sin of untouchability and shouted from the house tops that if untouchability lives, Hinduism must die The high priests of orthodoxy were shocked at this plain speaking They organized black-flag demonstration and even bombed his car But a lucky accident saved him. A crowd armed with lathis surrounded his car during his Harijan tour in Orissa. He stepped out of the car and walked through the hostile crowd alone unaided, unprotected. His cool courage exposing his bare body to the lathi blows of the incensed mob nonplussed the demonstrators No one had the heart to aim a blow at him Instead, the hooligans used their lathis to make way for him through the dense crowd From then on he conducted the rest of the tour on foot. His party grew like a snowball and his message spread like wild fire Indifferent to threats unruffled by attacks of all kinds, he went on telling them gently but firmly that in the interest of Hindus as well as Harijans untouchability must go At last light did dawn on Hindu society and it woke up to its responsibility Another milestone was reached on

[illegible] The [illegible] that [illegible] even [illegible] of [illegible] soc[illegible] [illegible] violence

[illegible]

NEXT STEP IN BHOODAN YAJNA MOVEMENT

(By Shankarrao Deo)

Not only did we reiterate [illegible] the great vow of collecting 25 lakh [illegible] of land for Bhoodan Yajna to which we [illegible] pledged ourselves at Sevapuri in 1952 but [illegible] further solemnly pledged that we shall [illegible] content after collecting only 25 lakh acres of land in the next 12 months but shall collect [illegible] acres of land before 1957 with a view to prepare a ground for the establishment of Sarvodaya Samaj free from exploitation and based on equality

An expedition st[illegible]mbing a peak of a mountain like the Himalayas has a happy experience of having the sight of a peak still higher and is even more inspired to capture that also Shri Vinobaji secured the first gift of 100 acres in April 1951 By the time of Sevapuri Conference the people had donated him one lakh acres of land At Sevapuri the Sarvodaya workers fixed the target of collecting 25 lakh acres of land for the Bhoodan Yajna in two years 7-8 lakhs out of these 25 lakhs were collected by the time of Chandil Conference The Uttar Pradesh had nearly finished the quota of 5 lakhs by collecting 4 75 lakhs

The fact that thousands of landowners big and small donated 7-8 lakh acres of land for the Bhoodan Yajna within a period of one year though a part of that year was spent in creating the necessary faith and right insight regarding the idea in the worker and people at large and in building an organization for the attainment of the target, itself simply proves that the flame of the Bhoodan Yajna is aglow in the hearts of the public and the Bhoodan Yajna has assumed the form of a national movement

But for enthusiasm the movement with vehemence and speed workers making it a life mission should offer themselves in large numbers With this end in view the Chandil Conference called upon those having faith in the idea of Sarvodaya and specially the constructive workers to give priority to Bhoodan Yajna

During the last two years there was an incessant propaganda for Bhoodan Yajna throughout the country But it is a common experience that the propaganda is always short of the need There is certain stage and time in propaganda when the actual work invigorates the propaganda The workers should therefore utilize all their energy and the time for the actual collection of land We must remember that a great pledge is crowned with success by the combination of an alert body a concentrated mind and a tranquil heart

All harvest [illegible] reaped th[illegible] year Though [illegible] is specially called upon th[illegible] believing in the idea of Sa[illegible] the country [illegible] devote them[illegible] all em[illegible] will [illegible] as the task is to be a[illegible] violence and change of h[illegible] kinds of workers who have [illegible] movement and the number is even mo[illegible] All these donors small or big are all co[illegible] workers The organizers of the regional Bhoodan Yajna Committees should skillfully [illegible] schemes by which each worker will get w[illegible] according to his capacity and in his own sphere [illegible] work Each worker should be allotted a definite sphere He should visit each village in the [illegible] and should aim at spreading the message of Sarvodaya and getting at least 5 acres of land [illegible] in each village after the Sevapuri resolution If each worker works with the firm determination we can surely believe that the target of 25 lakhs shall be fulfilled before April 1954

GANDHISM

(By Gandhiji)

If Gandhism is another name for sectarianism, it deserves to be destroyed If I were to know, after my death, that what I stood for had degenerated into sectarianism I should be deeply pained. We have to work away silently Let no one say that he is a follower of Gandhi It is enough that I should be my own follower I know what an inadequate follower I am of myself, for I cannot live up to the convictions I stand for You are no followers but fellow students fellow pilgrims fellow seekers fellow workers

We have to make truth and non-violence not matters for mere individual practice but for practice by groups and communities and nations That at any rate is my dream I shall live and die in trying to realize it My faith helps me to discover new truths every day *Ahimsa* is the attribute of the soul and therefore to be practised by everybody in all the affairs of life If it cannot be practised in all departments, it has no practical value.

There is always the fear of self-righteousness possessing us the fear of arrogating to ourselves a superiority we do not possess Rather than, therefore call yourselves members of the Gandhi Seva Sangh why not carry truth and *ahimsa* in every home and be individual representatives of them wherever you are ?

Harijan 13-8-40

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Andhra and Prohibition

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor MAGANBHAI P DESAI

VOL XVII No 10 AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, MAY 9, 1953 TWO ANNAS

1629

THE BHOODAN MOVEMENT AND EXPLOITATION

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

The reader is requested to refer to my article, 'The Bhoodan Movement' in *Harijan* dated April 4 1953 in which I had replied to a question by Shri Nargolkar My reply he now writes to me has not satisfied him And he draws my attention to the following para of his question

> Having no role to play except that of a silent spectator the passive receiver he (the donee) has no share of achievement and no joy therefrom He is not in a position to make any effort to recover what he has wrongfully deprived of. Anything that is acquired without any effort on the part of the donee not only loses all of its value in the donee's eyes but robs him of an opportunity for self-expression and the development of personality

And he adds that he feels keenly that none has satisfactorily met his objection that in the efforts that are being made at present for freeing the land from the possession of the big landowners there is no room for the active association of the landless And he illustrates this remark of his as follows

> What a great role did our people play in our struggle for freedom This was made possible because there was scope in that movement for them to play such part

He adds

> I was in Bombay in 1942. When the police teargassed the crowds women from upper floors of adjacent buildings poured bucketfuls of water on the people below In itself it was a tiny little act — as nothing when measured against the vastness of the movement Yet it gave them joy and satisfaction of participating in the Satyagraha, I am sorry I do not see any such scope for participation by the landless in the Bhoodan Movement."

I have put down above Shri Nargolkar's query at some length so as to make his point clearer to the readers I think I had grasped his point correctly and had also tried to reply to it in the article referred to above I wrote, "If Bhoodan Movement is mere giving and receiving surely the landless would function as a dumb recipient and naturally he cannot be anything else" But as I had tried to show in my reply, both giving and receiving are equal components of this *yajna* and both are therefore necessary for its fulfilment in equal measure The donor must realize that his giving land is no grace nor favour, but is atonement — *prayaschitta* — for him. And the recipient has to prepare himself for using the land received for his own good and in the general interest of society as a whole — which means that he must also undergo self purification Taking for granted as Shri Nargolkar says, that land was unjustly snatched away from the landless, the question remains, how are we going to effect a just distribution of land now? How are the landless to be restored to their due share of the land? How can such transfer of land be brought about through truth and non violence? It is from our quest for an answer to such a question that we find that if the landless refuse co-operation in their own exploitation exploitation would come to an end After all, the land-owners stick to their possessions in land in the hope of the produce which the land offers them. For exploiting land to their advantage they need the co-operation of the peasants and labourers And they are enabled to continue exploiting these landless toilers since such co-operation has been forthcoming If the poor could be made to understand that the landowners cannot exploit them without their co-opetation and that they can therefore stop it if they like, we will have obtained the non violent solution of this question. As Gandhiji pointed out in his article on 'Equal Distribution' (*Harijan*, 25-8-'40), 'the rich cannot accumulate wealth without the co-operation of the poor in society Man has been conversant with violence (but) the knowledge (of the strength of Ahimsa) has (also) grown within him slowly but surely If this knowledge were to penetrate to and spread among the poor, they would become strong and would learn how to free themselves by means of non-violence from the crushing inequalities which have brought them to the verge of starvation."

This would show that the Bhoodan Yajna is the only non violent solution of the land-problem in India and it provides the landless also with an active programme of organizing themselves into a united force. Workers should undertake to do so as a part of their constructive activity They should be able to see from this its vast potentiality for bringing about a non-violent revolution It was in this context that I had said that the *bhoodan* had a message for the landless as well that he too should rise and be ready to become an intelligent and co-operating partner in the decentralized and self-reliant agro-industrial

[illegible] g

[illegible] did [illegible] e of [illegible] Ho[illegible]ns [illegible] mild [illegible] ne [illegible] If this [illegible] Vinoba [illegible] that so [illegible] the help [illegible] force to [illegible] question [illegible] programme This [illegible] approved of it [illegible]

[illegible] once also to meet [illegible] on the matter [illegible] much concerned [illegible] State landowners [illegible] then lands under the [illegible] would like to cultivate tho[illegible] somethi He added that while on the [illegible] they were earning praise for their [illegible] land in the Bhoodan Yajna, on the [illegible] taking as they used to do before, [illegible] one sixth share of the produce which [illegible] due to them Such complaints have [illegible] Surat and Kheda districts also These [illegible] true Bombay State has passed a law giving certain rights to the tenants For example [illegible] cannot be evicted except when the landowner [illegible] to personally cultivate the land in question Then there is a limit to the land which a person can have for personal cultivation If the Zamindar wants to sell his land, the tenant will have the first right to purchase it The peasants shall certainly exercise all these rights and make [illegible] of the advantages which the legislation [illegible] to confer on them They must certainly insist on paying no more than the one-sixth share of the produce to the zamindar and they can do so if they organize themselves into a united group and become strong As in the case of untouchability though we have the law for its total abolition we are still far from having achieved its full implementation in the remote villages so also here for some time to come, there will perhaps be a lag between law and actual practice The rich are not going to abandon exploiting poverty and unemployment to their advantage as long as they can But this is no excuse for any slackening of efforts to achieve the full implementation of this beneficial measure If the Government and the workers in co-operation with each other continue to work patiently among the peasants this can be made possible The organized strength of the peasants exercised peacefully can certainly sweep away every obstacle from its path As I said in my previous article on the subject this constitutes a vast programme in which the landless can and should play a great role

Let the wo[illegible] work will this purpose in [illegible] alize the far reaching revolu[illegible] of the Bhoodan Yajna Only [illegible] that this revolution has [illegible] violent

26-4-'53

(From the original in Hindi)

GOVERNMENT ADVERTISEMENTS

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

A reader-friend draws my attention to a few editorial observations in *The Times of India* of 28th April, 1953 on the question of the 'Privileges of the Press' One of these touches the point I had referred to in my article 'Two Questions' in the 25th April issue of the *Harijan* I had suggested therein that just as an individual advertiser has discretion so also as an advertiser Government would have it as well even though it is a popular institution And I had added as a proviso to it that

> "Government will exercise it as a trustee of the people for the social good that is it will exercise it with due consideration of the public good and in the interests of social security good taste decency decorum etc As every act of a State it must be free from any injustice Therefore it is not an unrestricted right of a paper to get Government advertisements Those papers which go down in the necessary standard of good taste decorum etc or so conduct themselves as to jeopardize the security of the State and its people will naturally incur displeasure of the people so also of the Government as well and if it be so needed Government might have to proceed against them in a legal manner as well Thus a Government may not move because of any criticism good or bad. As we saw above honest criticism must be free But if a paper goes out of the bounds of requirements of general social taste decency decorum etc it will not be liberty but licence Both the State as well as the people should surely show their displeasure at it Freedom of the Press is a responsibility to see that it is not misused is always a function of the State and Society also."

The Times of India ignores the proviso quoted above and objects to my suggestion by saying that the "analogy of a private advertiser is utterly untenable, for there is an essential difference between the two The private advertiser's money is all his own In the case of Government advertisements it is public money that is involved" In my article quoted above I have already noted this distinction But the distinction does not make any essential difference Not even a private advertiser can have absolute discretion None in society, either individuals or corporations, can have such absolutism All will agree that as the trustee of the people the State and its Government have to be responsible for the public good And surely Government cannot abdicate this without detriment to the interests of good Government This is not the privilege of the Government but its responsibility The private advertiser also has a similar responsibility, though on a smaller scale as he is no absolute owner of his money in the sense in which *The Times of India* appears to take him He can also use his money as a trustee unto the corporate good of the people, although for his own

[illegible] must subserve [illegible] social philosophy of [illegible] propound that an individual [illegible] also for the matter of that his [illegible] even his mental gifts are absolute [illegible] he is privileged to use them as [illegible] Gandhiji tried to teach us a man in [illegible] that he does with his possession [illegible] to the society in which he lives and has [illegible] being It is not an exclusive possession in the sense that he can use it in any anti-social manner The privilege of possession conferred by the society is a responsibility and a trust This principle applies to all, whether individuals or corporate institutions No one in society can have an unlimited or exclusive privilege Surely public money is not a patronage in the hands of the Government, it is a responsibility and the State as trustee of the people has to see that the money it collects from the people is put to the best use No one says that it must be spent on a partisan basis

It must also be noted that the principle of trusteeship described above applies to the Press also It should understand that advertising by it is not a mere gainful activity for it it is a trust and a responsibility As such it must also discriminate between good and bad advertisement with a view to helping educating and directing [illegible] the general public It is very unfortunate that the Press as it is at present does not consider [illegible] in this way Let us hope the Press Commission has something to give us on this [illegible] question

[illegible] point regarding Government advertisements I may well add at the end General [illegible] Government advertisement is not [illegible] of private commercial or trade [illegible] It is more or less public an[illegible] public information The Press [illegible] do it so and suitably insert it in [illegible] items of public news and without [illegible] is a commercial bargain [illegible] change the question of Govern[illegible] from so did consideration of [illegible] which I fear vitiates clear [illegible] of values and freedom of the [illegible] is advertisement

Flouting the Constitution

In Mysore as well as New Delhi the retreat from Congress principles is in full swing Mysore has re-opened 150 liquor shops which had been closed before and Delhi is importing beef and bacon as well as more and more foreign liquors, (about 3 lakh gallons more in 1951 than in 1949), such as beer whisky gin and brandy which constituted the largest items and champagne which registered the biggest increase.

V G D

LIFE AND DEATH IN KOREA

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

The above picture named *Crucifixion of Korea* is reproduced from the *Peace News* London of February 27, 1953 The painting was brought into the pulpit of Mount Hollywood Congregational Church Hollywood U S A in aid of a collection for Korean relief The Minister of the Church asked the sergeant who had just come back from Korea to come up to the pulpit and comment on the painting That is just how it is over there," he said after looking at the background of blazing ruins It is to be noted that inspite of 'blazing ruins' life as embodied by the eternal mother and the child persists with pathos of its own and a grimness that can be seen on the face of the Korean mother in the picture The child is all innocence secure in the lap of the mother which is life itself.

The following poem (THE VOICE OF MAN, by B K M) is also reproduced from the same issue of the *Peace News* It tells us the same story of man and his civilization today

The joyous hope of birds,
The breathing peace of country scenes,
Poetry, the solace of jewelled words,
All are shattered Hope joy peace and light,
The voice of man breaks in —
"We made another bombing-raid last night."

17-4-'53

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HARIJAN

May 9, 1953

ANDHRA AND PROHIBITION

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

The *Indian Republic*, Madras in its issue of April 22 1953 has editorially taken objection to my suggestion (Vide *Harijan*, 18-4-'53, 'The New State of Andhra') that Andhra should not be off prohibition even after separation from Madras and that Justice Wanchoo should have better not raised the question offhand I still feel that Justice Wanchoo should have, even from the legal and economic or financial point of view, seen the wisdom of our national policy of prohibition if at all he chose to touch the question of finance for the new State in the manner he did in his report to the Union Government, and I hold that Andhra should take itself to be the same as the parent State so far at least as the policy of prohibition goes The all-India directive is there for it also and it should rather thank itself that the endeavour to prohibit drink and drugs has already been started for it and that it has the good fortune of proceeding further in the noble cause

The objection is also taken by that paper on the point of wisdom of this policy even and, I must say, on the most astounding plea of what the paper describes as the "moral aspect of prohibition" According to it this aspect consists in the following

> 'First the compulsion which it enforces has a deleterious effect on the mind. (whose mind? *Ed.*) The natural revulsion to compulsion, the subterfuges and surreptitious ways it engenders, mitigates and militates against moral stamina of people"

Not merely moral, there is, according to the paper the intellectual aspect of prohibition also, and the paper tries to show it in the following manner

> 'In India most people are ignorant. Their intellectual level is low (Is it so? They may not be so learned as to argue in the manner for example the paper does but that is different from being intellectual *Ed.*) The moral principles or the social doctrines implicit in prohibition are hard to understand Therefore what is required is the raising of the standard of mental understanding"

The paper further goes on to add the health aspect of prohibition also in the same strain:

> "Again what is also required is the promotion of the health of the people which is admittedly at a low ebb If these are secured in a high measure, people by themselves would realize the evils of drink and stand aloof from it."

From this specious pleading is shown the following Q E D which the paper gives as follows:

> "The State has to pool all its resources [illegible] poverty and what follows from that scourge [illegible] for a State? *Ed.*) make itself financ[illegible] strong and by providing education medical aid pr[illegible] housing and raising the standards of life prove it [illegible] evils of drink, in the normal course which is p[illegible] by the intellectual understanding that flows out [illegible] knowledge"

A fine way of improving the lot of the people and raising the 'standard of their mental understanding' also through debauching stupifying and ruining them by supplying drink and drugs at public cost! Is this the standard of "intellectual understanding" that is sought to be flowing from education? The truth of the matter is that the middle and upper classes who have been profiting by what goes on today in the present order of our society in the name of education, health, and such other welfare services so-called want them to be paid as much as possible by the poor, by defrauding them and fleecing them of their hard-earned money through the device of a drink and-drug shop It is really pick-pocketing them and using the money so 'intellectually' secured for the interests of the upper classes This is really robbing Peter to pay Paul The fancied dangers of corruption, illicit distillation etc. are mere dialectical bug-bears raised in their own minds and by these classes themselves to lull themselves to vain self-conceit and pseudo self-righteousness Otherwise the masses have intuitively known and experienced that prohibition is a Gandhi-given boon to them Let us therefore be warned betimes before the masses realize to their great fury about the upper class intellectuals that they do not want prohibition as they want easy money from the poor for their selfish ends If the State in India wishes to progress, which it should, and if it stands for the poor and the down-trodden in the land, it has not to be drawn away by such specious sophistry as that of the Madras paper Let it be noted that drink revenue is only a misnomer, it is not revenue, but economic drain and worse. As Mr Robert Pierson, President of the International Temperance Association, Southern Asia Division, broadcasting from A. I R, Bombay, said, "Liquor revenue is a mere trifle compared with the economic costs and social waste of the traffic The 'returns' of liquor revenue are illusions, more startling than any mirage that mocks and deceives a desert traveller" As the reader will find the broadcast talk reproduced elsewhere in this issue, I refrain from quoting it further Let us so-called intellectuals beware that prohibition is one of the chief acid tests of our *bona fides* and the earnest of our good intentions that we who today happen to dominate the State in India stand and work for the poor masses in India

29-4-'53

LIQUOR REVENUE A MIRAGE

[From a talk of Mr Robert Pierson, President of the [illegible]onal Temperance Association, Southern Asia [illegible] speaking on 'What About Liquor Revenue?' [illegible] Bombay Station of All India Radio on Sunday, [illegible] 1953]

During the past three months I have travelled over [illegible] parts of India On this tour it has been my privi[illegible] to meet many very interesting people Naturally [illegible] been interested in learning their reactions to the [illegible] cause of temperance and especially their attitude [illegible]rd the issue of prohibition My quest brought me [illegible] contact with men and women of all walks of life I talked with college professors businessmen white-collar men and hardy peasants From the lush emerald paddy fields of South India to the snow-crowned peaks of your incomparable Himalayas I find among the people one outstanding question regarding prohibition—'How can we make up the loss in revenue we are experiencing or would experience as the result of adopting prohibition?'

I find the question of prohibition and the loss of revenue very closely associated in the minds of many in all walks of Indian life today For instance I was making a purchase in a prohibition area When the clerk handed me his bill he called my attention to the tax included 'If we were not losing so much money from prohibition we would not have to add all of these taxes to purchases he informed me

On another occasion, recently I was riding on the train with a well-educated gentleman who introduced himself as an author and former professor in a large Indian university Our conversation soon turned to the use of alcoholic beverages and the prohibition issue 'Prohibition is too expensive an experiment for a country like India' he said, 'We are endeavouring to become adjusted to our new status as an independent nation We find ourselves confronted with many pressing needs to better the lot of our people We need to develop large irrigation schemes to make more of our lands productive so we can grow more food We need to develop our industries We need to expand and improve our transportation and communication facilities We need more and better schools and hospitals But all of these projects require revenue States where prohibition is in effect are losing crores of rupees every year through loss of revenue on liquor We cannot afford to lose this large amount of money so urgently required for our national development!'

Over and over again, I have heard similar arguments The loss of revenue appears to be one of the greatest objections to prohibition in India today But now let us face the facts. Does any nation lose more through the loss of liquor revenue than it would pay out to heal the wounds it is bound to inflict upon its citizens as the result of legalized liquor? In other words is the loss of revenue greater than will be the increased costs to the State that will inevitably come as the result of increased crime and greater demands on welfare funds?

Legalized liquor brings more drunkenness drunkenness means increased crime, more accidents more broken homes greater poverty increased juvenile delinquency The State cannot ignore these problems Increased crime means more necessary funds for law enforcement and penal institutions More accidents mean that more hospital facilities are required More broken homes increased juvenile delinquency and greater poverty demand State funds to cope with such problems Do not ever forget it—these and other demands that inevitably follow legalized liquor will come and the experience of other nations reveals that the cost to Government of legalized liquor far exceeds the amount realized through liquor revenue

A close-up of the phrase, 'liquor revenue,' involves an understatement, almost a contradiction so startling as to challenge the accuracy of such a title for the subject According to Webster, the meaning of the word 'revenue' is 'the return of yield from any kind of property (as a source of revenue)'

But a glance at the public statistics of the liquor trade reveals how completely inadequate and deceptive are so-called revenue figures. So far as comprising any adequate returns to the State from the day-by-day transactions of the liquor trade it is a brazen understatement

Here is a fundamental truth that must not be forgotten

Liquor revenue is a mere trifle as compared with the economic costs and social waste of the traffic

Take my own native country of the United States for example *Every day* the liquor traffic is costing the American people in money value alone nearly $ 33 000 000 or nearly $ 1 400 000 *an hour!* Just multiply these figures by five and you will have some idea how many rupees that would be Just think of it 165 crores of rupees a day or nearly 70 lakhs an hour that the liquor traffic is costing the American people And our country far from safeguarding youth or warning adults continues to take three billion dollars of revenue from the liquor trade each year, while permitting it legally to lure between nine and ten billion dollars every twelve months from the purses of the people it dupes with glamorous sales appeal in the press through the radio and in more recent years through the televized invasion of American homes

In a report filed with the legislature in the State of Massachusetts an investigating committee headed by a prominent judge disclosed that the *direct* cost of alcoholism to their State totalled more than $ 60 000 000 (30 crores of rupees) while the total revenue received from taxes on the liquor industry amounted to about $ 13 000 000 (6 crores 50 lakh rupees) This committee further pointed out that if the cost of the indirect effects were taken into consideration the losses of the State would be astounding There is evidence that, in general the cost to the State from alcoholism is about six or eight times what it receives in taxes from the liquor industry

Careful surveys in this same State revealed that 42 per cent of cases brought before one domestic relations court were directly due to alcoholism and that 47 per cent were due to causes directly or indirectly due to drunkenness on the part of one or both parents Here lies the chief cause for under-privileged and delinquent children To care for this problem costs the State money

Again in Massachusetts it was found that drunkenness is the cause of 50 per cent of crimes punishable by death or imprisonment and 85 per cent of misdemeanours or lesser crimes Alcohol is directly responsible for 25 per cent of mental cases in the State and indirectly the cause of at least 15 per cent more of such cases. To care for the criminal and the mentally ill is a tremendous drain on public funds! Remember, my friends legalized liquor costs a country money For each rupee it receives in liquor revenues it will pay six or eight rupees to meet the cost of alcoholism to the State

The 'returns' of liquor revenue are illusions more startling than any mirage that mocks and deceives a desert traveller Take any economically legitimate business Its products or its service renders a real or tangible benefit to the society that sustains it. The food products, the clothing the building materials made available to the public make lasting contributions They add to the wealth of society conserve its health and promote its well being All the wages paid to the millions employed in these industries are a part of that contribution to public welfare Even its advertising is by and large informative illuminating and constructive

This is not so with the liquor traffic Let us once for all reject the widely disseminated notion that money received by or through the liquor traffic can be regarded as on a plane of economic values similar to the outlay in any legitimate wealth producing industry

The wages paid to labour by liquor may help sustain the lives of the workers who receive them but they do

[illegible] contribute to the public welfare Rather, they are a [illegible] drain on the public and a waste of the public [illegible] with a disproportionate return In view of [illegible] effect and evils which flow from use of [illegible] well legitimalize and seek to capitalize [illegible] their evils prevalent today It would sound [illegible] to suggest that theft and embezzlement be [illegible] to boost the national income Yet while [illegible] an invasion of property rights they do [illegible] physical mental and social demoralisation [illegible] which the liquor traffic generally does [illegible] further and point out that labour [illegible] is thereby withdrawn from the field [illegible] and to that extent it diminishes [illegible] for wholesome products whose manu[illegible] need to employ a larger number [illegible]

[illegible] a nation a great deal more than we [illegible] out that appears on the surface Sur[illegible] reveal that alcohol is the primary [illegible] per cent of absenteeism in [illegible] estimated runs close to a billion [illegible] Survey figured how man workers [illegible] they loafed and the wages lost [illegible] alcohol From this survey it was [illegible] that costs the United States about [illegible] in lost time and inefficient work [illegible] in ordinary language Worker[illegible] three times as many accidents on [illegible] on the other days Monday [illegible] drinkers still have some of the [illegible] They are not as accurate as [illegible] come [illegible] inefficiency caused by [illegible] industry

[illegible] " Legalized liquor costs the [illegible] themselves in liquor revenue [illegible] as compared with the eco[illegible] of the traffic. Instead of [illegible] projects and better school [illegible] enues will go to meet greatly [illegible] law enforcement the upkeep [illegible] permitting the more accentuated [illegible] and poverty that will in [illegible] liquor'

[illegible] experience reveals that liquor [illegible] Legalized liquor costs govern[illegible] individuals plenty]

OUR UNIQUE MISSION

[illegible] second instalment of Shri Vinobaji [illegible] "8-53 in the Chandil Sammelan]

II

I [illegible] give you another example The Government has recently constituted a Khadi Board with a view to helping Khadi Pandit Nehru [illegible] was surprized that what should have taken place four years ago was happening after so much delay Whatever may have caused the delay [illegible] that the Board has been constituted and the Government wants to raise the produc[illegible] of Khadi it becomes our work — the work of the Charkha Sangh to help the Government especially because the Charkha Sangh has long experience in that line And yet I feel that though [illegible] citizens and experts we must offer whatever help we can to them we cannot lose ourselves into it completely Because, we cannot serve Khadi as we want to do in this way We must [illegible] our conception and our aim of Khadi [illegible] help to the Government [illegible] the production of Khadi only secondarily [illegible] coming to work to Khadi in our own way [illegible] should seek ways and means to put an end [illegible] the violence of war and yet be prepaired to [illegible] the wounded soldiers in case war still [illegible] We cannot refuse to do that, though [illegible] forget that it is not our real work [illegible] work will have for its aim the establishment [illegible] the village raj This time, a few days [illegible] when Pandit Nehru came to see me he [illegible] my views I told him that if there is any [illegible] from the Government for Khadi and [illegible] industries It is this that just as we [illegible] the knowledge of reading and writing [illegible] of a citizen's equipment and [illegible] the responsibility to pro[illegible] educating all our people in this [illegible] that circumstances may [illegible] Government from fulfilling this responsibility [illegible] there will be this sense of [illegible] subsequent urge for greater strivi[illegible] in the right direction — so should the Government agree at least in principle, that every Indian citizen must be trained in spinning It may not find it possible to give effect to this responsibility but then it should accept the view that those who do not know spinning are not educated We do not want the Government to help us with money Acceptance of this demand will be enough help for us You will note that I made only this demand of him and no more Had I gone further and asked that the Government should undertake to impose Khadi on the people I would have transgressed the limits of my position Because it would mean that I have forgotten my [illegible] which is to build up *loka shakti* — popular power as distinguished from *danda-shakti* — the coercive power of the State

I have given you these two examples one of *bhoodan* and the other of Khadi to illustrate the difference between our method of work and that of the Government A democratic government may use its *danda-shakti* in solving the problems and none can object to it But that will not create *loka-shakti* though it may succeed in creating wealth and prosperity Such is the outlook behind our work Naturally our method of work must accord with it It is clear that the way we will proceed about our work will be marked by a certain distinction in so far as it will help the people develop freedom from dependence on the State Look at it from this point of view and you will see that our work should proceed on the basis of — one *vichar shasan* or peaceful conversion of people to our view by making them think about it and two *kartritva-vibhajan* or distribution of work among the individuals without creating an administrative authority

Vichar-shasan means the readiness on our part to understand the other person's point of

[illegible] to case sh[illegible] [illegible] one We will [illegible] they [illegible] only after they [illegible] its correctness The peculiar [illegible] Sarvodaya Samaj has led some peo[illegible] [illegible] it as a loose organization But [illegible] Such a thing cannot work It is rathe[illegible] organization in which we rely only on the p[illegible] thought as our sole instrument for our work We neither give orders nor take orders On the contrary we hold friendly consultations The Koran says of the devotees of the Lord that they do their work by mutual consultation I will rejoice if a person refuses to act on my advice because he does not approve it If however he acts on it without understanding it I will be sad This is the way we will work for our objective and I am sure that the organization that will build itself up in this way will far surpass any however efficient and disciplined I do not deny that a disciplined organization using authority to enforce its will has some power It certainly has power, but not the power to produce good If this is borne home to us we will realize the high importance of the propagation of thought as a part of our programme This makes it clear why the Buddha started the institution of the *bhikshus* and Shankaracharya that of the *yatis* They were expected to carry on a ceaseless campaign for the propagation of right thought But the creation of *sanghas* also led to some evil results So while we are not going to set up any *sanghas* we must have workers who will move about among the people — even as an ever-flowing stream of water — and carry to them thoughts and ideas inspiring them to nobler life People may perhaps ignore us or not listen to us in the beginning But that need not depress us rather it should spur us to greater effort Such must be our zeal to preach our mission and such our faith in it I am sorry to say this aspect of our work is not receiving the attention it deserves Many of us are imprisoned so to say, in the various institutions where they work. The institutions are quite important, but the proper attitude towards an institution should be one of regard and respect and not of attachment. The institutions should carry on their work but some of the workers should always be moving among the people while some stay at the centre and work If we do not build up our work after this pattern the thought we stand for will lose its active power, and *vichar-shasan* i.e. winning over people to our view and way of life, will become impossible

The Bihar people say with a sense of pride to which they are perfectly entitled that it was the Bihar Congress which first took up the *bhoodan* work. The All India Congress at Hyderabad took it up only afterwards But let us see how exactly it works It all begins with a circular letter from above urging on the Committees below that Congressmen must co-operate with the *bh[illegible]* work [illegible] in the Himalayas [illegible] down t[illegible] then to Garhmukteshwar and [illegible] the same Ganga however far it may [illegible] In the same way this circular letter which [illegible] from the A.I.C.C office goes first to the provincial committees and from there to the district committees and so on and it remains the same paper circular A species can only produce its like In the same way, I once humorously remarked about circular letters can only bring forth circular letters After all some one must come forward to take up work and go to the villages We have got to collect 25 lakh acres and though it comes only to five acres per village which looks quite easy, yet there must be workers to go to the villages and explain our mission to them

But this we hesitate to do We shrink from the prospect of having to go round so many villages and in our impatience we develop a liking for the short cut to our objective We then want that there must be legislation for it But though legislation would be welcome, it is not for us to raise that cry Our own natural duty (स्वधर्म) would be to keep faith in the power of thought to move the people and to go from village to village explaining and convincing the people of the truth of our mission We cannot complain — how long shall we go on explaining? Because as devotees of Ahimsa that is the only way open to us for achieving our ends I think I have made sufficiently clear the importance of *vichar-shasan* to us as an instrument of our work

The other instrument of our work, as I said earlier, is *kartitva-vibhajan*, or the distribution of work among the individuals There should be no concentration of the power to act and execute at any one centre Every village should be enabled to develop it I therefore want that the village must have the power to decide what things it will or not import If a village decides that they will use *ghani*-oil and mill-oil should not therefore be allowed into its area, it must have the power to enforce its decision. The Government, however, will object to this suggestion on the ground that they cannot allow a State to grow within a State

But there can be no freedom from dependence on the military if we refuse to do so Freedom from dependence on armed might can come only by following the policy which God has adopted in regard to creation He has distributed intelligence to each one of His creation — to the scorpion, the snake the tiger, and the man. And He has advised them to seek guidance from their intelligence and act And so the world goes on without His having to worry Himself about it Indeed He has so far removed Himself from the scene that some of us are led even to doubt His existence In the same way we should strive to create a State whose very existence may be in doubt because it will not need to exercise its

[illegible] State.

[illegible] this end in view we make the de[illegible] vesting the villages with the power [illegible] affairs so as to convert them into [illegible] lies. We also want that the villagers [illegible] themselves for shouldering this [illegible] This again raises a problem which [illegible] the building up of *loka-shakti*. The [illegible] must wake up to the realization of their [illegible] decide what things they will produce [illegible] village and then ask the Government to [illegible] those things which thwart their [illegible] the Government does not come to their help they should be bold enough to stand up against the Government. Such resistance by the people against the Government will be of great help to the latter because that would pave the way for doing away with the need for the military. The centre can never develop enough intelligence for governing all our numberless villages well and wisely. It is simply impossible. Therefore instead of a body of planners, howsoever competent, for the whole nation, every village should be enabled to become its own planner. The Central Government would only come in to help this village planning wherever and whenever it is approached to extend such help. This is what we mean by *kartritva-vibhajan* or the decentralization of work.

Let me illustrate the point further. In regard to the problem of redistribution of land, suggestions are often made to fix the ceiling. It would be noted that these suggestions are themselves an outcome of the awakening brought about by the Bhoodan Movement. But as in the case of a building the flooring comes earlier and is more important than the ceiling, so also in regard to the distribution of land we must first fix the lowest limit of the land that a cultivator should own. And why do I want this first? — because I want *kartritva-vibhajan*. The labourers today labour at their jobs but they have no *kartritva* e.g. the initiative and the power to act. They work like lifeless machines. We want that they should work not only with their hands but also with their intelligence. Others, the capitalists for example, may have more intelligence than these poor labourers. But we cannot forgo all the vast store of intelligence of our numberless peasants and labourers for the greater good of our country. We should therefore provide for the utilization of all this intelligence of our toiling population and plan accordingly. Land-distribution is a part of this plan to train the people in the use of their intelligence and in shouldering their individual responsibilities in the social whole. This is an instance of the *kartritva-vibhajan*.

(To be continued)

(From Hindi)

STATE LANGUAGE OF KASHMIR

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

Recently Sheikh Abdulla, Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, has declared that Urdu in both Nagari and Urdu scripts will be the official language of the State. He said that the Indian Constitution provided for the development and enrichment of regional languages of India and Urdu was the regional language of Kashmir. It was understood by the people throughout the State and had been the official State language for centuries. He also said that as Hindi in Nagari script was to be the official language of the Union, it must also have due consideration. It is probably from that point of view that he declared that the State language Urdu would be simple and in Nagari script also. Gandhiji repeatedly told us that if Hindi which is highly Sanskritized and Urdu which is equally highly Persio-Arabicized were both simplified so as to be understood by the common man in the north, the undesirable and artificial distinction between Hindi and Urdu brought about by extra-linguistic causes would begin to disappear and we will have a simple language which is Hindi or Urdu or Hindustani, whichever name we prefer. The Kashmir experiment can be a welcome experiment to prove this thesis of Gandhiji. Anyway it is good that Nagari script will also be used for Urdu. If in a similar manner Delhi, U. P., Bihar, etc. decide that simple Hindi to be written in Nagari or Urdu script will be the official language of those regions, as Urdu is a regional language there, it will be a fine thing for the advancement of the national language in terms of the Constitution of India. Working that way, it will pool all the literary and cultural resources both in Urdu and Hindi to make up and enrich a national Hindi which will be simpler and easier for the common man in the North and more accepted as a national language as well.

26-4-'53

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Our Language Problem

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor : MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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OUR GREAT HERITAGE

[This is the fourth instalment of Gandhi Memorial Lecture delivered by Dr Sushila Nayyar on 2-12-52, before the students of the Agra University.]

IV

Gandhiji was an artist in living Every word and action of his fitted into a pattern in which the central motif was Truth He stood for a society in which there were no exploiter and no exploited He was a symbol of unity in diversity With every breath of his life he worked for peace, but he worked for it through revolution. His idealism touched the sky, but his feet were firmly planted upon earth He was alive to the needs of the least around him. A staunch supporter of the ancient ideal of womanhood, he taught the Indian women to rebel against the he-man's egoistic lording, claimed and exercised over them by their husbands From being mere keepers of hearths and homes for the men, they became equal partners with them in the struggle for freedom and social reform His Ashram was his laboratory where he practised and perfected the techniques that he applied in wider spheres Settling domestic differences and solving petty problems of day-to-day life received as much care and attention from him as high policies of the State and problems of national and international importance. It was through putting them to the dull routine of domestic chores in the Ashram that he trained men and women who came to him from every corner of India and several parts of the world A true educationist, he helped everybody to develop along his own line of development and he was thus able to bring out the best in each. No other individual through the annals of history has created anything like the number of workers that Gandhiji did None else has inspired the kind of personal loyalties that he did, or on a scale approaching his To know him was to love him, and each one who entered his inner circle felt "Bapu loves me the most".

The personal loyalties and bonds of intense human affection thus forged were only a stage in the training and development of the individual concerned. He taught them progressively to enlarge the circle of their love and loyalty. I remember how to my amazement during a serious illness of my brother at Sevagram, Bapu told him he was not to call upon me for his personal service. I was to render service to every one in the Ashram and the village of Sevagram except my own brother In this way, he taught us to enlarge our family circle till it would become conterminous with humanity He did the same in Noakhali. My services were not meant for the members of our party I was to devote all my time to the service of the villagers Anyone falling sick among the members of our group had to cure himself or herself by the therapy of nature's five elements or make the best of whatever medical help the locality might provide, which was next to nothing The only exception was the old Thakkar Bapa. A super-septuagenarian like the Master himself he could very well afford to be a law unto himself When he fell ill he simply wrote to Bapu " I am coming to your village Please make arrangements for my stay with you and treatment by Sushila " Bapu was quite content to take defeat at Bapa's hands. But he suffered no other exception. Thus he taught us to enlarge the circle of our love and loyalty from the family to the Ashram and from the Ashram to extend it further so as to include utter strangers living in the villages of Noakhali, amongst whom there were many perpetrators of dreadful deeds There was nothing unearthly or unpractical in this approach In fact, every move of his was vindicated by its intense practicality The change of heart that was created by his technique in Noakhali was something remarkable But I will not take you into that thrilling story today

Today my object is merely to give you a glimpse of the life and message of a men who became a superman and yet remained intensely human Our youth are apt to become superficial and academic in their approach and outlook The simplicity of Gandhiji's Ideas turns them away in search of more complex theories and doctrines They forget that it was the very simplicity of his teachings that gave them the elemental strength Anyone who wants to take the masses with him, must present to them a programme that is within their reach and capacity He must make his message simple so that the masses can understand and follow him. The secret of Gandhiji's strength lay in his ability to sense the

mood of the masses He had his finger ever on their pulse Under his magic touch the lazy and the indolent became active, hard-working men and women, and the selfish and the greedy forgot their selfishness and greed and revelled in the idealism of renunciation and selfless service The spark of divinity began once more to glow to a greater or lesser extent within the breast of every individual The cumulative effect of such a mass spiritual renaissance was tremendous

(To be continued)

BEAUTY PARADE

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

A friend sends me a cutting from a daily paper of a picture of 'Miss Austria 1953' who will travel to America for the 'Miss Universe' competition in California in July And he writes on it from "a paper friendly to Shri M Desai on Prohibition" The meaning of the remark is obvious be hints at the apparent contradiction in the policy of a paper which stands for prohibition but regarding sex advertises the so-called beauty contests devised by the over-rich and well-fed people of America Last year some people in a few of our cities tried to organise 'Miss India' contest here and sent some one to take part in the world contest also Naturally there was a strong feeling of resentment against this kind of degradation of the woman in our society and late Shri K. G Mashruwala took note of this laudable and healthy reaction of our people and said

> These (exhibitionist) movements have doubtless arisen originally from the minds of men and women living on prostitution Thoughtlessly even such women as should be expected to think better have become their prey (*Harijan*, March 22 1952 'Beauty on Parade')
>
> 'Such exhibitionism is against India's culture and tradition' (From original Gujarati, *Harijanbandhu* of 31-5-52)

We in India have learnt to deify woman as the Mother, and this has very great cultural and spiritual significance. Things like the beauty contests with the virtual nakedness in bathing costume, as it is called, that is enjoined upon the contestant girl, appeal more to the lewd and lascivious in us than to the really artistic and the beautiful Surely the origin of this might well be the Freudian libido History shows that a wealthy people, on becoming happy and prosperous, begins to use its leisure in questionable ways and stands every danger of going down with wine and woman, and so-called art is made its helpmate and a cultural-looking cover for such decadence It was a wise American who warned his countrymen against the 'Wet Parade', let some one do the same against this 'Naked Parade' of the so-called beauty contests I learn from a cinema goer that recently in Bombay in one of the cinema houses there was shown a picture which would have been a failure but for a few hundred feet of news reel of the last 'Miss Universe' contest which attracted tha crowd. Beauty should [illegible] be [illegible] in this [illegible] as it ceases to [illegible] so under [illegible] treatment [illegible] neither art as well as real art tends to refine [illegible] sublimate the coarse the ugly the bad the [illegible] in us India should refuse to take part in [illegible] obscene manifestations of the leisurely West

30-4-'53

GANDHIAN LABOUR POLICY

(By Khandubhai Desai)

What Gandhiji placed before us is not [illegible] What he did was to put into practice the fundamental principles of humanity and eternal truths He presented to us his true appreciation of human relations that should exist between individuals and groups. He worked out the technique of inter relations between human beings so as to do away with all conflicts in society His was an effort to create harmony in the body of community life He taught us the art of living together in peace on the principles of mutual aid and love

We generally talk of democracy in our approach to all problems We may very well remember that democratic approach and method can never be imposed on any one artificially or by an external pressure It should come from within. No amount of labour devoted to reading writing talking or hearing about democracy can make a man democratic Democracy is not a theory it is practice

What Gandhiji like all prophets, taught us was that democracy must begin at home It should start on an individual level. It would then automatically pervade the entire society Democracy is essentially a method and a technique of mental adaptation mutual accommodation and gradual negation of human ego If I insist on maintaining that what I say is absolutely correct and what others say is entirely wrong, then the opposite side can also say the same thing to me with equal emphasis The real democratic method would be to place one's views before each other and try to understand them and their implications with patience, tolerance and sympathy It would then be a matter of mutual adjustment to arrive at a proper conclusion

What we have learnt about economics has all come from the West. The Western economic thought springs from peculiar political development which took the form of colonialism It was based on the philosophy of domination by the white races over the coloured peoples Tha colonies and settlements were exploited by the ruling classes to enrich themselves. The labour of one country was exploited by the other The ruling powers thought that coloured peoples over the earth were born to toil so as to produce raw materials for their industries The price of raw materials was deliberately manipulated so as to keep it low and the manufactured goods were sold at high prices in the markets of the countries which produced raw materials The result was

that Western countries became rich at the expense of industrially-undeveloped Eastern countries These Western economic doctrines which were the outcome of 'exploiter-exploitee' economy should be purged out of our minds We shall have to think of our own indigenous agricultural economy which materially differs from theirs

We should not forget that there are no colonies left in the modern world for anyone to exploit or plunder We shall have to stand on our own feet What we now require is more food more [illegible] more clothes adequate medical and educational facilities not only for industrial workers but for all the 300 million souls inhabiting this [illegible] To achieve this objective we shall have to provide for full employment

While trained persons of the country must utilise their muscular strength and resources at their disposal for producing something which would be of use in satisfying the needs of the millions of our countrymen Unless we make all the population of the country employed there cannot be enough wealth for material comforts of our people We cannot afford to be dependent for our livelihood on any other country

The Western economic thoughts of the 19th century the teachings of Karl Marx and Soviet economy are [illegible] out-of-date in the context of the dynamic advance and mental growth of the people of the modern world Constantly changing events in eyes the rapid socio-economic and political changes that are daily taking place in the world We have to think of our own contribution in the making of New India We must [illegible] the growing world

In the decade beginning from 1922 onwards [illegible] influx of Marxian literature I studied it carefully and came to the conclusion that Marxism was nothing but a strong reaction to [illegible] economic doctrines. Fascism and Communism are the two sides of the same coin Both lay emphasis merely on the material aspects of human life They are the products of the race for loot and appropriation of the wealth exploited from the East Marxism is a reaction against the concentration of wealth in the hands of the ruling classes

We in India have no unsurmountable difficulty in fighting capitalism as it has not yet taken roots in our country Whatever show of strength it makes is due to the support of the middle classes We should therefore think in terms of national development and not give away ourselves to sectarianism

Mahatma Gandhi saw this nearly thirty years back He advised labour to organize for the service of the country He did not favour sharing of profits with the capitalists He did not want partnership between the employers and employees as co-looters He, therefore, evolved a system of arbitration in all industrial disputes

It is the duty of everyone to see that the means of production at our disposal are not sabotaged by any one There should be no tampering or interference with the machinery which produces goods and services for the benefit of the people

If at all there is to be a strike it should be perfectly peaceful It should be a form of Satyagraha against an injustice It should be absolutely non-violent. But we should understand that the old slogan of right to strike is now out of date and antiquated It needs to be replaced by the new slogan of right to work Strike is no right, it is a liability Refusal to work cannot be a right as it does not pay anyone It is a negative approach to a problem

This new philosophy of right to work in place of right to strike is now being increasingly recognized and accepted by Western countries It was taught to us by Gandhiji It was implied in the machinery of arbitration evolved by Gandhiji for the settlement of disputes

A worker is not merely an economic being He is to be treated as a whole in his social and personal environments Communists think that everybody moves compartmentally Sarvodaya takes the man as a whole If humanity is to survive peacefully there is no other solution but to resort to the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi

(Adapted from 'Economic Review', April 1 '53 AICC Delhi)

In Defence of the Common Man

To The Editor *Harijan*

Shri C D Deshmukh during a debate in Parliament justified the common man being compelled to restrict his consumption in order to finance the Five-Year Plan The common man is taxed upon his purchases as much as the well-to-do man The common man lives by selling labour, while the well-to-do man lives on profits Still both are equally put in the same category Nice equality this!

The plans if realized will have to become self-supporting earn their own way i e earn money upon the investment. Further Shri Deshmukh promises more Five Year Plans to come which will again have to be financed by restricting consumption by the common man Thus there will be no end of starvation demanded of him (TVA though an engineering feat is an economic failure)

Shri Deshmukh says under no known system in the world industrialization can be carried on without restriction on the consumption by the common man That means we must have the worst feature common to all known systems in order to "improve the standard of living" — to serve the poor

Shri Deshmukh makes a distinction between the common man and the country when he says the former must be "asked" to contribute to the efforts the "country" is making It means the common man who is the vast majority in the country is not of it What is the country then? The small minority and Government?

M P T ACHARYA

HARIJAN

May 16 1953

OUR LANGUAGE PROBLEM

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

A few months back a conference of representatives of Indian Universities had met in New Delhi to study problems relating to the teaching of Hindi It was convened by the Union Ministry of Education and was presided over by its Joint Secretary Prof Humayun Kabir He said that it was the first of its kind and was convened " to consider the ways by which the provision in the Constitution for the development of the National Language could be implemented " He also pointed out that " the development of the regional languages of India which, in terms of the number of people speaking them could be ranked equal to the languages of Europe and some of which had literary traditions of over a thousand years might be kept in mind " He also emphasized ' the need for retaining English in some form for international contacts and for easy access to scientific knowledge "

The above is what we learn from the press and nothing further by way of what the Conference did or decided is available to the public so far We hope it will be published as the matter is important as public information

The Conference was convened to consider the ways by which the provision in the Constitution for the development of the national language could be implemented The provision in the Constitution for the national language is given in Article 343 which is as follows

" (1) The official language of the Union shall be Hindi in Devanagari script

The form of numerals to be used for the official purposes of the Union shall be the international form of Indian numerals

(2) Notwithstanding anything in clause (1) for a period of fifteen years from the commencement of this Constitution the English language shall continue to be used for all the official purposes of the Union for which it was being used immediately before such commencement,

Provided that the President may during the said period, by order authorize the use of the Hindi language in addition to the English language and of the Devanagari form of numerals in addition to the international form of Indian numerals for any of the official purposes of the Union.

(3) Notwithstanding anything in this article, Parliament may by law provide for the use, after the said period of fifteen years of—

(a) the English language or

(b) the Devanagari form of numerals for such purposes as may be specified in the law'

And for the development of that language the Constitution in its Article 351 imposes the following duty on the Union '

" It shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi language to develop it so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India and to secure its enrichment by assimilating without interfering with its genius the forms style and expressions used in Hindustani and in the other languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule and by drawing wherever necessary or desirable for its vocabulary, primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages " (The fourteen languages specified in the Eighth Schedule are Assamese Bengali Gujarati Hindi Kannada, Kashmiri Malayalam Marathi, Oriya, Punjabi Sanskrit, Tamil Telugu and Urdu)

In the wake of this conference and probably taking a clue from it, universities of the North during the last month met in conference at various places to consider what to do regarding promotion of Hindi, which is their regional language This is a very good thing even though it has started late by a few years In this matter the universities of the North have a special position both of privilege and responsibility It is their privilege that their regional language is called upon to evolve as the national language It is therefore a responsibility Hence if they act well and in the right spirit they will be benefiting not only themselves and the people of the North but also of the whole country. The condition is that they should keep before themselves the wider vision of the Indian people as a whole and the broad composite and catholic culture that India has had the special good fortune to evolve in its long history There should be a conscious endeavour to implement what the Constitution, as we saw above, lays down as the duty of the Union They should remember that it is not the Hindi of their region that is to be the national language They must at least not ignore Urdu, which is also their regional language though in a different script.

Another equally important thing they have to remember is that other regional languages also are to have an equal place of prominence in their respective regions and the Constitution of India wishes that they too develop fully well and come to their own in their respective regions. Therefore the national language should in no way think to dislodge them from this their rightful place In this regard, it is tragic to see that some people in the North nurture and try to propagate the idea that Hindi should be the medium of instruction for higher education all over India. To say the least, such a thing would spell almost death for the propagation of the national language in the non-Hindi areas They must also know that such a move will be dubbed as imposing their own regional language over others.

The non-Hindi regions and their universities also have an equally important part to play in this work It is to be hoped that they also begin to realize soon their duty under the Constitution and begin to take their due place in this all-India cultural and educational movement From this point of view it is a very welcome move on the part of the University of Poona, which has convened a 'Bharatiya Bhasha Vikasa Parishad'

(an Indian Languages Development Conference) at Poona in the last half of this month It will be asked to discuss the problem in its following three main aspects

(1) The evolution of the regional State languages with the ultimate object of replacing English as the medium for communication in all fields up to the highest research level and the procedure by which this development can be achieved on an all India basis.

(2) The position of the regional State languages vis-a vis the official language of the Union and

(3) The evolution of the official language of the Union as the national language of India"

Representatives of statutory universities of important literary or language associations in each linguistic region, and of academic associations in various fields of learning as well as representatives of various State Governments and of the Union Government are invited to the Conference, who will discuss and suggest ways and means of arriving at a uniform policy in respect of the three main aspects of the problem as stated above by the conveners of the Conference

The conveners seem to realize that the chief thing before the universities today is the replacement of English as the medium of instruction and examination by the regional State languages or by the official language of the Union They have given out their own mind on the matter by declaring that "the University of Poona has accepted the policy of adopting the use of Marathi at all stages of University education in all the faculties, as early as possible and is engaged in drawing up and implementing a programme for the gradual introduction of Marathi as a medium in the University" What is required further is that "as this policy affects the general development of these State languages as media of instruction in the university at graduate, post-graduate and research levels, some constructive thinking should be done by the universities Government authorities and other organizations concerned coming together for the purpose so that a uniform policy on an all-India basis can be developed and given effect to" At least the Conference should, after full discussion of the question formulate its opinion on the following points which should now be immediately decided as major policy and principle of our language problem

1 Regional languages will be the medium of all education as also of administration in their respective regions

2 Hindi will be a compulsory subject of study upto the degree course in all the regions

3 In no case will English be introduced as a subject of study before Standard 7 or the end of the full primary course of 'free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years,' as contemplated by the Constitution in its Article 45, except, of course for those children whose mother-tongue is English

Let us hope the Poona Conference succeeds in the important task it has undertaken for itself and gives a clear lead at least in the few main questions noted above which hang fire still and hence confound any progress in this great constructive work of restoring back to their legitimate place of pride and prestige our great languages as also the national language which we wish to evolve and give to ourselves as early as possible

8-5-'53

"HUMANITY HANGING FROM A CROSS OF IRON"

[From President Eisenhower's address delivered on April 16 1953 before the American Society of Newspaper Editors]

" This has been the way of life forged by eight years of fear and force

"What can the world or any nation in it hope for if no turning is found on this dread road?

"The worst to be feared and the best to be expected can be simply stated:

"The worst is atomic war

"The best would be this — a life of perpetual fear and tension, a burden draining the wealth and the labour of all peoples, a wasting of strength that defied the American System or the Soviet System or any system to achieve true abundance and happiness for the peoples of this earth

"Every gun that is made, every warship launched every rocket fired signifies — in the final sense — a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed

"This world in arms is not spending money alone

"It is spending the sweat of its labourers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children

"The cost of one modern heavy bomber is this A modern brick school in more than 30 cities

"It is Two electric power plants, each serving a town of 60,000 population

"It is Two fine fully equipped hospitals

"It is some fifty miles of concrete highway

"We pay for a single fighter plane with half million bushels of wheat

"We pay for a single destroyer with new homes that could have housed more than 8,000 people.

"This I repeat — is the best way of life to be found on the road the world has been taking This is not a way of life at all, in any true sense Under the cloud of threatening war, it is humanity hanging from a cross of iron"

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OUR UNIQUE MISSION

[The following is the concluding instalment of Shri Vinoba's opening speech at the Chandli Sammelan.]

III

I have dealt with the various aspects of our work I explained the ideological background from which our work proceeds the means and methods which we must adopt and I have also given you the general direction of our programme. I will now tell you something of the mechanism of our work in relation to our institutions

Our Two Institutions

We have two institutions One is Sarva Seva Sangh and the other is Sarvodaya Samaj The latter will work in an impersonal way as a word expressive of an idea-force while the former will work in a concrete manner Complementary to each other they will advance our cause together Sarva Seva Sangh will not be a loose organization but a well knit one While Sarvodaya Samaj, as explained earlier will not be an organization as such It will be a sort of free association of those who think and who are inclined to abide by and follow such enlightened thought The members of the Sarvodaya Samaj must be thinking men and women And we should find ways and means which may help us to do so We aim at creating a society where thought and not a set discipline imposed from without will be our supreme guiding principle The members of the Sarvodaya Samaj must therefore try for the propagation of thought among the people One of the things which we should emphasize in this connection is the need for the propagation of our literature People should be encouraged to study our ideas and think over them Study centres should be opened at different places by the members of the Sarvodaya Samaj which would provide for a comparative study of our ideas and thought along with other ideological systems This is about Sarvodaya Samaj As to the Sarva Seva Sangh it should not be a mere congeries of different constructive institutions, but strive to achieve a homogeneity of purpose and programme I should confess we have not been able to do much in this direction The institutions must change their forms so as to accord with this need The older forms will not do now

I will give you an example of how this lack of homogeneity affects our institutions and sets at naught the good which they may be capable of doing to the people You will please note that I am not doing it in the spirit of fault-finding Take the instance of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha Wardha Imagine what is happening there Some students — the number might have gone down nowadays because students are required to learn both the Hindi and Urdu scripts for which the prevailing atmosphere is not favourable — come there and learn the courses prescribed for the various examinations. Now if the Sangh were to achieve homogeneity the students would learn not only the prescribed course [illegible] in other items of constitu[illegible] must devote a part of their [illegible] and spinning and [illegible] will not produce the st[illegible] which our institutions [illegible] must therefore [illegible] of work with the [illegible] Lack of this [illegible] is the main reason [illegible] institutions to [illegible] Sarva Seva Sangh [illegible] homogeneity in its work [illegible]

Bhoodan Work

I will [illegible] speak a few words about the *bhoodan* [illegible] Our attitude in regard to this work must [illegible] that of total devotion There should be earn[illegible] not only in our speech but also in our [illegible] attitude We want to transfer a crore acres from the present owners to the landless by the [illegible] 1977 A D And I have firm belief that [illegible] if all of us take up this work in the right spirit I say — all of us which [illegible] not only those who are known as the followers of [illegible] but all those who accept it as valuable such as the Congressmen and the Praja Socialists [illegible] it will be a glorious achievement if we are able [illegible] it will not legislation with the aid of *panchayat* [illegible] alone is not a result of the voluntary efforts of the people I will then dance with joy This will be ideal But then we may not achieve such perfect success and may have to do it partly with the help of legislation In any case our emphasis [illegible] be on doing it mainly with *panchayat*

The [illegible] will be [illegible] in full [illegible] to some very [illegible] There are a number of political parties at present and each party has a considerable number of good men in its following and these parties fight against one another and waste much [illegible] energy It is like a war between Bhishma and Arjuna [illegible] both of them good [illegible] With the success of our programme all good men will be brought closer together on one side [illegible] when the election takes place it will [illegible] good man and another but both [illegible] ranged on one side and the [illegible] on the other It will then be a [illegible] Rama and Ravana — Rama representing the forces of good and Ravana those of evil resulting in the vanquishment of evil The Government which will then emerge will be very strong and possessed of tremendous power to do good to the people

Sampatti-Dan Yajna

Along with the *bhoodan* work I have recently launched on another programme — the *Sampatti dan Yajna* It is necessary for the fulfilment of the Bhoodan Yajna We cannot achieve our object of economic independence and economic equality unless we give effect to *sampatti-dan* I knew it from the beginning but I chose

[illegible] aspects of [illegible] ches and wi[illegible] say that in regard [illegible] d to proceed on the [illegible] The money which [illegible] the donor but he will [illegible] instructions I do [illegible] ome and give it the [illegible] It is to be done [illegible] individuals We have [illegible] press his mind and [illegible] him but also other members of [illegible] he may accept the pledge of [illegible] ohintarily and gladly The donor [illegible] pustled into the acceptance, he [illegible] restrained from making a preci[illegible] use the pledge requires him [illegible] year after year through[illegible] say any more about it here [illegible] those of you who have wealth [illegible] and join it

Yarn-offering

[illegible] thing, besides these two which we [illegible] doing is *sutanjali* i e yarn-offerings [illegible] Gandhiji's memory It is a thing pregnant with tremendous power only we have not [illegible] recognized it We want the people to offer [illegible] *jali* as a sign of the realization on one's part [illegible] responsibility to add to the wealth of the [illegible] by agreeing to do physical labour I look [illegible] is a vote for Sarvodaya. The *sutanjali* work [illegible] of great help in inculcating the dignity [illegible] labour among our people The work is not difficult provided we go to the villages and explain to the people what it means I envisage another important use for *sutanjali* Until now we have been conducting our institutions with the help of money from our friends and sympathizers among the rich. There was nothing wrong in it. But now times have changed we are now in the age of the supremacy of labour It is a welcome change and we should help it One of the ways in which we can do so is to run our institutions on the basis of labour If they cannot attain self-sufficiency with the labour of their workers and require outside help then they should seek this help also in the form of labour *Sutanjali* will then enable us to run our institutions without any dependence on money and to produce spirited workers

I have touched almost all the aspects of whatever I had to say We will be discussing many other things here but I hope you will think over the points I have placed before you and bear them in your mind while you carry on your work over the next year

[illegible] end I [illegible] caution you [illegible] we are neither a sect nor a [illegible] There[illegible] word 'Sarvodavists' which is often used [illegible] us is misleading We are simply men [illegible] like other human beings Political [illegible] have their different labels which may con[illegible] they are useful to them But we [illegible] party If anything we are 'a third [illegible] the third power of political phraseo[illegible] which some political minded persons desire [illegible] thing about as the way out from being antan[illegible] in the American or the Russian Bloc, but [illegible] third power which is opposed to violence — *[illegible] mva-shakti* and different from the power of the State — *dand-shakti*

From Hindi)

Understanding China

To The Editor *Harijan*

Some days ago It was revealed in the Parliament that the recent cultural delegation to China cost the Indian exchequer Rs 13 5 lakhs There were 14 delegates, which means that about one lakh of rupees was spent on each delegate This is a big sum A poor country like India should try to avoid these expensive missions

But we should also not forget the positive achievements of this particular mission Inspite of the fact that this mission included some long standing fellow-travellers, this was the first mission not paid for by the Chinese Government. The mission corrected some of the impressions of the previous so-called Fact Finding Mission, which was recruited and paid for by the Chinese Government

But despite some gains like the above, the mission was not worth its price If the purpose was to know China, then it was a failure. Different delegates spoke different facts' about China Many a time the facts were misleading For example, the delegates opined that Red China had solved its food problem when, in fact, according to Chinese papers, sold almost freely in our country food production in 1951 was only 92 8% of production in 1936 Similarly, most of the delegates registered "tremendous achievements" in the industrial field, when according to easily available information released by the China Communist Government, production of important industrial goods lagged far behind pre-war level For example, in 1951 as compared to 1936, production of pig iron was only 64%, of tin 46%, of tungsten 80%, of coal 69% of electricity 94%, and of sugar 60%

If the Government of India is interested in understanding Communist China, then she must develop an intelligence department, a centre where Chinese literature is studied, evidence compared and sifted Of course, the task is not exciting but it is rewarding Locomotion can never replace studies and sober judgement.

Jullundur, 20-4-'53 SANT LALL

AN INSTANCE IN POINT

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

The reader must be remembering the communication sent to me by Shri J D Khandhadia of Bombay on the subject of "Regeneration of Cottage Industry (Handloom Cloth) in India" It appeared in the *Harijan* of March 28, 1953 In that communication the writer had referred to the policy of the Government of India in regard to protective duties with a view to consolidating Indian Sugar Industry and making foreign sugar extinct from India without banning its import The popular memory is proverbially said to be short and so we are apt to forget this policy of the Government Therefore I requested Shri Khandhadia to put down briefly this policy of the Government of India for the benefit of the readers of the *Harijan* He kindly sent to me a note on the protection of Sugar Industry which is reproduced below

The reader also knows and must remember by now how the East India Company in alliance with the British Government of the day, through its policy of protection for the British cloth trade, wiped out the well known cloth trade of India during the 19th century That tale also is worth recapitulating even for the simple reason that there might be some points helpful for us today to restore back our world-known cloth trade without which it is everyday becoming apparent that we cannot remove our devastating unemployment of the masses With these words I reproduce below Shri Khandhadia's note of information about protection given to the Indian Sugar Industry by the Government of India since 1937 or so

1 I would refer you to Sugar Industry (Protection) Act 13 of 1932 per which a protective duty on the import of foreign sugar was imposed at Rs 7-4-0 per cwt

2. The Government of India Tariff Board Members Report 1931 made the following observations *inter alia*

(a) "We are not in favour of bounties We propose that the assistance is be given to the indigenous Sugar Industry should be by way of a duty and propose that for the first 7 years the duty should be fixed at Rs 7-4-0 per cwt and recommend the period of protection for 15 years.

(b) Expenditure on development and research in connection with Sugar Industry in India was recommended to be increased from Rs. 3 lakhs to Rs 10 lakhs"

3. These recommendations were accepted by the Government of India per communique dated 31st January 1932

4 The protective duty of Rs. 7-4-0 per cwt. remained in force for several years- up to about 1951 (according to my information) on the top of which there was a surcharge of Re 1 13-0 totalling Rs 9-1-0 To counterbalance the surcharge an excise duty of Rs. 1-6-6 per cwt- an Indian sugar was levied in 1934-35 (*Vide* Statement of Objects and Reasons dated 27-2 '34)

5 The effect of such protective duty was to raise the price level of foreign sugar so as to enable the Indian sugar production to compete in spite of its cost of production being higher with the result that the Indian production of 4 lakh tons in 1931-32 shot up to about 12 lakh tons [illegible] the factories increased by about 100

In Febru[illegible] comparative price of Indian and imported sug[illegible] this was Rs 7 12-0 and Rs 10-2-0 per Bengal M[illegible] the latter price including duty Rs 9-1-0 per c[illegible] about Re 9/ per maund.

I admit that n[illegible]bidy was given to the Indian Sugar Industry from th[illegible]ection of import duty although the same was not [illegible] levied on account of increase in production of indige[illegible] sugar and corresponding decrease in the import O[illegible] cannot therefore deny the effect of such protection given to the industry on the price factor and the same should be considered seriously in the protection of handloom industry as against Indian mill products

28-4-53

AS THE MEANS SO THE END

(By Gandhiji)

They say 'means are after all means' I would say, 'means are after all everything' As the means so the end There is no wall of separation between means and end Indeed the Creator has given us control (and that too very limited) over means, none over the end Realization of the goal is in exact proportion to that of the means This is a proposition that admits of no exception

Young India 17-7-'24

The means may be likened to a seed, the end to a tree, and there is just the same inviolable connection between the means and the end as there is between the seed and the tree

Hind Swaraj Ch. XVI

Though you have emphasized the necessity of a clear statement of the goal, but having once determined it I have never attached importance to its repetition The clearest possible definition of the goal and its appreciation would fail to take us there, if we do not know and utilize the means of achieving it I have, therefore, concerned myself principally with the conservation of the means and their progressive use I know if we can take care of them, attainment of the goal is assured. I feel too that our progress towards the goal will be in exact proportion to the purity of our means

This method may appear to be long, perhaps too long, but I am convinced that it is the shortest

Amrit Bazar Patrika 17-8-'33

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Editor MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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THE REVOLUTIONARY POTENTIAL OF BHOODAN MOVEMENT

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

I have before me two communications from reader-friends challenging the statement of Shri Nargolkar that " the success of the Bhoodan Movement largely depends on the change of heart of the numerous *big* landlords who are expected to donate one-sixth of the entire land in their ownership ' (*Harijan*, April 4, 1953, p 36, col 1) As the main criticism in this remark, I thought, was against the need of *change of heart*, the coming about of which is a matter of doubt in the minds of some educated classes, I had answered that point and said that it was no draw back but rather the essence of the movement which is aimed to be peaceful and non-violent. The two correspondents point to the other part of Shri Nargolkar's remark and say that it would be wrong to say that the movement depends largely on *big* landlords. Because, as one correspondent says, " the genuine success of the Bhoodan Movement depends in fact largely, if not entirely, on the response of the *small* landlords and even *poor* landlords in the first place In fact this is the experience gained so far."

Now it must not be forgotten that the movement is not a narrow class movement, It is aimed to be a movement of our whole people to solve our land problem and therethrough the question of poverty and unemployment in our country As such, it does not depend for its success on the small little mercies of the upper few landlords or the haves of our society If these people do not understand the signs of the times well may our social picture begin to shape itself as a challenge to these classes from the landless or the have-nots but really the toiling and moiling masses who work in fields and factories. It is here that the land-gift movement has in it the potential of a revolutionary urge.

The other correspondent analyses the nature of the donors and their motives and says :

> Would you please allow me to express my views in the matter formed on the basis of a theoretical study of this great movement and of some practical work in my own district of Allahabad ? Broadly the donors can be classified into three categories
>
> (a) Donation to Shri Vinoba,
>
> (b) Donation to political leaders like Shri Shankarrao and Jayaprakash Babu and to Congress Ministers, and
>
> (c) Donation to ordinary *Sarvodaya* workers
>
> Respectfully my submission is that to category (a) come those who offer donations to the great Acharya with pious, religious devotion. (b) includes those donors who donate very much in the manner they gave large sums of money to leaders far and during the freedom struggle Some of them inspired by official fear or favour would like to receive a return, directly or indirectly in some form or other some day This is perhaps why sometimes they refuse to donate land to one leader while do so to another To the category (c) belongs the very matter-of-fact donor who donates after mature thought and intelligent conviction and as his dutiful share in the great *Yajna*. On the other hand, it has also been observed that sometimes in their *yatras* even our political leaders let apart Congress Ministers got no land at all To say that the ordinary worker gets no land is in do him injustice."

Let us not forget one thing that in a mass movement or a movement which is aimed to be so, it is its leaders who can be expected to have clear and ideologically true aims and motives with them. The ordinary worker and the common man will take up from it the broad lines of the appeal and the argument and heeding to that begin to respond In such a group-process of making up a mass movement, those among the people who have a vested interest or are said to have a stake in it seem to be important at the moment, as they have in their hold the key-position of the situation or the *status quo* But in a revolutionary situation this is the very thing which is most deceptive One should not therefore mind it too much, but go on with faith and courage of conviction, because ultimately the land question does not depend on the mere sweet will or benevolence of the landowner The main thing is that land has to be tilled and made to produce That is the real social need and purpose and he who fulfils it is really the man that counts in the ultimate analysis Maybe such a person might not be its legal owner We wish that it should make no difference A revolutionary situation has its own law It demands the fulfilment of that law And what does it demand ? It asks that the tiller must get land as his own, and if he is a tenant, at least, he must not be defrauded of the full benefit of his labours on it To achieve it peacefully and non violently, it is necessary that

landowners [illegible] led to [illegible] and under [illegible] cause movement [illegible] which communal [illegible] swears by but it is a common affair of all classes who are bound from then respective states in society to work as trustees for whatever they hold or possess with themselves, i e they should make the best of it for the common social good, and in no selfish or exclusive manner This is the fundamental distinction between the Gandhian way and the socialist or the communist way The Bhoodan Movement is not conceived nor carried on in the manner of the doctrine of class war but is based on the broader and more fundamental truth of the doctrine of trusteeship It asks for a peaceful settlement of the land-problem, wherein both the landowner as well as the landless are equally concerned and are called upon to play their respective parts immediately and with full understanding and knowledge of the situation

7-5-'53

AVOIDABLE MISERY

(By Gandhiji)

From a correspondent's long letter of wail I take the following

> "I am a schoolmaster (aged 67) with lifelong service (40 years) in the educational line born of a poor but highly respectable kayastha family in Bengal which knew better days but is now reduced to poverty I am blessed (?) * with 7 daughters and 2 sons the eldest son aged 20 died in October last leaving behind him his miserable and helpless parents to mourn his loss! He was a promising youth — the only hope of my life Of my 7 daughters 5 have already been given in marriage My sixth and seventh daughters aged 18 and 16 are yet unmarried. My younger son is a minor aged 11 years My pay is Rs 60 It hardly allows me to make the two ends meet I have no savings I have less than nothing being in debt The match of my sixth daughter has been settled. The cost of the marriage will be not less than Rs 800 in ornaments and dowry (Rs 300) I have a life policy in the Sun Life Assurance of Canada for Rs 2 000 The policy was issued in 1914 The company has agreed to give me a loan of Rs 400 only It is only half the amount required I am absolutely helpless in respect of the other half Could you not help this poor father with the other half ?"

This letter is one out of many such The majority of letters are written in Hindustani. But we know that English education has made things no better for parents of daughters In some cases they have become worse in that the market price of possible young men who would suit an English educated daughter of an English educated father suffers an appreciable increase

In a case like the Bengali father's the best help that can be rendered is not a loan or a gift of the required sum, but it should consist in persuading and strengthening the parent to refuse to purchase a match for his daughter but choose or let the daughter choose one who would marry her for love, not for money This means a voluntary extension of the field of choice There must be a breach in the double wall of caste and province. If India is one and indivisible surely there should be no artificial divisions creating innumerable little groups which would neither interdine nor intermarry There is no religion in this cruel custom It would not do to plead that individuals cannot make the commencement, and that they must wait till the whole society is ripe for the change No reform has ever been brought about except through intrepid individuals breaking down inhuman customs or usages And after all what hardships can the school-master suffer, if he and his daughters refuse to treat marriage as a marketable transaction instead of a status or a sacrament which it undoubtedly is? I would, therefore, advise my correspondent courageously to give up the idea of borrowing, and to save the four hundred rupees he can get on his life policy by choosing in consultation with his daughter a suitable husband, no matter to what caste or province he belongs

Harijan 25-7-'36

* The interrogation is by the correspondent.

I must insist on the necessity of breaking down the highly injurious caste barriers Breaking down the barriers will widen the range of choice and thus in a great measure prevent exactions

Harijan 5-9-'36

OUR GREAT HERITAGE

[This is the fifth instalment which concludes the Gandhi Memorial Lecture delivered by Dr Sushila Nayyar on 2-12-'52 before the students of the Agra University]

V

Gandhiji believed that non-violence was capable of solving all problems whether of the individual, or the group or a nation irrespective of whether they were of the nature of political, social or economic injustice. I have already told you of his success in dealing with problems in the political and social spheres Now a word about his technique in dealing with economic problems Like a true businessman, he attached more importance to small contributions by the millions, than to big contributions by a few This was the basis of his doctrine of economic revival through the spinning wheel and cottage industries. Calculated in terms of production per man-hour the output under this system may be insignificant, but when it is multiplied a million fold, the result is staggering In a country where a tremendous manpower exists side by side with acute unemployment among the masses, there is no other solution but that suggested by Gandhiji Even expert economists have agreed that cottage industries are necessary as an interim measure Gandhiji's vision extended further Would a highly industrialized India try to capture the

[illegible] exploit other [illegible] been exploited? The prospect did not please him. He expected India to give the lead in ending exploitation in every shape and form throughout the world and that too through non-violence By popularizing the spinning-wheel and the cottage industries he was laying the foundation of a bloodless economic revolution He wanted the artisan to live in simple comfort which contact with nature so cheaply provides and at the same time enjoy individual freedom instead of having to purchase urban amenities at the price of soul-killing regimentation that is the lot of a factory-hand under the system of mass-production — no matter under what order Again, he wanted regional self-sufficiency in regard to the basic requirements so that the common people should be able to assert their independence against the power of the private capitalist as well as the State

The existing capitalists he proposed to tackle by putting into practice his theory of Trusteeship By making the capitalists trustees of their wealth he wanted to secure for the people not only the wealth of the capitalists but also their talent, ability and know-how Thus, he contemplated a bigger revolution than any the world has so far known The owning class has acquired business talent through generations of experience and specialization If they could be persuaded to use their ability for producing wealth for the nation instead of exclusively for themselves or their families, they could make a very big contribution towards national reconstruction The pressure of awakened public opinion aided if necessary by the power of non-violent non-co-operation would help the process of conversion The few dissidents in the end would be brought into line with the help of legislation Let no one dismiss the idea as visionary The transformation of the Princely order that has taken place under our very eyes by what was essentially a voluntary process is an instance in point Let no one belittle the revolution that has taken place in the States covering nearly one-third of the entire area of our country Those who cavil at the allowances of the Princes, should look at what they have surrendered rather than what they have been allowed to keep It is no small thing that several of them took part in the last elections and went to the people asking for their vote The silent revolution which has converted hundreds of autocratic rulers into democratic citizens is unique in the history of the world It was the wisdom and strength of Sardar Patel that worked this miracle I can never forget the scene when he sat with a whole group of them applying the guillotine, but with such persuasive skill that each one of them considered him his best friend, as indeed he was'

The Sardar had [illegible] State behind him But he had no need to apply that sanction. Vinoba Bhave has carried the process a step further That frail little man trekking from State to State is generating a tremendous moral fervour wherever he goes Gandhiji had conclusively proved by his experiments in South Africa and India that non-violence can be completely effective as a weapon for the rectification of social and political wrongs Vinoba today is completing the picture which Gandhiji and Sardar Patel had started limning by working an economic revolution by moral persuasion alone People in their thousands are making gifts of land for the land-hungry toiling poor. You know how difficult it is to make a man of property part with his possessions It is a small beginning but it has tremendous implications Vinoba is ushering in the era of social awakening which must precede any social legislation if it is to be effective Some of you young students should go and walk with him during your holidays You will feel uplifted This land of ours is not morally bankrupt yet The people of India are sensitive to appeals to their idealism, provided they are made by men who practise what they preach.

To deal with Gandhiji's personality is like taking a plunge in the ocean Its depths are unfathomable All that I can do in the short space of time at our disposal is to provide you a few stray glimpses of the treasures that it holds Blind unbelief can be as dangerous as blind idolatry I do not want our youth to miss through blind scepticism the lesson of one of the mightiest phenomena of history, which holds the promise of peace to a war weary world and has demonstrated its possibilities sufficiently to give a solid basis for that hope

The detached atmosphere of a University is the best place for a scientific and objective study of this phenomenon This rich heritage belongs to you, the builders of future India, and it is in your own interest and the interest of India and the world, that you should make the best use of it Instead of feeling frustrated at what still remains undone in India, you should take a lesson from what has been done and gird up your loins to finish the uncompleted task Solid foundations have been laid and a mighty structure raised by a Master Architect Let us not lower our standards now that the building is nearing completion. We must continue to fill in the gaps in the master plan and complete it so that it might one day herald the era of the reign of peace and goodwill upon earth, called Ram Raj by the Father of the Nation

A NATION BUILDER AT WORK

By Pyarelal

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HARIJAN

May 23 1953

PLANNING AND UNEMPLOYMENT

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

Slowly but surely unemployment is stalking our land and it is surprising that it should be so in spite of a big Five-Year Plan involving crores of rupees for financing it agoing at present To speak a little from our history, unemployment is not a new thing in our country As a matter of fact, if we look to the history of British rule in India from the 18th century onward we shall find that unemployment has been the basis of foreign rule and the warp of our socio-economic fabric Exploiting it to one's own best advantage has been the main trick of all including the rulers who prospered or grew rich under that order It was almost taken to be a settled fact of nobody's doing — almost God-given The state of things continued until now The new fact challenging this state of things is the advent of Swaraj People who dominate it are the middle classes They are our intelligentsia They are vocal and can be vociferous enough if they are hit in any way The cry of unemployment that is going round today is due to the fact that these classes are not having enough jobs in government or trade and industries, or in the professions And surely the Government cannot but be mindful to this situation The point which I wish to drive at is that unemployment is our chronic malady; we are complaining about it today because the classes are affected by it, it is not a cry of or on behalf of the masses who have been under the dead weight of unemployment and under-employment all along the past few centuries It is good to remind ourselves of this, even as a salutary corrective to our self-complacency about this most vital problem for the Swaraj Government to solve

It must also be noted that the demand of the classes for jobs is of a peculiar nature They want 'white-collar' jobs, as they are called Theirs is called 'educated' unemployment They have been taught to work in a particular way and a special manner This is born of the peculiar system of English education that has been imparted to our classes The masses did not have a share in it They are simple and unsophisticated enough to labour and earn their honest bread Not so the classes, who should have clerical and other jobs This is the most sinister effect of English education and it is having its toll today from us. This is another piece of our recent history which is also noteworthy today .

But today's main question is, why should there be increasing unemployment even though crores are being spent for works under the Planning Ministry ? Even the Finance Minister when referring to growing unemployment the other day begged the question, but could not enlighten us in any way about it Surely there is something very vitally wrong in our approach to economic planning in our country at present The Prime Minister referred to unemployment in a speech during his recent Maharashtra tour and said that our main problem today is lack of finances He said that Government could not undertake schemes and plans of gigantic nature such as removal of unemployment, without sufficient funds. Is this analysis right ? What about the effect of what funds we have and are spending today ? Is removal of unemployment a function of funds and finance only ? Funds and finance are at best mere aids to labour that should be pooled and mobilized in creating more wealth Does the Planning Commission's way do this in a right manner ? We have unemployed labour as much as we want and to spare. Poor though we are we have necessary finance too coming forth from the national exchequer Out of the crores which are being budgeted for the Five-Year Plan a good slice is eked out of our national resources of borrowing and taxation The most lamentable part of our planning policy is that it is based on capital and not on labour or direct removal of unemployment Capital is a secondary instrument, which assumes undue importance in our present capitalist world economy It cannot remove unemployment, it will only feed and fatten itself still more and create an order which in its fundamental nature cannot be other than capitalist and centralized either in a class or the State It will need war and armaments to make itself a working proposition But all that is another story Restricting ourselves to the economic side of it, I feel that the following criticism of the *Economic Weekly* that was reproduced in the issue of the *Harijan* April 4, 1953, may be fittingly quoted again in this context

> an underpopulated country rich in material resources should try to economize Labour, while an overpopulated and poor community must economize Capital but use Labour with a lavish hand. While, therefore the (Five-Year) Plan can be regarded as an interesting intellectual exercise or even as a gaudy and tinsel toy it should be clearly understood it will solve no problems for us The solution lies along less attractive plans of Gandhian economics viz, cottage industries The economy of cottage industries is hard to understand Such products are presumed to be very expensive and to require special protection to combat against mill-made products but once it is realized they are merely by-products of the peasant's spare time when he would otherwise be earning nothing so that labour can be valued very little that difficulty would it is imagined, disappear Naturally this will not be an attractive philosophy to the peasant who has got used to a schedule of four months' work and eight months' holiday (he values leisure much more highly than food) and only a very sustained propaganda effort firmer and more intensive than has ever yet been attempted, towards a reorientation of this outlook can induce any change in the situation "

[illegible] an national planning [illegible] adopt it and implement it ?

4-5-'53

SARVODAYA AND POLITICS *

I

I propose to discuss and place before you my views on the following three questions (i) our attitude towards Government schemes and the various political parties in the country, (ii) the way we should plan and regulate our effort in order to step up the *bhoodan* campaign, and (iii) the defects and deficiencies which we should guard against I will leave the third for the evening and limit myself just now only to the first two

Bhaadan and Sarvodaya

Speaking about the *bhoodan* movement in the course of my *yatra*, I do not just content myself with saying only what is necessary to give an impetus to our present work *Bhoodan* is after all a particular manifestation of the Sarvodaya ideal for which wa stand and towards which all our efforts are directed And Sarvodaya being an all-inclusive ideal embracing the whole of life, I naturally dwell on many other subjects besides *bhoodan* At times it so happens that I speak very little about *bhoodan* and much more about other questions which have a bearing on our work and which therefore demand our attention Sometimes these questions crop up because people want to know what we think about them. And I welcome this because it accords with my nature which does not like setting any limits to the range of inquiry and because this raises our activity from the level of a campaign for a particular objective to that of a full and free propagation of knowledge

The Five-Year Plan

A question which has figured quite often during such discussions is What is our attitude towards the Five-Year Plan and the Community Projects as also towards the various political parties and their different ideologies ? I have my own way of dealing with such questions — I just refer to the points of agreement between their programme and ours A friend once remarked that this was not the correct way of dealing with such questions, what was required was to bring out the points of disagreement Since some of you may also share the doubt, I will also explain, as I proceed the importance of this particular approach in dealing with the ideologies and programmes of different parties in the country

Our Non-violent Attitude

Let us first consider our attitude in regard to the Five-Year Plan Our main objection against this Plan is that it is based on a different outlook, — on an outlook which is far removed from ours This is the basic defect all others are [illegible] I placed this [illegible] before the Planning Commission as clearly as I could and they tried to understand my view-point They even tried to make some adjustments and you will find that in the new report they have introduced a number of modifications in the original plan However, the difference remains and is bound to remain because as I said, their outlook is different from ours However my avoiding to dwell on points of difference beyond what is necessary for clarity of thinking, creates the impression that on the whole I am for the Plan, that it has my approval And this impression is not wrong This attitude of approval to a thing based, on our own admission on an outlook which is different from ours springs from our desire to prevent *buddhi-bheda* — confusion in the mind of the people Today we may, if we decide to oppose the Plan, retard its progress But this is not the same thing as the capacity for construction We have not yet enough hold over the people to place our own programme before them and to get it implemented by them I therefore think it improper from the point of view of non-violence, to use our influence in creating *buddhi-bheda* — confusion, and preventing even the good points from being given effect to The fact is a government depends on *danda-shakti* — the coercive power of law and must from its very nature remain incapable of going much beyond what is warranted by the circumstances existing at a particular time As such no matter how good the plan made by the Government, it will always fall short of our ideal and expectation Therefore as followers of non-violence it is our duty to express our approval for the good points in any such plan and desist from creating confusion

There is another vital consideration in adopting this approach to such questions Quite often when we criticize anybody for anything, we not only criticize the thing in question but go further and attack his *bona fides* also It is evident that this is unjust. Besides, we thereby confer on him the right to suspect our *bona fides* also and thus injure our own interests

Government and Capitalism

I know and at times I also say so that the Government is very much under the influence of Capitalism. However this is not because they want Capitalism, but because they think there is no alternative under the existing circumstances and it would therefore be useful to utilize the intelligence and ability of the Capitalists and partly because they share some of the views of Capitalism I say this not only of the present Government but also of the Communists Our plan aims at the decentralization both of production and distribution But the Communists do not countenance decentralization in respect of production There is hardly any difference on this point between the

* The first part of Shri Vinoba's speech on the morning of March 9 at the Chandil Sarvodaya Sammelan

Capitalists and [illegible] who call themselves leftists for they both [illegible]ept centralized production by means of big machines And because this is a central feature of Capitalism Communists themselves might be called Capitalist at least in this regard [illegible] only we who do not countenance Capitalism in any form So if you consider the differences between our views and those of the Government in this way you get a clearer understanding of the questions involved, without falling into the error of doubting anybody's *bona fides* Given the ideology which they accept and the limitations of the circumstances under which they work even you and I would act very much as they do were we to occupy their place. We cannot therefore doubt their *bona fides* Hence our good wishes for what good the Government are doing

Our Attitude of Helpful Co-operation

But as I explained to you in my speech the day before yesterday we have our own goal and the way leading to that goal and we should not let ourselves be drawn or deflected away from our chosen path We must continue to go ahead in our own direction People ask me how far they should co-operate with the Government plans I say to them we should certainly co-operate in those plans which we approve of, but we must keep ourselves free We cannot accept any of these plans and projects as our own and get entangled in them We may give to Government our advice if and when sought and may also occasionally help if when there is need but it will be a mistake to make its plans any of our responsibilities This is my view But our Sarvodaya Samaj is based on freedom and *sewakas* are free to think for themselves Some *sewakas* consider the projects to be good enough and they have even lent their services to the Government in order to work for them There are others who reject them as being totally ruinous to the country There is a third section of workers who regard them as good in part and are prepared to help the Government if the latter would agree to certain conditions My own attitude is as I told you to go our own way like the elephant' in Kabir's well known *bhajan* devoting all our energy and time chiefly to our chosen mission When we take to criticizing others we waste a good deal of energy I therefore think that both criticizing others and getting involved in what is not our own work are undesirable and eventually detrimental to our cause

Political Parties

As regards the related question of our policy towards the different political parties I am inclined to take the view that they should cease as different parties and combine to form a united front made up of all good and honest people in the country carrying out commonly agreed programmes And to that end I try to put before the people a programme of work which may be acceptable to all and in which all can join forgetting their differences This will tend to draw the parties nearer one another with the result that their differences will gradually shrink and the points of agreement increase Now we have such a programme in *bhoodan* which is acceptable to all, which helps the country go forward and withal makes for the growth of *jana-shakti*—the inherent strength of the people If all these parties take it up in the right spirit we may hope that the next elections in 1957 will not be as at present between good and honest people opposing one another but between all of them ranged on the one side and those who oppose progress on the other

Western Democracy

But Western Democracy which we are practising in our country at present believes that there must be two parties for its successful working It holds that the co-operative opposition between them will keep the nation going on the right path and act as a deterrent and a corrective to the defects which the Government may develop at any time I think that while this view of democracy has its advantages It also gives rise to certain evils which we should try to eradicate

India's Political Experience

India's political experience finds its culmination in our unique institution of Gram-Panchayat which was based on the unanimity of the five that is all the members in the council. Whereas the present democracy is based on the principle of reaching a decision by a majority vote and so gives rise to what is called the problem of minorities And this problem cannot be solved unless we adopt the principle of the unanimity among all persons of honesty and good will

Our Way of Common Agreement

We should therefore direct our efforts towards enlightening the people and finding out a programme acceptable to all men of good will and honesty And this should not prove difficult because the differences which divide the good are only superficial and one can always find a core of common agreement which can serve as a basis for a common programme acceptable to all The differences should be left out of the programme of work They should be discussed and debated but not included in the programme of work I hold the view that a thing on which the good differ among themselves is not worthy of implementation Only such programmes should be placed before the people on which the good are in agreement

Here the question can well be raised as to who is a good man. I will not go into that question now I will only urge on you to deem it our duty to bridge the gulf between different parties The Gita has said about it that all the differences we see are only on the surface at bottom there

[illegible] that Then only [illegible] the atmosphere of unity Differences [illegible] there will always be but in the field of [illegible] we must aim at unity

In this respect the Hindu thought offers a most instructive lesson Hinduism includes many diverse philosophies, a few of which are even atheistic and they attack and refute one another in very strong terms Thus there is full freedom of thought But there is unanimity in regard to the sphere of conduct All prescribe the same code of virtuous conduct So in the field of action we must proceed on the basis of general agreement leaving out the differences for further enquiry and discussion But the programme of work which we take up for implementation must be one which has the approval of all men of good intent

(Abridged from Hindi)

PLIGHT OF CHAMARS IN GORAKHPUR

(By Suresh Ramabhai)

Incredible as it may seem yet the great and disturbingly so, economic truth of our existence as an independent political unit is the steady vanquishment of our village or cottage industries The sad plight of the handloom-weaver has rightly invoked a country-wide sympathy But far more awful and battered is that of the tanner or Chamar who suffers from the additional disadvantage of being regarded as socially untouchable. Here follows the gruesome tale of the Chamar's languishing industry as found in the city of Gorakhpur

Our city Chamar generally does two types of work (i) tanning raw skin into leather, (ii) making footwear out of leather Doing this as he has been for generations past he can be regarded as an 'expert' in this craft But today he can hardly keep house and home together in spite of all his endeavours

Meeting a Chamar in the Hiahibagh Muhalla of Gorakhpur town I took the estimates of tanning process

No	Item	Price
1	Buffalo skin	Rs 21-0-0
2	Mango Knot	, 4-0-0
3	Lime	, 0-4-0
4	Salt Moonj etc	0-12-0
	Total	Rs 26-0-0

Market price of two hides made from one skin is Rs 30/-

Thus after two weeks' labour the Chamar earns only four rupees, i e about four annas each day Besides he does not always get customers for his hides Again thanks to brokers who collect skin from the interior for supply to Kanpur and Calcutta mills, he fails to obtain the skin of his choice at his hour of need

As regards shoe-making I was told that one bullock hide sufficed to prepare 15 pairs of shoes The cost details are,

No	Item	Price
1	Bullock hide	Rs 25-0-0
2	Nails, Dyes etc	0-1-0
	Thread etc	, 1-0-0
	Total	Rs 26-1-0

Market price of 15 pairs at Rs 2-4-0 per pair Rs 33 12-0

The Chamar takes ten to twelve days to prepare 15 pairs Obviously his average daily earnings amount to less than twelve annas What was really torturing I was informed, was that on account of Bata and Flex there was almost no market for the Chamar s footwear

There are about 500 homes dependent on this work in Gorakhpur city But their dwindling trade has ruined them terribly Some of these Chamars used to earn something as labourers in agriculture But the introduction of tube-wells tractors, and improved tools and better machinery in the development' or project' area is depriving them of this work as well Thus the poor Chamar is a loser on all counts

The above is not peculiar to Gorakhpur alone * The Chamars all over the country are facing untold hardships The situation deteriorates still as one goes into the interior May it be suggested that the Backward Classes Commission should go into this economic aspect of the life of the backward people Also it is for our Governments both Central and State, as also the Planning Commission to see how these millions of socially backward people can be saved from economic collapse Besides, is it not the duty of the general footwear user, specially the educated class, not to be bewitched by Bata and Flex but to embrace the village tanner? It is cent per cent Swadeshi Dharma without which there is no alternative

Allahabad, 23-4-'53

A Good Suggestion

To The Editor *Harijan*,

London *Daily Mirror* newspaper writes:

> A strictly enforced law in Holland is that no person under the age of 21 shall retain a seat in bus or train when old, crippled or weaker passengers enter
>
> Notices to this effect are pasted in the windows
>
> Our little Tommy trained to show no respect for his elders and told to keep his seat because he has paid for it, would not enjoy a trip to Holland where he would get frequent bouncings out of his seat."

The suggestion contained in the above letter of an Englishman published in a London newspaper should be adopted by bus and tram authorities here in all the cities of India for the benefit of old persons and for improving good moral character of Indian youths

SORABJI R. MISTRI

* Nor is it peculiar to the shoe-making industry only, So many other village industries are similarly hard hit and their players live a precarious life economically and socially —Ed

THE EVIL OF PATENT MEDICINES

[The following is culled from the inaugural address of Shrimati Rajkumari Amrit Kaur which she gave on March 12 1953 while inaugurating the Committee on Pharmaceutical Industry Delhi. —M P]

There are a sufficient number of standard drugs included in the various Pharmacopoeias which should certainly satisfy the needs of the medical profession and the elimination of the patent and proprietary medicines will not in any way cause any hardship ether to the doctor or to the consumer I am sorry to have to say this but the medical profession are beginning to lose the art, as it were, of writing prescriptions and one wonders whether there may not often be even a link-up between them and trade to en hance the sale of patent medicines.

A great responsibility rests on doctors in this regard. The belief in patent medicines in the public mind has been caused by large amounts of money spent in advertisements whereby patients are led to believe that health can be purchased by procuring a bottle or a tin of a patent medicine without even obtaining medical opinion. I do not wish to say that patent and proprietary medicines should be done away with altogether, particularly because, due to lack of medical personnel, such articles are sometimes useful in rural areas But what I would like to stress is the necessity of doing away with costly patent and proprietary medicines which are sold to the unwary public by the trade by spending huge amounts of money on advertisements as to their efficacy Owing to the extensive, attractive and oftentimes very misleading advertisements many people resort to self-medication. There is more danger in this than people can believe If a person resorts to medication merely on the claims made in the advertisement in regard to the efficacy of a particular remedy, it may at times even lead to disastrous consequences

If you open the pages of any newspaper or magazine or even read posters in the streets you will often find the most disgusting type of advertisements The unwary and the gullible both fall a prey to them and it is difficult to assess the damage thus caused I have always felt that such advertisements are a real menace to society and I am glad to say that at long last I hope shortly to introduce legislation for regulating them. Apart from laws, however, manufacturers and other interested parties must also see to it that a healthy tone is maintained in public life and that they co-operate with the Government in putting a stop to all unethical practices in the realm of medicines for the sick and ailing members of the public

WHY THE VILLAGE MOVEMENT?
By J C Kumarappa
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ALL-INDIA KHADI AND VILLAGE INDUSTRIES BOARD

The second meeting of the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board which was held in New Delhi in the last week of March 1953 approved of the budget for Khadi work and development of other village industries for the year 1953-54 Expenditure amounting to Rs 1,08,12,600/- was approved for Khadi work and of Rs. 88,20,250/- for work in respect of other village industries The Board budgeted for a provision of Rs 1,75 00 000 for Khadi work and Rs 25 00,000 for other village industries by way of loans and advances The detailed programme of work in both the sections was also sanctioned.

The village industries selected for development during the current year are the following

1 Village Oil Industry
2 Hand pounding of Rice
3 Soap-making with Neem oil
4. Hand-made paper
5 Bee keeping
6 Palm gur
7 Gur and Khandsari
8 Leather
9 Cottage matches
10 Miscellaneous industries.

The Board has placed itself in contact with Governments of various States with a view to examining how its activities can be carried on in different parts of the country and co-ordinated with similar activities being carried on at present, either through departmental agency or non-official bodies

The question of setting up a research institute specialising in village industries was discussed and it is expected that a scheme will be drawn up for the purpose during the next quarter

Arrangements were made for establishing liaison with the All India Handloom Board and the All-India Handicraft Board

Members of the Board had a discussion with the Prime Minister and some of his colleagues on the subject of the place of Khadi in India s national economy and the scope for planned development in the next five years Detailed proposals in this respect are being forwarded to the Central Government.

PRANLAL S KAPADIA
Secretary,
All India Khadi and Village Industries Board

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We Require a New Economic Policy

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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THE ECONOMIC CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

(By Gandhiji)

Q What in your opinion ought to be the basis of India's future economic constitution? What place will such institutions as savings banks, insurance companies etc have in it?

A According to me the economic constitution of India and, for the matter of that, the world should be such that no one under it should suffer from want of food and clothing In other words, everybody should be able to get sufficient work to enable him to make the two ends meet. And this ideal can be universally realized only if the means of production of elementary necessaries of life remain in the control of the masses These should be freely available to all as God's air and water are or ought to be, they should not be made a vehicle of traffic for the exploitation of others Their monopolization by any country, nation or group of persons would be unjust The neglect of this simple principle is the cause of the destitution that we witness today not only in this unhappy land but other parts of the world too It is this evil that the Khadi movement is calculated to remedy Savings banks and insurance companies will be there even when the economic reforms suggested by me have been effected, but their nature will have undergone a complete transformation. Savings banks today in India, though a useful institution, do not serve the very poorest As for our insurance companies they are of no use whatever to the poor What part they can play in an ideal scheme of reconstruction such as I have postulated is more than I can say. The function of savings banks ought to be to enable the poorest to husband their hard-earned savings and to subserve the interests of the country generally Though I have lost faith in most Government institutions, as I have said before, savings banks are good so far as they go, but unfortunately today their services are available only to the urban section of the community and so long as our gold reserves are located outside India they can hardly be regarded as trustworthy institutions In the event of a war all these banks may become not only utterly useless but even a curse to the people, inasmuch as the Government will not scruple to employ the funds held by these banks against the depositors themselves No Government institution can be depended upon to remain loyal to the interest of the people in emergency if they are not controlled by and not run in the interests of the people So long therefore as this primary condition is absent banks are in the last resort additional links to keep the people in chains They may exist but it is well to understand where we are in respect even of such harmless looking institutions

Young India 15-11-28

The revival of the village is possible only when it is no more exploited Industrialization on a mass scale will necessarily lead to passive or active exploitation of the villages as the problems of competition and marketing come in Therefore we have to concentrate on the village being self-contained manufacturing mainly for use Provided this character of the village industry is maintained, there would be no objection to villager using the modern machines and tools they can make and can afford to use Only they should not be used as a means of exploitation of others

Harijan, 20-6-36

If I can convert the country to my point of view, the social order of the future will be based predominantly on the *charkha* and all it implies It will include everything that promotes the well-being of the villagers It will not exclude the industries mentioned by my correspondent so long as they do not smother the villages and village life. I do visualize electricity, ship-building, iron works, machine-making and the like existing side by side with village handicrafts. But the order of dependence will be reversed. Hitherto the industrialization has been so planned as to destroy the villages and village crafts In the State of the future it will subserve the villages and their crafts I do not share the socialist belief that centralization of the necessaries of life will conduce to the common welfare when the centralized industries are planned and owned by the State

Harijan 27 1 40

OUR IMMEDIATE PROGRAMME FOR BHOODAN WORK *

I will now take up the question of how we should organize our efforts in order to accelerate the pace of our work This movement as you are aware started about two years ago in Telangana The friend who gave us the first donation in the village of its origin is present here in this conference The Harijans of the place asked for eighty acres of land and on my suggestion that someone should come forward to satisfy their demand he offered them one hundred acres You can meet this friend and learn from him how and in what atmosphere the whole thing originated in that village To me this appeared to be a signal from God and I decided to start the campaign It is evident that in the absence of this pointer I could not have thought of this solution of the land problem Even if it had occurred to me I could not have made bold to undertake it because it meant collecting crores of acres and in all conscience I could not presume that I would be able to rouse the people to an active sense of duty to an extent necessary for this purpose My friends and colleagues too had I consulted them, would not have advised me to take up this programme All the same I took it up with faith in God and decided to try my hand at it Thus I began to ask for land

And as I went on with the campaign each day that passed brought out hidden meanings and disclosed new possibilities of this movement Thus I grew in my own understanding of its vast potentialities and had what I may call a vision — a new revelation of the power of non violence However a doubt still lingered — not in my mind, but in that of others It was feared that the success in Telangana might be due to the special conditions prevailing in that part, and may fail to repeat where conditions were different Soon afterwards I was required to go to Delhi following an invitation from Pandit Nehru and I decided to avail myself of the opportunity it provided to see how it worked under changed conditions I set out to Delhi on foot and all along the way I explained the message of *bhoodan* to the people The result was that the people showed the same enthusiasm for it as they had done in Telangana It proved that the conditions in Telangana were no way special and the reason for the success was rather to be found in the fact that time-spirit itself was in its favour

After Delhi I undertook to tour Uttar Pradesh. Here I asked the workers to fix a target of collection for the province and pledge themselves to achieve it The Uttar Pradesh workers who were very few in number worked heroically and put in tremendous efforts for ten months without any respite, and as work proceeded it was found that the pledge was not beyond fulfilment Today, as you know they have announced in the conference that it [illegible] fulfilled Not only that, they have no[illegible] e their quota from five lakh to e[illegible] This was in Uttar Pradesh

Then I [illegible] tinue to tour the country in this w[illegible] two to three lakh acres every [illegible] ate, in five to six years which I would need for touring India I will have collected at the most ten to twenty lakh acres only Collecting ten to twenty lakh acres however, cannot solve the problem Times were moving fast and if we did not keep pace with them and solve the problem within a specified time our efforts would be in vain, that is though we might succeed in bringing help and relief to some here and there yet we would fail in achieving our object of ushering in a new social order based on justice It was therefore evident that somewhere we must concentrate and try for the full solution of the problem And I felt that Bihar should be an ideal place for this experiment It was neither a very big province nor a small one The reserve of goodwill among its people, I thought, will be — if not greater — not less than elsewhere Besides it was the place from where Buddha preached his message of Ahimsa to the world and my faith suggested to me that it must therefore prove specially favourable for this new experiment in Ahimsa With these considerations in my mind I decided to try for the full solution of the land problem in Bihar And the decision was made known to the people the day I entered Bihar

Our initial experience in Bihar was not quite encouraging It appeared as though we had come up against a rock But it did not depress me For two months, in spite of our best efforts, the results were very meagre, so much so that in the Saran District we could raise only a thousand acres in spite of the fact that our President who hails from that district himself issued an appeal urging the people to do their utmost for the success of *bhoodan* in Bihar and specially in Saran. There were days when we got only two acres or three acres Nevertheless I persisted in my determination in making Bihar a test-case for proving the efficacy of *bhoodan* as the weapon for working out the socio-economic revolution And when I entered the Gaya District, I resolved that this district which was the scene of Lord Buddha's austerities and which is sacred to crores of Hindus as the place where they offer Sraddha to their forbears should be asked to collect one lakh acres as the first instalment I expressed this feeling to the workers who approved of it and accepted to work for it. You know that this has borne fruit and encouraged by this their success the workers have now fixed their target at four lakh acres

Meanwhile I have been reflecting over the situation to find out how best we should plan our efforts so as to achieve the maximum result in

* This is the second half of Shri Vinoba's speech on March 9, at the Chandil Sammelan

[illegible] has led me to the conclusion that [illegible] we should concentrate all our [illegible] in Bihar, and even in Bihar on a few select [illegible] districts succeed in solving the [illegible] problem in their respective areas without recourse to legislation, albeit with the help of the Government, there is no reason why the same should not happen in other parts of India These districts will serve as an example to the rest of India, which will strengthen the faith of the workers and the people in the practicability of this programme And once this faith is brought into existence and begins to work as an active impulse the problem will be solved in no time

I want therefore that for a year from now you should give all your time and energy to this thing each in his province And this you should do in the spirit of dedication, leaving everything else — even good things I am not telling you anything new. It is a recognized precept in *bhakti marg* — the way of devotion The devotees are asked to abandon not only what is not virtuous but also what is virtuous The Gita says Come to me as thy sole refuge abandoning all *dharmas* This is a characteristic of the way of devotion that it demands total dedication And our way is a way of devotion, for we seek to introduce love and harmony into the society, which cannot be done except through devotion We want to generate love Then this becomes our chief duty for which we should be prepared to abandon all other smaller duties

Next I want that while you organize work in your respective provinces, a few workers from every province, who can be spared for the purpose should also come to Bihar for two or three months It will benefit us in two ways First, the presence of these workers in Bihar will improve the atmosphere of this place which is at the moment highly contaminated by political rivalries Secondly they will learn how to work under such atmosphere which will be useful to them when they go back

Thirdly I want that Bihar workers should also concentrate the greater part of their effort on the few selected districts If they do so and are able to achieve complete success in those parts, that will give a tremendous impetus to our work People ask me whether it would be in the interest of *bhoodan* work if I thus remain tied to Bihar Was it right strategy ? I say to them that it would undoubtedly help the cause of our movement if we can accomplish our work in a given area within a specified time and present the same as an example before the people. The practicability of our programme will have been vindicated and the rest will then be merely a matter of time and the number of workers required in proportion to the quantity of the work to be done The need of the hour therefore is to produce such an example as early as we can

I had told the people of Bihar that I would not leave this province until the problem here was finally solved. But I want that the next conference should not meet here again. I will therefore request the workers of this province to fulfil the quota of 32 lakh acres and thus enable me to proceed to another province

We had decided to collect 25 lakh acres by the time of the next Sammelan Supposing that Bihar alone is able to collect 32 lakh acres, our pledge will be more than fulfilled This revolution will then spread to other provinces and our work will be easily and swiftly accomplished. It cannot be that while Bihar does so much, other parts of India will just look on and remain where they were That is against human psychology Human society is after all a unity and a change in one part must affect the rest

(Abridged from Hindi)

ETIQUETTE FOR PUBLIC SERVANTS

To The Editor, *Harijan*

Sir

I have seen your editorial note in the *Harijan* of 18th April I am glad you have taken up the cause which is dear to many Andhras Andhras do not want that they should preserve their State at the cost of the poor man by forcing drink on him As you have rightly pointed out the Constitution clearly lays it down that the State shall *endeavour* to bring about Prohibition of the consumption of intoxicating drinks and drugs injurious to health Contravening this directive principle of the State policy and a fundamental Article of the Constitution, is certainly not endeavouring to bring about Prohibition

I wish to bring another point to the notice of your readers and that is also a constitutional one The point is this Mr Wanchoo, when he visited the Madras State in connection with the separation of the Andhra State, was acting in the capacity of a public servant. As such he is bound to respect the Constitution and not whisper a word against it. He has been an experienced Judge and should be expected to know his job and his limitations I hold that whatever he the rights and privileges a legislator or a common citizen may have in respect of differing from or propagating against the existing Constitution, a Government servant is bound by the Constitution and cannot infringe it In view of the clear wording of Article 47, Mr Wanchoo was not free to suggest, as he did, in his recommendations giving up of Prohibition for the creation of a separate Andhra State I believe that this is a clear infringement of the rules of conduct of a public servant I would suggest that other public servants do not copy this example.

Nellore, 11-5-'53 V RAGHAVIAH

[It is for Government to see how far the view of the correspondent is tenable in law However it is very necessary that public servants should not give vent to views and opinions which are against the Constitution or any way contrary to accepted State policies

15-5-53 — M. P.]

HARIJAN

May 30 1953

WE REQUIRE A NEW ECONOMIC POLICY

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

Shri M P T Acharya writes as follows regarding the economic policy that is adopted by the Union Government at present.

> 'Pandit Nehru like Marxians and capitalists takes production of wealth as automatically going (distributed) for consumption while money prevents distribution consumption and even restricts production activities There is not only enough money to 'go round" but also enough money to start producing all things It is thinking in a vacuum—no relation to realities If consumption could be increased within the setup there would be no misery and no socialist and communist and other subversive movements in the West or the East. Even advanced countries cannot solve the problem Pandit Nehru starts where Europe started 50 years ago There were more chances of sale abroad than now which enabled England, Germany and U S. to expand their industries. Now markets inland and abroad are destroyed and will be destroyed more and more.
>
> 'Unless we recognize that Capitalist and Bolshevik economy will not work there will be no solution. But they try to combine the worst features of both Bolshevik and Capitalist economy as "solution", making things worse. Both are made for reduced consumption only in spite of increased production of useless things'

The criticism is not a new thing so far as the observations made in it go. But it becomes important in the context of Government economic policy today It clinches the few most vital issues that we cannot ignore in our present situation These are:

1 Is it wise or any way really helpful for us today to go the way of the West in industrialization evolved by it in the last century of the dominance of colonialist or imperialist economy?

2 Do we recognize that colonial or foreign markets are daily fading away in the modern world politics and that self-sufficiency has to be the key note of economic policy of nations today?

3 Have we realized for us that mere emphasis on production at any cost does not solve our economic problem, but that we are required to forge out a new policy for our national economy which should be a naturally distributive system of production which will therefore not create the evil capitalistic concentration but will distribute the purchasing power produced in the largest possible number of hands and over the widest area?

4 Do we acknowledge that to tackle the problem of unemployment which is in other words our basic question of food, cloth and shelter for all, the way of concentrated and centralized production is a failure and that only the way that Gandhiji tried to show us through Khadi and Village Industries Economy can solve it?

This is the topmost question of the day not only for us but also for the West as well As markets are growing scarce and scanty, the armed nations might either quarrel amongst themselves for whatever of them are still open or they turn the way of the New Economy of peace and contented happiness that Gandhiji foresaw for the world For example the editor of *The Sower* (Summer, 1952) a quarterly bulletin representing a small band of fundamentalist economic and social thinkers in England, writes about British economy as follows

> "Our British economy cannot endure on its present basis much longer Since the pre-war primary producing countries are now moving as rapidly as possible towards a reasonable self-sufficiency Britain has no option but to move in the same direction The present condition of the textile trades is a clear warning of that fact. In the new world order that is rapidly developing Britain will not be able to secure the markets necessary to maintain its present economy with its huge demand for imports of food and raw materials
>
> As the collapse of the present war-producing economy proceeds and unemployment rises in volume the Government will be only too glad to assist every effort to increase self sufficiency in the localities while the development of crafts, home and small industries and a local agro-industrial economy will stimulate the growth of local genius local co-operation and local self-government which in turn will increase the level and extent of personal responsibility, and so pave the way to a veritable economic and spiritual democracy'

Shri Wilfred Wellock, one of this band, writes in the same number on this central question of rebuilding Britain under the title *Decentralization*. The reader will find this reproduced elsewhere in these columns. Let us not forget that when we are furiously striving to rebuild India we do not lose sight of the fundamentals of our situation, as there is every danger to do so in our haste to tread the beaten path of industrialized West with its hectic glow and alluring glamour

8-5-'53

By Bharatan Kumarappa

WHY PROHIBITION

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INDIA MUST LEAD

Mr W A Scharffenberg Executive Secretary of the International Temperance Association, addressing Madras Legislators (March 24) quoted at the outset Gladstone's words that 'It is the duty of Government to make it easy for the people to do well and difficult to do ill' and said that whenever he asked people why they drank, they replied that drink was available and so they drank. He expressed the view that if they could not get liquor they would not drink.

Experience in U S

Mr Scharffenberg narrated how total Prohibition came into force in U S formerly and said that in a certain place a person who had taken alcohol from a liquor shop committed a murder The people around, coming to know that the man committed the murder while in a drunken state, demanded that the shop should not be allowed to operate in that area So the shop shifted from that district When the shopman tried to open a shop in another district, the people there came to know under what circumstances he came to that place and in turn demanded that the liquor shop should not be allowed to open in that district. Thus each district began to spurn liquor shops and 27 States had thus declared Prohibition. A Prohibition Bill was then taken up by the Congress and 75 per cent of the States endorsed it. Prohibition thus became a Federal Law The liquor interests — dealers and manufacturers — were disappointed and they organized what was called the Association for the Repeal of the 18th Amendment (Prohibition Law) They in America had Prohibition for 13 years and Mr Scharffenberg said, it could not be said to have failed.

Reviewing how Prohibition ceased to be a Federal Law Mr Scharffenberg said that two circumstances arose Firstly there was a sort of indifference on the part of the temperance forces in the country Once Prohibition had become a Federal Law they stopped their work and many societies closed They failed to launch a continuous educative programme Secondly the liquor interests tried to permeate among the people the idea that Prohibition could never work, that it was a failure and that there was illicit drinking They influenced big officers and made them fight for the repeal "This was a Federal Law and I am very happy that India did not make that same mistake and the responsibility of enforcing Prohibition is not vested in the Federal Government How would your State police officers like the Delhi police officials come down here and enforce Prohibition laws" It does not work and could not work. These men belonging to the Federal Government in U S thought they were big men and not caring to enforce the law they leaned more and more towards the men who appointed them — politicians who were endeavouring to develop an opinion against Prohibition'

Finally, he said one party came to the front and promised a national referendum on the issue of Prohibition. Only a minority exercised their votes A majority of them, like the poor peasants did not vote They never believed that Prohibition would be repealed in U S And yet Prohibition was repealed But it was not correct to say that it was repealed by the votes of a majority According to the speaker, a majority of the people was against drink and in favour of Prohibition.

Recent Trends

At present, Mr Scharffenberg said an interesting development was taking place in U S The liquor interests did all they could to promote drinking in all sections of society They were advertising through all mediums. They went too far and a reaction had now set in that something should be done about it. A Bill was introduced in the Congress last year that advertising of liquor over radio and other such media should be banned It was lost by one vote Another Bill of the kind was now being introduced and he would not be surprised if it was carried through this time. He said that more women were drinking today in U S than ever before and there was a feeling among the public that something should be done about it. There was the drinking habit among the student population also It was also stated that about 75 per cent of road accidents happened when the car drivers were in a drunken state and also public feeling was aroused against them. The feeling was again growing against the liquor industry Whereas previously about 75 per cent of liquor was purchased and consumed at the bar and 25 per cent taken home, the ratio had now reversed. Trade interests said that liquor had food value and it was also repudiated. Civic organisations had been started to educate the people on the evils of drink and to do propaganda for introduction of Prohibition. At the annual conferences of such functions no liquor was served and they took only orange juice 'I merely mention this,' he said, 'to show that a feeling is developed in U S against drink and I wish to put that idea across. We must take courage in this matter of Prohibition and India will set an example for the entire world to follow in this regard with her religious conviction cultural ideals and realistic outlook in life'

Proceeding Mr Scharffenberg said that during the last Presidential election in U S., on a reference made to them by the Temperance Association both the Republican and Democratic Parties did not consent to the liquor interests sponsoring their conventions over the radio That was a definite victory for the Prohibition forces in U S At the Republican Convention President Eisenhower would not allow liquor to be served. During 1951 in 48 States, 1 063 Bills were introduced in the Assemblies calling for control, restriction and prohibition of liquor trade, and "we have in the U S what we call the local option to introduce Prohibition Though by the preceding Act, Prohibition as a Federal Law was repealed, there was provision that every State had complete authority over that question. If a State wanted to have Prohibition it could secure the support of the Federal Government for protecting it from the dealers in illicit liquor After his tour Mr Scharffenberg said he was going to suggest that big business corporations should send out to India only persons who were not addicted to drink. He would make the same suggestion regarding Ambassadorial staff to this country also. He said he was ashamed to say that Washington itself was quite wet. According to statistics the largest number of crimes was committed in Washington

'I believe' Mr Scharffenberg said in conclusion, "that you in Madras and the people in Bombay will set apace an example for the nation. Let every one of you here take a positive line and permeate the spirit that you are cent per cent for Prohibition and make an immense success of it"

Some Questions Answered

Mr Scharffenberg replying to questions, said that from what he studied in Africa and other countries the personal income and savings of a man went up once he gave up the drink habit. The standard of life of the family also consequently rose He also mentioned that in the report submitted recently by a committee appointed by the Government in America to investigate into crimes, it was stated that crimes in the Prohibition period were less. There were also more cases of illicit distillation after the repeal of Prohibition. Even now cases of illicit distillation were more in number in the 'wet' areas than in the 'dry' areas

Asked whether the Church advocated drink Mr Scharffenberg said that there was a general impression that all Christians drank Really Christians were not permitted to smoke or drink But there had been many cases of clergymen drinking There was, however a happy change coming among the Christians in U S A national

Council of the Churches had been set up and they tried to promote Prohibition. The clergymen were required to preach one or two sermons in a year for total abstinence.

In U S, Mr Scharffenberg said they were endeavouring to take the whole question of Prohibition out of politics An educational programme was necessary to propagate Prohibition. If people understood how injurious drink was for the body they would not have anything to do with it. Legislation must be reinforced by education or rather education must be reinforced by legislation" he said.

To a question if Prohibition has succeeded in Madras State" Mr Scharffenberg said he had just come to the place and he was trying to gain information. As such, it would not be possible for him to give an opinion on the matter He added that only 15 per cent of the people in India were addicted to drink India had an ideal background for successful implementation of Prohibition If similar conditions obtained in U S they would have national Prohibition without doubt

Mr Scharffenberg said that for every rupee the Government collected on liquor they would have to spend Rs 14 on prevention of crimes of accidents etc the causes for which could be traced to drink.

World Prohibition Movement

Efforts are now afoot to set up an International Commission for the prevention of Alcoholism throughout the world with 150 members Mr Scharffenberg told a representative of *The Hindu*

Mr Scharffenberg was asked whether in the light of objections to Prohibition in India including financial considerations like loss of revenue to the State he would advocate Prohibition or recommend temperance or moderation restriction in the hours of drinking etc

Moderation no Solution

He replied that the word temperance meant moderation in all things that were good and total abstinence in all things that were evil Certainly no one will dispute the fact that alcohol is a destroyer of health of happiness and of mental stability and hence is very evil he said Therefore we stand for total abstinence from all alcoholic beverages for the individual—and for national Prohibition complete Prohibition for the State and the nation"

Mr Scharffenberg did not believe that moderation would solve the problem stating Moderation is the school in which the alcoholic receives his first lesson Alcohol is a habit forming drug a depressant and a poison '

Liquor Revenue a Myth

Dealing with objections emanating from revenue considerations Mr Scharffenberg said that these were to be found in other countries also Liquor interests endeavoured he said to make people believe that the Government could not exist without liquor revenue He said The liquor traffic has never been able to pay for itself If we charge to the liquor traffic everything that should be charged to it it would go bankrupt The idea that the revenue benefits the people is a myth. Explaining himself Mr Scharffenberg said that as the consumption of liquor went up in one area the crime rate therein increased They would have to employ more police more asylums and more orphanages and operating costs also would go up If all this were charged to the industry the loss of health and in mental balance wrecked homes etc they would find that drink was not worthwhile In Bombay he said crime had been reduced by 21 per cent in 1952 compared to the previous year

In conclusion Mr Scharffenberg said that Prohibition to be effective must be reinforced by a strong and continuous educational programme for total abstinence which should begin from the primary school stage

(From *The Hindu* March 26 53)

SOCIAL INSURANCE ANALYSED

(By M P T Acharya)

Social Insurance scheme (unemployment and sickness benefit) was introduced for the first time in Germany as early as Bismark's time It was introduced in England only after the first world war

It was introduced when there was no great unemployment But the conditions of receiving the benefits were so severe that it took plenty of trouble to get the benefits Owing to red tape many were disqualified from receiving the benefits on flimsy grounds

When I was employed as travelling salesman in Germany in Kaisar's time, I was also compulsorily insured against unemployment and sickness although a foreigner The fees were taken out of my pay envelope and paid to the Government by my firm When I became ill, it was not easy to get my illness benefit So I found it better not to struggle for it The Company threatened me that unless I reported myself and took out a medical certificate from the insurance (Government nominated physician), I would be considered as absenting myself without reason and would be discharged As I was alone and ill I could not go to the doctor but had to engage a private doctor at my own expense Even if the Government doctor presented medicines I could only get 2nd and 3rd rate medicines at Government expense which were poor in efficacy

After the first world war, many private insurance companies gave the same services as the Government as regards medical treatment In a way they competed with Government medical service by offering better doctors, better medicines and more expensive treatment for the whole family against payment of a monthly fee The result was that although all employees were compulsorily insured with the Government, they insured themselves with these private companies and took medical service only from them There were such insurance companies for every strata of society

When after so-called stoppage of inflation big unemployment started with deflation, the Government had to pay out more and more money as dole The number of months for which the doles were paid depended upon the number of years of employment The lesser the years one was employed the lesser the number of weeks or months for which one could get full doles Later on, the doles decreased and finally no doles were paid unless one could show one had no means of living (so-called "means test") Even with full doles, one could not feed oneself One employee told me that he had paid so much as unemployment insurance fees for so many years that if he could have kept all that, he would be running his own shop — and he would have no more doles to collect

In spite of all the difficulties made to collect doles, unemployment grew (some unemployment creates more unemployment!) and unemployment funds ran out, the Government had to lend

[illegible] up at least 40% to make the necessary inquiries and tests It was not incumbent upon the Government to prove that the applicant had means, but it was the aim of the applicant to prove that he had no means After fighting hard and long against Government judges and lawyers and then chicanery for the few pennies they should get as doles they gave up the fight as hopeless and tried to look for other means to eat.

State insurance is based on the same principle as any private insurance although it is supposed that the State makes charity out of humanitarian principles It must also collect fees (premiums) So long as more persons pay the fees or premiums than have to get the benefit the principle will work But if the Government has to pay out more money than it can get out of insurers (it is promised, of course, that the insurers will get the benefits !), then the State will try not to pay If it paid it will become bankrupt The insurance companies provide against such risks by making more people pay premiums by putting their life's length shorter than it would be and if one or two die inspite of that they can afford to pay and still add to their own profits Even then, they try to evade payment If, however, more people began to die than contributed premiums the company would become bankrupt

Paul Lafargue, the son-in-law of Karl Marx wrote if by calculating the probable death, an insurance firm can make tremendous profits why should not one be able to arrange the life of society so 'scientifically"? He had written a pamphlet called The Right to Be (leisure) Lazy" against a pamphlet "The Overwork"—work unto death—exacted from wage slaves He had pointed out that Socrates exclaimed What can come out of a State but lies? Although prices and wages cannot be adjusted, they go on changing and repeating phrases Basic wage, minimum wage, living wage just wage, fair wage, equitable wage and just price, fair price, equitable price and market price. Even Socialists and Communists think they can be adjusted but only under their own State. They know how to do the trick The market price of labour is what one wants to pay and the market price of goods is what one wants to demand and take Goods are like revolvers your money or your life! Later on, they will call them a social wage and a social price, a socialist or communist wage, and a socialist and communist price

Instead of a Welfare State, they will call it a Social State a Socialist State or a Communist State. Exploitation and misery must continue

It will all be only State Welfare against Society, Strong and powerful State under which none will breathe

In Russia, there is no unemployment insurance because only 40 million persons are employed Since to pay unemployment insurance would make the State bankrupt, their theory is there is no unemployment in Russia But 20 million persons are working free in slave labour camps dying by inches owing to overwork and under-nourishment.

Originally Socialism was associated with humanism as a revolt against labour conditions Nowadays, it is no longer associated with humanism. Their so-called socialist economy has no place in it for humanism People must support the new Capitalism dying for it. The party and the State on the capitalist basis have to be maintained at all costs Socialism and Communism are only new labels for the same old thing—they must maintain Capitalism

INDIA, CHINA AND RUSSIA

Sir,

In the Parliament Pandit Nehru did well in pointing out that it is not fair to compare India's economic achievements of 5 years with Soviet Russia of 35 To an admirer of China, he replied that "there was no comparison whatever between India and China as to building activities The great works that were being undertaken in India were far greater than in China"

It is a welcome statement to come from the Prime Minister Today, there are two mutually reinforcing processes going on in the country Some of the opposition groups are indulging in belittling India's achievements, their eyes always riveted on instances of scandals, nepotism, wastes and failure Thus they create what Pandit Nehru calls an "atmosphere of depression" in the country On the other hand, there is another process complementary to the first in which the Government including the Prime Minister have been fully participating a constant, parrot-like, uninformed reiteration and admiration of Russian and Chinese "achievements", thus creating an atmosphere of enthusiastic reception of Communism. Communists and persons like Dr Kumarappa some professors and editors of the "bourgeois" Press have been indulging in both The combined result of these efforts and processes has been that among a vast section of influential people, there is a rejection of India and their minds have been prepared for accepting Russo-Chinese "liberation" That is the worst that could happen to a country, its past traditions, present labours and future hopes

In point of fact, India's achievements have not been unimpressive Since independence, she has set up a democratic constitution and met not quite unsuccessfully the refugee problem Even in the economic field she has made big strides. The general index of production which was 117 in the beginning of 1952, was 127 in the first 10 months of 1952 Thirty-five industries showed increased production Record production was registered for cotton textiles, jute-goods, coal, cement, iron and steel

In terms of what Pandit Nehru calls "other dividends" cultural spiritual, and political—we have not killed 2 million "bandits", we have not set up one party dictatorship, we have not instituted thought-control; we do not make

people confess we have not become a satellite of a foreign country

Yours truly,
Ram Swarup

[The correspondent is right in warning us against looking with eager eyes towards China, Russia etc It is unfortunate that it should be so in some quarters and after a full generation of brave and robust self reliance that we learnt from Mahatma Gandhi. But that is not the chief point. The main point we have to remember in India is that ours is a peculiar and special problem. Our problem is to find out a way of self reliant and democratic agro-industrial economy which by its very nature will be decentralized, basing itself on the dignity and freedom of the individual and humanity at large Our weapons will have to be peaceful and democratic Our ways and means will have to touch not a few that live and can get work in our few cities, but they will have to touch the wretched lives and killing unemployment of millions of our poor people who live in the villages. Our problem is peculiar from this point of view It is also peculiar because it does not want to blindly imitate Capitalism or Bolshevism, but wishes to find out a new way of life that is demanded by our culture and civilisation and in the wake of the aftermath of the two World Wars. We have to play this urgent and important role which history has destined for us It is also our debt to the Father of the Nation who has given the above message of a new world order based on non-violence and truth to be brought about in this world and through India which was his chosen field of activity
1-4-'53 —M. P.]

DECENTRALIZATION

(By Wilfred Wellock)

Once the decision to adopt a reasonably balanced economy has been taken, the road to a qualitative civilization lies wide open The key to economic security and freedom from the fear of falling markets and a collapsing economy having been procured, Britain would be able to go all out in the pursuit of the good life for her people both as persons and as a community

To this end she would find that it was necessary to decentralize the large industrial towns, numerous industries and a considerable number of industrial concerns The aim would be to erect social units which combined agricultural and industrial pursuits, and which were of such a size that every member of them would be able to embrace them in his thought and imagination. Likewise most of the industries would be small-scale, so that every worker in them would be a partner in the production undertaken, and therefore carry a measure of responsibility for their success, including the contribution of ideas for improving the quality design and utility of whatever was produced

This would be a return to the day of small things, albeit with much valuable new knowledge It is called for because in the long and in many ways perilous, journey of the last two centuries we have discovered that human greatness is most manifest and the growth of human personality most pronounced where responsibility and creative opportunity are most widely distributed namely, in societies where the social, political and industrial units are small

Other changes would be the re-establishment of the ancient connection between agriculture and industry and some adjustment of a country's population to its food producing capacity History teaches with powerful emphasis that civilizations begin to decay when their population merge in crowded cities Cut off from nature, industrial responsibility and community relationships, people tend to assess their wealth and well-being in terms of money, and more and more to live by their wits

In due course the newly integrated social units would be organized into regional areas, each region comprising a few local units. The industrial enterprises in the various villages would be so arranged by consultation as to ensure a considerable measure of self-sufficiency in the regional area A system of local and regional councils would control the economic life and the general health and well-being of the combined area The political life of the community would thus arise out of its economic life, which is as it should be In addition, new industrial techniques would be developed to meet the needs of the new economy and the demands of a qualitative civilization, while a new educational system would familiarize the young with those wider social and spiritual values and horizons which lie within man's power of attainment, and help them to prepare to enter upon the wider freedom of creative living

In these conditions and on these lines the people would increasingly find their basic satisfactions in creative occupations in vocational and civic responsibilities, while the habit of devising and applying the best means to social and other vocational ends, would be carried into every sphere of human activity, whence the whole of life would become purposive and vital. People would live much more simply, with less waste, with fewer goods but better

Thus would the pitfalls which have beatrewn the course of the Industrial Revolution be bypassed, while functioning at the creative level would produce communities of great spiritual strength and fortitude Equally important a nation would arise which would win the friendship, respect and goodwill of the whole world, which would constitute a spiritual security of infinitely greater potency than any military security

(Reproduced from *The Sower* Summer 1952)

TOWARDS NON-VIOLENT SOCIALISM

By Mahatma Gandhi

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The Present Situation

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor: MAGANBHAI P DESAI

VOL XVII No 14 AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, JUNE 6, 1953 TWO ANNAS

TO THE WORKERS*

I have discussed with the workers from different provinces the work they did last year in their respective areas And though with more careful organization we could have done still better yet there is no reason for any dissatisfaction over what has been achieved The resolution which was read out yesterday refers to the seven or eight lakh acres of land which were collected last year with a sense of just pride And though in the course of the discussions I had with the workers I at times admonished them in order to rouse them to greater effort, yet I am also full of admiration for them and acknowledge that those who worked for this success are entitled to great credit.

Need for Introspection

Next year we want to go further ahead and fulfil the target that we have adopted It should not be difficult to do so This year we had only eleven months for our work, next year we will have thirteen months And since there is a greater awakening among the people and our work is now better planned and more organized than before, I hope that our efforts for collecting the required amount of land will succeed without much ado

But our work is much more comprehensive and our aim more exalted than that. We will therefore do some introspection, so that we may become worthy of our high responsibility We should try to remove the faults we suffer from And we should do so with absolute honesty without yielding to the temptation of looking for similar faults in others It is not for us to seek satisfaction in the fact that there are others who have the same faults as we

Reject Intolerance

In this connection, the incident which occurred here yesterday may be regarded as an eye-opener A friend wanted to place before us the question of the ill-treatment being accorded to the Bengali language in Bihar He was overcome with excitement and said something which some of the audience did not like They lost their patience and began to hoot the speaker There were cries of 'sit down' from all sides If they had kept calm, they could have won his heart. He had expressed his gratitude for being given the opportunity to speak These cries, therefore, must have hurt him We must remember that it is very difficult to unite the hearts and very easy to divide them. What made the occurrence more deplorable was the fact that this exhibition of temper was collective, it was not a thing between a few individuals which we might not note as serious Nor was it just a chance occurrence. It was an expression of the vicious malady of intolerance which we suffer from

Beware of Superiority Complex

But the evil arises from something deeper than that We seem to think that since we belong to the Sarvodaya Samaj and hold Sarvodaya views, we are in some ways more virtuous than others. I fear that some of us might be led into the mistake of considering it a thing of great merit to be a member of the Sarvodaya Samaj or to hold Sarvodaya views irrespective of whether they act on them or not. It is evident that indulgence in this sort of self-deception will be very harmful to us We aim at serving the world and the humanity and as servants of humanity it behoves us to cultivate utmost humility so that we may discharge our duty well Otherwise if we develop a superiority complex we will come to grief like the Brahmans at one time The Brahmans were given to the acquisition of knowledge but they became proud of it and developed a superiority complex which eventually proved their undoing This intolerance and the pride from which it arises is, therefore, a great fault which we should guard against

Need to Study and Contemplate

There are other things which are not so much faults as shortcomings One of these is that many of us neglect the study of ideas We do not go to the root of things with the result that our thinking remains superficial. This has been an old complaint. When I refer to it I am not speaking of pure academic study without relation to work But there are certain ideas behind our work and they are very deep If we do not study them and fail to realize their profound content then the inspiration which keeps us working begins to pall and fade away But I am sorry our

* This is the first instalment of Shri Vinoba's concluding speech on the evening of 2-3-53 at the Chandil Sarvodaya Sammelan

[illegible] much heed to [illegible] I once asked a worker if he had read a re[illegible] by Gandhiji. He replied that he had [illegible] I said that the article was worth read[illegible] he had better go through it, he answered [illegible] What Gandhiji writes must always be worth reading But I am doing his work and after all that is the essence of what he says I may therefore forgo reading it if I find no spare time for it I then explained that if workers had no need to read it Gandhiji too would not require to write it He was also engaged in work yet he found time to write something every week We should know then that it might give us a new light and a new insight into things

Some people justify this neglect of studying and thinking by citing Gandhiji's own words in their support It is true that Gandhiji did say at times that while people read too much, what they really needed was to do work. But this statement was meant for those who read to no purpose and whiled away their time in useless speculation not for those who work and hence have a real right to the acquisition of knowledge therethrough Without it action loses its power and becomes insind The nature of our work and the position in which we have consequently placed ourselves is such that we need to think and meditate a great deal We expect that if we are truly devoted to truth the people around us are bound to develop the same quality This entails for us the responsibility to go deep into the Truth of ideas We as Satyagrahis believe that if our heart is pure it must exercise a beneficent effect on the atmosphere around us This idea is basic to Satyagraha, the whole practice of Satyagraha rests on the acceptance of this idea And if we accept this idea then we must be prepared to shoulder the responsibility which it involves. We should dive deep into the laws which govern life If we do not do so, if we do not enter into the depth of the ideas we advocate I may warn you that however much we may work the way of life we preach and practise will not last in this land It may last for us because we will keep hold of it by the strength of our will, but it will not take roots in India Because India is a land of philosophy people here are used to search for the philosophic rationale of any conduct that may be preached The Buddhist religion remained confined to practice They instituted some social reforms, but did not go into the depth of philosophy. The result was that though India received its beneficent touch yet the Buddhist religion did not stay here for long I mention this merely to show that this country does not tolerate any practice for very long unless it is supported by a profound philosophy For example, we see that the Gita starts with the simple question whether Arjun is right in his reluctance to face the battle And in seeking to answer this question the Gita covers the whole range of human life and thought. This is a characteristic of our land and of our people We should cultivate the habit of deep thinking and going into the root of the ideas we hold and preach.

(Abridged from Hindi)

THE LAYMAN'S REMARK

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

The one thing about which our people have been continuously complaining has been the working of our administrative services in the new set-up People complain that there appears to be a special spate of its worsening under Swaraj. Apparently, there are unpardonable delay, negligence irresponsibility, bribery and corruption, etc This may be an exaggerated picture, there may be valid explanations for some of these drawbacks But the point remains that in the popular mind there persists a very strong impression of this nature, and it cannot be surely ignored by a democratic government.

Even apart from this, the problem of administration and our expectations from it naturally take a new aspect under Swaraj, and the whole thing has to be investigated as soon as possible.

Therefore, the democratic way of inquiry and report has set in, and by now we have already two reports at the Centre on this question — the Gorwala report and the Appleby Report

Naturally the question arose why there were two inquiries. The reply from Government was that the first report dealt with the *art* of administration, the latter was called forth for dealing with the *science* of administration!

The first report was by an ex-I C S Indian, the second is by an American expert. As far as I remember, the first report among other things said that popular ministers were as much to be blamed as the officers, and in the new set-up there must be some way to check this new source of evil, not only the bureaucracy but the new democracy also has to have a lesson, if we wish to improve the administration It was perhaps an artful statement of defending the services by saying that not only the services but also the popular leaders as well are blameworthy for any wrong going on if at all

The second report is by an expert from America And everything American should be taken to be scientific at least Papers are full of dissection of this scientific thesis on our administration The thesis draws our attention to some of our future problems and pats us on the back by saying that ours is one of the few finest administrations in the world today It is a subtle flattery both of our ex-rulers and the present ones also, though the real credit goes to the former Let us not feel self-complacent at this 'expert' flattery from America Because what we as laymen are really concerned with is not the *art* nor the *science*, whatever they may be,

but the [illegible] of administration and the real report on that is the one that is daily to be had from the people to whom the shoe pinches As the proverb goes, the proof of the pudding lies in the eating let us mind the practice of administration, which on all admission, surely requires to be improved immediately Has Government any programme for this ?

20-5-'53

AN APPEAL TO DOCTORS

[The following are extracts from the inaugural speech by the President, Dr Rajendra Prasad while declaring open the Medical College at Nagpur on 27-3 53]

There is a great paucity of doctors in our country at present I do not know the exact number but it is supposed that they are far less than we need This would be very welcome if our people were healthy and free from disease. But it augurs ill while there is still ill-health and disease The chief duty to which, I believe the doctors should address themselves should be not merely to cure the disease or bring relief to those who are suffering from it but to create the conditions which will do away with disease altogether This means that they should consciously try first to restrict and finally to abolish the profession which they practise and which provides them with their livelihood That would be their true success But so long as there is poverty in our country it is itself a great contributing factor in breeding ill health and there is no doubt that the need for doctors would therefore continue for a pretty long time to come

I will now refer to an aspect of this problem which is perhaps not sufficiently appreciated by doctors There have been and still are in our country other systems of medicine. The modernists usually decry them as being unscientific. Now I do not know exactly what is scientific and what is not scientific But I do know that large numbers of our people are still served by these other systems It therefore behoves the doctors to study them and find out what is useful in them They should also find out what is lacking in them which has arrested their development for the past many years and what should be done to restart this development If there are defects which debar them from becoming truly scientific, the doctors should point out how those defects can be removed

So far as I know, it is not scientific to take a thing for granted and in the same way It is not scientific to reject a thing off-hand without examining it A scientist first studies a thing and bases his opinion about it on the findings of such study I therefore want that you should undertake a truly scientific study of these systems and remove their defects If this is done and the different systems are made to co-operate with one another, then I think we may succeed in banishing ill-health and disease from our country to a far greater extent than otherwise If instead we rely on one system only we will have to wait for a very long time, because we cannot at present afford the expenditure which this involves

It was said here that there are two crores of people inhabiting this province How many doctors would we need for looking after two crores ? We will have to open many such colleges before we can hope to produce them in sufficient number But what is to happen to these people in the meantime till this comes about ? I therefore suggest that all our systems of medicine should co-operate and make use of all available means for fighting disease and keeping people healthy This is the only way how we can succeed in our task on the health front.

It has been a characteristic of our culture that it presents even the most abstruse subjects in the most easily intelligible forms Philosophical thoughts which would have taken several pages have been put by the Rishis in brief aphorisms The means adopted for doing even apparently very big things were of the simplest This applies to medicine also We must study how they made use of the leaves and roots of the plants for treating ailments Now if we work along that line and present our findings to the people so as to make them self-sufficient in respect of medicine, then the villagers will be saved much botheration and unnecessary expenses They will not need to come to Nagpur from their villages and here submit themselves to different therapeutical tests in various laboratories If you are able to accomplish this you will not only do good to India but to the whole world. This may sound ridiculous to you in this age in the context of the medical research as it is developing at present But I think science can do it and the true scientist may well solve this problem And he may give a scientific form to what appears ridiculous today

The College which is being inaugurated today is still free from the cramping influence of past traditions I therefore appeal to you to be liberal in your views and build such traditions as would permit you to give your attention to all things which may be of help to us in our aim You should specially bear in your mind the conditions in our villages and evolve your system to suit the requirements of those conditions If you develop such traditions, then this new College will be able to do greater work than those which have been in existence for a longer time but which have been working on other lines Of course this does not mean that you are to cut off yourselves from the modern science You should certainly learn it and profit by it and add to it where you can. But along with that you should give attention to other systems also and take care not to reject them off-hand

(From the original in Hindi)

HARIJAN

June 6 1953

THE PRESENT SITUATION

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

While inaugurating a Conference of Pradesh Conveners of the Bharat Sevak Samaj (shortly B S S) at New Delhi, Pandit Nehru made one remark which deserves our serious introspection He said, " I have felt that there is a vacuum in India at the present time There is a demand for this vacuum to be filled I want to know how far the B S S can fill that vacuum "

This statement by the Prime Minister is a very serious observation on the present situation in our country It reminds me of an equally serious feeling that he expressed when Gandhiji passed away five years ago " The light has gone out "

Read together the two statements mean that as a nation we are still groping in the dark to find out a way suited to our genius for our march to rebuild India of our dreams During the most eventful generation that ended with the passing away of Gandhiji from our midst, we as a people had a clear way and a simple method of marching on to our national destiny and destination. There was no feeling of a vacuum even to the commonest among us Rather, the light was there for each and all of us irrespective of class or creed, language or region, showing the way to all that cared to go on it Such a sense of positive and clear faith is now lacking, but having once tasted the sweetness thereof naturally we intuitively feel to regain it Pandit Nehru, I think, was expressing this inner want of our people when he said as quoted above

The feeling of such a vacuum is being felt by many prominent workers as well. Thus for example, Shri Ravishankar 'Maharaj', a prominent old and tried worker of Gujarat, expressed himself at the Second Gujarat Bhoodan Conference at Nadiad in the following manner He said that since the advent of Swaraj, he was feeling a void and a vacuum in his mind Not that he was not working, he was all along occupying himself with this or that constructive activity for the people — a good and necessary one at that for example, tube-wells for North Gujarat, famine relief, etc But it did not carry inward satisfaction to him In his mind of minds he felt that he had no fulness of heart in the business as he had before when fighting for Swaraj He as if did not feel himself in tune with the urge of the masses He recently went to China, that even did not help him remove this feeling of vacuum Ultimately, he got rid of it by personally understanding from Shri Vinoba his Bhoodan Movement and he got back his zest and zeal for work as of old

I have described in my own words Shri Ravishankar's mind to illustrate further the present situation in the country as described by Panditji It connotes a certain disharmony worrying our soul, lack of attunement with the true genius of our people

And it must be noted that there is this vacuum in spite of or say even though there are the Congress, the Five-Year Plan and now the B S S, etc all of them functioning their utmost It means that all these form mere isolated items and are not the coherent lines or colours for an emergent picture of the one ideal we desire to draw This further comes to mean that the ideal, whatever it may be is not cherished by all as a common prize to endeavour for It might be that we do not have its clear picture at all or if we have it is different and we are only experimenting in various ways of our own to realize it and the ways are unfortunately divergent.

Thus, for example those who run the Government today seem to have as their way for filling the vacuum, the official Five-Year Plan and the B S S as its non-official non-party wing On the other hand as those running the Government they are not non-party, because the Government are Congress Governments at present This way of the F Y P -cum-B S S is being exploited to its full value under Government auspices. As Shri Nehru said, he was watching to see how far it could fill the present vacuum

There is another way also Or rather we have had it already, which we called the Constructive Programme forged out by the people under Gandhiji's auspices That does not perhaps look so big nor modern enough to some of us However there is a very large and important group of workers that believes in it and is organizing its way as Sarvodaya Samaj and the Sarva Seva Sangh It is making as its spearhead the Bhoodan Movement Like the B S S this Sangh also desires to be non-partisan, that is, it seeks to have in its field of activity all who can subscribe to the immediate programme of collecting land for the landless from the land-owners All political parties except the Communist bless it and help it in their own way and from their own separate viewpoint, aim or objective, and without allowing to lose their own political identity

The B S S is a new organization, only a year old Was such a new organization needed by the situation ? Pandit Nehru almost begged this question when he said to the Conveners' Conference that " at his age he hardly could interest himself in new organizations which did little or no work He was often asked to become President of this organization or Patron of that. He did not accept these proposals as he had a lot of work of

his own to do But he was always interested in an organization which had the capacity to transform itself into a new weapon for serving the people. 'When you have such an organization you get in your hands a new weapon, like a sword with a sharp blade Your mind wants to handle this sword and use it for cutting off the heads of wrong things' " (*The Hindu*, 9-5-'53) A new organization on an all-India basis and chiefly if it is Government or semi-Government sponsored, might just be an office-organization Shri Jawaharlal perhaps apprehending this said to the Conference "not to let the B S S become an organization whose activities were confined to that of a mere office Too many rules and regulations strangled an organization" Shri Vinoba also would have his Sarvodaya Samaj a loose institution and not so knit as to be an office or an institution with its usual rules and regulations etc

What does the B S S aim to do? An organization is known by the chief thing or work it aims to do What is the core of the programme of the B S S? As Shri Jawaharlal put it, it wants to spread the idea in the country that "we can make a new India by using our hands and feet" Schemes for local works all over the country-side are intended to be prepared and people will be enthused to undertake them with what help the B S S may give them Anti corruption and anti-adulteration drives are also suggested Obviously all this is not special or peculiar to the B S S The Bhoodan Movement as also the Congress Constructive Programme cover such items As a matter for that, Shri Nehru said that Congressmen should associate themselves with B S S in a formal manner But he warned them that it should not be undertaken in any party spirit or for advancing the aims of any party "We do not want the idea to go abroad that this work was being done to advance the interests of any party," he said The question remains, what should the Congress do then? How does it function for filling the vacuum? Or does it stand only on past laurels and abdicate in favour of B S S or such other body?

And what about party interests? How far is it really possible for political parties, as they are constituted and functioning today, to forget themselves and cease advancing their own interests, let alone the political interests of their groups and individuals even? How shall we make party interests irrelevant and redundant in the larger perspective of the nations' good?

All these are some of the salient points in the present situation, which I note as they strike me at present There may be many others I am almost thinking aloud when I pen these lines And when I come to conclude them, the following words of deep pathos — surely not of pessimism — uttered by immortal Bhartrihari ring in my ears —

> यूयं वयं, वयं यूयं, इत्यासीन्नातिरावयोः ।
> किं जातमधुना येन यूयं यूयं, वयं वयम् ॥

[You were for us and we were for you, what has happened now that this accord is gone and you are for yourselves and we are for ourselves?]

And the answer that readily comes to me uppermost is that it is the apple of power that Swaraj has thrown in our midst I do not cry it down when I say this It was sought for by us and it is right that we have power in our hands But should we be overpowered by it? Should it be too much for us? Can our people be not made to learn to do their own things by themselves and without any politics of power sullying it or without expecting Government to tow the line for them? In our answer to this question lies the other answer whether we shall fill the vacuum and march on as one people to rebuild India

21-5-'53

SHRI VINOBA AT GAYA

Nanak says in one of his *bhajans* One should strive after attaining the 'whole' It was in the spirit of this precept that Shri Vinoba exhorted the people of Bihar to make efforts for a complete solution of the land problem in their province And the district where he first stressed the need for such efforts and which he chose for his first experiment in this direction was Gaya. This was the beginning of the glorious record which Gaya was to set up in the annals of Bhoodan work later

One of the representatives of the youth who met him before the prayer meeting asked him 'When other countries in the world are manufacturing atom bombs do you think we in India can do all we want merely by preaching edifying sermons?'

"Not merely by preaching but by practising them After all atom bomb is only a form of material energy It cannot change thought The atom bomb has none of the power which thought has."

Later in his prayer-speech at the Gandhi Mandap Shri Vinoba made this the theme of his inspiring address Expounding the superiority of thought-power over every other weapon for changing the world he said

"Even the atom bomb is a creation of a thought which occurred in a human brain It is being produced only to propagate a certain thought which may be a defective one It is thought alone which has given birth to the atom bomb, all the mightiest weapons cannot do anything by themselves They require a thinking man to utilize them. The basis of all human activity is thought which may take an outward form of an atom bomb, or of a Danapatra (gift-deed) Both originate from thought, one from a good thought, the other from an evil thought

"A thought based on untruth shines for a moment but soon disappears but a good thought endures for ever When man finds a new thought, he creates plans and schemes to give shape to that thought but if that thought is found to be defective, the whole superstructure created for it collapses and a new thought emerges Man destroys the superstructure without a minute's hesitation These constant experiments have been going on since the creation of the world in all branches of life — sociology, politics and religion One thought after another is tried and if it is found wrong another purer thought takes its place It is thought alone which inspires and induces man to build houses create governments and parliaments and all that which forms a part of his life"

Citing from the Gita its famous metaphor of a strange tree which has its roots in the sky and its branches below which lasts for ever and which does not last, Vinobaji said further :

"This metaphor symbolizes man whose roots are his brain and hands and feet are the instruments to give shape to the thought occurring in that brain One thought gives place to another thus the tree does not last yet the sovereignty of thought remains and so the tree lasts for ever

"Therefore when people tell me that the whole world is going in a different direction creating more and more dangerous weapons I tell them that the greatest powers of the world have a limited number of weapons while I possess an unlimited number of them in the form of thought. When this Sun of thought shines darkness of ignorance has to go That is why those who go to the roots of the problems of human life always try to keep the weapon of thought in their hands

"Even if a thought based on truth is created in the mind of an individual in any unknown cave or a jungle that thought immediately starts on a world tour to reach every human heart. It needs no press or radio, for it has the most powerful medium of propagation i e the sky above us Like light thought travels through the sky It may take time to reach every human heart, as the light from a distant star takes years to reach us And so when I see the unhappy state of affairs around us I do not feel disheartened, for I know that it is nothing but a mirage

"And so I go on preaching constantly what is truth to me I have a faith that when man understands truth he will be a changed person the next moment. The same hands which created atom bombs would destroy them, if the brain behind them is convinced I would like workers to carry on the ceaseless work of convincing people and if what they preach is based on truth, the whole world will one day accept it"

We aim at a complete transformation of human life on the enduring basis of true thought But man who must become an agent for working out this transformation finds himself incapable of shouldering this high responsibility This feeling was expressed by Shri Gauribabu who said We find we are totally unfit to undertake this great task.

Vinobaji said, "We are all an unfit lot I too find myself ill qualified for this work. By nature I am inclined more towards meditation and contemplation But it would appear that God has decided to make use of the unfit and ill-qualified for His purpose"

To the litterateurs who had complained of their financial difficulties, he said

"Among the writers some are of the category of Valmiki and Tulsi — men of detachment who are totally averse to worldly joys and success Their writings spread automatically without any effort I am of the view that artists including literary artists must take up such small industries as will give them enough for their livelihood but will not fatigue their mind Kabir would not have been Kabir had he not been a weaver The poets who lived as the poor masses lived and worked as they did achieved unity with the people and their compositions in song or poetry or fable endured without the help of the printing press The more the poets identify themselves with the creation the more would their poetry gain in depth and meaning. But I know a majority of the poets are not of this category and they should receive aid and support But such support should come from the society and not from the Government"

About the Communists Vinobaji said, "They have pinned their faith like fanatics in a book and taken leave of both the intelligence and the consideration of environing circumstances Marx would have changed his views had he been living today because he was Marx and not a Marxist The Indian Communists cannot know India because they are ignorant of the Indian thought which has influenced our history for the last ten thousand years"

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NEUTRALISM — A POSITIVE PHILOSOPHY

[Gandhiji showed us a non violent way to achieve our national independence, and we might well congratulate ourselves that weak and passively non violent though we were, we had a fairly good measure of success in it But it was only the beginning of the great thing that Gandhiji desired to bring about in our country He wanted to bring about and establish a non violent and peaceful order of society in India and thereby show that it was possible to achieve a non violent and peaceful world order This latter task remains to be fulfilled by us. He had also suggested to us a comprehensive national programme of constructive ways and means to achieve that end. It should be remembered both by the Government as well as the people that this programme the nation has accepted and adopted as its own by laying it down in the form of various Directives of the State Policy, in Chapter IV of the Constitution of India It is worthy of our attention that one of them is as follows

Article 51 The State shall endeavour to—

(a) promote international peace and security

(b) maintain just and honourable relations between nations,

(c) foster respect for international law and treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, and

(d) encourage settlement of international disputes by arbitration

And we may well be proud that this has been fairly well implemented by our foreign policy Even though it is criticised in a manner by certain political groups, we may say that this has met with the greatest measure of acceptance by our people. It has raised us as a people in the estimation of the world also

To achieve peace and avoid war in the modern world it is at least necessary that one should bear no enmity or malice towards any one but try as far as possible to be friendly helpful and co-operative to all. If the world wants peace and no war this should be the guiding star of the foreign policy and public relations of all the countries India following the peace mission of the Father of the Nation, has carefully followed this line and it must be said that it has created a very good impression in world affairs. Slowly and surely we observe that a theory of constructive and positive neutralism is taking shape in modern political philosophy Though described as neutralism, this attitude of friendship and good will towards all and no partisanship but co-operative helpfulness for the common good of all is a positive reversion from the age-old policy of balance of power and is an active expression of the one world idea. It lays down the law that nations are not so free nor sovereign as to forget that they have to shape their policies and affairs both domestic and foreign for mutual helpfulness and with due consideration of their vital inter-dependence. Such a philosophy is the direct outcome of Gandhiji's teachings of Truth and Non violence, as applied to a nation's foreign policy

I came across such a thesis in *Neutrality Germany's Way to Peace* a peace-news pamphlet by Stuart Morris It tries to describe how neutralism is not merely negative, but has very positive significance in the world context we actually see before us today The following culled from it will I hope provide interesting reading to readers devoted to peace and no-war on earth

13-4-53 —M. P.]

Though the idea of neutrality as a national policy is not new, there has been a growing recognition of the fact that it presents a practical alternative to the policy of national alliances and commitments as part of the post-war development

The war represented the clash between the Axis Powers and the Allies, but once the common foe of Germany and the mutual hatred of Hitler had been removed by Hitler's death and Germany's defeat there was no longer any common bond sufficiently strong to maintain the alliance, and the older rivalries and fears quickly manifested themselves Moreover the effect of the war on the political and economic position of Britain and France with the defeat of Germany, meant that the outstanding characteristic of the post-war world has been its domination by two newer powers and its division into two blocs

That division has been hardened by the attempts of America and Russia to strengthen their defences against each other and by the adoption by nearly all the countries concerned of a policy of rearmament The new race in armaments, unless it is checked will once more inevitably end in war — and because the race this time is in weapons of mass destruction, the virtual end of civilization

For some countries a new international conflict would mean civil war, for all countries it could only result in chaos and destruction Neutralism derives from the impact of the policies of Russia and America on the minds of men and is a response to the sense of the necessity for creating a political climate in which negotiation between the two dominating powers, would at least relax tension sufficiently to ensure the peaceful co-existence of their two "ways of life"

* * *

One possible solution of the problem may be worth discussing The real enemy of mankind is neither capitalism nor communism, but hunger, disease and preventable death The creation of a peaceful and prosperous world depends upon the declaration of a determined war on want Such a war would involve the creation of all the resources adequate to developing the latent wealth of the world and would require a vast international fund for world development So, and so only, can we find the resources to wage successfully the only war worth fighting — the war on want

It is to be expected that the politicians will do all in their power to oppose neutrality and to try to discredit it It is the greatest challenge which they have to face. It undermines the whole basis of power politics It would remove from their hands the pawns which they use for their own purposes on that tragic chess-board of life where the squares are either all black or all white, and where red and white pieces manoeuvre for strategic positions as they anticipate the final checkmate So they talk about neutrality as creating a dangerous vacuum But a vacuum is not necessarily dangerous or negative Many of us use a vacuum flask constantly and food for man's life is preserved through the use of a vacuum. A gap may be a positive security When a dangerous forest fire is raging men do not carry petrol into its proximity They cut down the trees and leave a gap wide enough to prevent the fire spreading or the danger of some spark igniting a new area Neutrality is such a gap It can also be regarded as a bridge across the gap. Nor do we hesitate to build a bridge because a wrong use may be made of it We risk its use by an escaping murderer, because over it can also, and much more often, pass the feet of those who are on their lawful business.

What is so badly needed today is a breathing space — a period of relaxation of the political, economic and mental tension. Neutrality represents the possibility of such a breathing space. Surely the very least which we must demand of the politicians is that if they cannot give us peace, they should give us a truce — a period of, say, ten years in which the rival power blocs should cease their preparations for war against each other, should call a halt in the cold war of propaganda and refrain from stirring up hatred. A period within which each in its own accepted sphere of influence might be free to work out its own way of life to the best advantage, without interference from outside or in the life of others. It might well be that such a truce would not only give us the possibility of understanding each other better and of co-operation in a worthwhile enterprise, but that at the end of it there would emerge an order of society which was not in accordance with the pattern of anything we see today, but by taking the best of each and discarding the worst would at least give to mankind those conditions in which he can enjoy the fullest freedom, the greatest security and the fullness of the arts of peace

The politicians also try to discount neutrality by regarding it as the equivalent of appeasement or cowardice saying that no one has the right to be neutral in the fight between good and evil, right and wrong. In that they are stating a truth but making a false assumption, since they generally presuppose that all the good is on their own side and that their way alone is right

There is evil in the world and it must be faced There is wrong in high places, but it is not confined to one side — to one economic, political or ideological system Nor, indeed, if we are honest can we say that our own hearts and minds are entirely free from evil. The conflict against evil and all that degrades life and denies to any the right to a full and free manhood must be waged But that conflict cannot be fought with the weapons of violence and the method of war It is only by a policy of neutrality that we can free ourselves and our resources for the deeper struggle. Nor can we remain content with old cliches, old policies and discredited methods. If we are to advance with the times in an age of revolution, we must be prepared to adopt revolutionary methods, and neutrality is not only the policy whose time has come, but the policy which is also strong in the strength of the new method of overcoming evil — be it cruelty, tyranny or aggression — the power of a resistance which is non violent

Neutrality not only involves freedom from economic, military and political entanglements, it means non-co-operation with what is evil, civil disobedience to bad laws resistance to domination from wherever it comes by non-co-operation and non-violence It is only because our minds have become so obsessed with a belief in the efficacy of violence — a belief as false in the long run when applied to defence as to aggression — that we pay so little heed to the possibilities of this other method of resistance. But it will yet come into its own if the world is to know peace and if evil is to be banished, as it has proved itself in India and is proving itself in South Africa today When we realize that, the last argument against neutrality will have been swept away

SHRI VINOBA'S APPEAL TO TEACHERS

"Teachers have been the pioneers in the field of new achievements in the world It is the teachers and Acharyas who have built up India It is therefore, my heart felt desire that teachers and students should go round the villages in groups and batches to deliver the message of Bhoodan Yajna", said Acharya Vinoba Bhave in an appeal to teachers and students in course of his tour in the Gaya district

Acharya Bhave said ' I expect a lot from all, but I expect much more from teachers and students Teachers can study ideas in their true perspective So I want them to obtain land-gifts by explaining to the people the idea behind the Bhoodan Movement They have at present full two months' time in the summer vacation and they can move from village to village during this period I concede that teachers, who have to suffer numerous hardships including non-payment of salaries in time, are among the distressed. Nevertheless, if they would work in the vacation they would gain in prestige and also tend to become better teachers

"Those who work in the service of others have their objects easily fulfilled When a man devotes himself to the service of others he so rises in the estimation of the people that what he needs comes to him unasked for I am fully aware of the difficulties of teachers and they have my sympathy in ample measure. Yet I want them to take up Bhoodan work Work would make their voice spread far and wide and they would be respected everywhere. I would like to tell the teachers that as they have some experience of what woeful life means they can do something for those of us who are in a far worse plight Only those who know what it is to be hungry can realize the condition of the hungry and have sympathy for them Such persons will treat it as their duty to satisfy the hunger of others That is why those who are themselves poor should endeavour, to alleviate the suffering of the poor and the destitute," he concluded

Patna, May 14, 1953

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor MAGANBHAI P DESAI

VOL XVII No 15 AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY JUNE 13 1953 TWO ANNAS

CONVERSION *

(A Discourse with Gandhiji)

Gandhiji's insistence on a member of the Fellowship not even secretly wishing that a member of another faith should be converted to his own led to a general discussion on the question of conversion Gandhiji again defined his position more clearly than before

'I would not only not try to convert but would not even secretly pray that anyone should embrace my faith My prayer would always be that Imamsaheb (an old Mahommedan associate of Gandhiji) should be a better Mussalman, or become the best he can Hinduism with its message of *ahimsa* is to me the most glorious religion in the world, — as my wife to me is the most beautiful woman in the world, — but others may feel the same about their own religion. Cases of real honest conversion are quite possible If some people for their inward satisfaction and growth change their religion let them do so As regards taking our message to the aborigines, I do not think I should go and give my message out of my own wisdom. Do it in all humility, it is said Well I have been an unfortunate witness of arrogance often going in the garb of humility If I am perfect, I know that my thought will reach others It taxes all my time to reach the goal I have set to myself What have I to take to the aborigines and the Assamese hillmen except to go in my nakedness to them? Rather than ask them to join my prayer I would join their prayer We were strangers to this sort of classification — 'animists', 'aborigines', etc, but we have learnt it from the English rulers. I must have the desire to serve and it must put me right with people Conversion and service go ill together'

The next day early morning the friends met for an informal conversation with Gandhiji when again the same question was asked by many of them

Would you have a ruling of such a character that those who had a desire to convert should not be eligible for membership?'

Personally said Gandhiji I think they should not be eligible I should have framed a resolution to that effect as I regard it as the logical outcome of Fellowship It is essential for inter religious relationship and contact'

'Is not the impulse to proselytize God-given?' inquired another friend

'I question it said Gandhiji 'But if all impulses are God given as some of our Hindus believe, He has also given us discrimination. He will say, I have given you many impulses so that your capacity to face temptation may be tested'

'But you do believe in preaching an economic order? inquired one of the fair sex.

'I do, as I believe in preaching laws of health.'

Then why not apply the same rule in religious matters?'

It is a relevant question But you must not forget that we have started with the fundamental principle that all religions are true If there were different but good and true health laws for different communities, I should hesitate to preach some as true and some as false I am positive that with people not prepared to tolerate one another's religious belief there can be no International Fellowship

'Moreover physical analogies when applied to spiritual matters are good only up to a certain point When you take up an analogy from nature you can stretch it only to a certain point. But I would take an illustration from the physical world and explain what I mean If I want to hand a rose to you there is a definite movement. But if I want to transmit its scent, I do so without any movement The rose transmits its own scent without a movement Let us rise a step higher, and we can understand that spiritual experiences are self acting Therefore the analogy of preaching sanitation etc does not hold good If we have spiritual truth, it will transmit itself You talk of the joy of a spiritual experience and say you cannot but share it Well, if it is real joy, boundless joy, it will spread itself without the vehicle of speech In spiritual matters we have merely to step out of the way. Let God work His way If we interfere we may do harm. God is a self-acting force Evil is not, because it is a negative

* From Shri M D's report of the Proceedings of the International Fellowship Convention held at Ahmedabad in 1928 See Gandhiji's book *Christian Missions — Their Place in India* — Navajivan, Ahmedabad-9

force It requires [illegible] before it can march forward'

'Did not Jesus Himself [illegible] and preach ?'

'We are on dangerous ground here You ask me to give my interpretation of the life of Christ Well I may say that I do not accept everything as the gospels as historical truth And it must be remembered that he was working amongst his own people, and he said he had not come to destroy but to fulfil I draw a great distinction between the Sermon on the Mount and the Letters of Paul They are a graft on Christ's teaching, his own gloss apart from Christ's own experience'

Young India 12-1 28

THE ETHICAL PROBLEM FOR SCIENCE

(*By Maganbhai P. Desai*)

The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists of November 1952 has given major portions of Prof A V Hill's Presidential address to the British Association on the subject of the 'Ethical Dilemma confronting the Scientist' today The lecture was summarized by the *London Times* Educational Supplement and it wrote a leading article on it, wherein it remarked at the end to point out a very grave danger facing scientific studies today

> The rank and file' of the laboratories and field stations have all too often in the past been careless of humane considerations or shown a presumptuous confidence in the adequacy of their own limited outlook. This is a risk inherent in scientific training of which schools technical colleges, and universities are becoming more and more aware. But to correct it will need more ingenuity and determination than most of them have yet been able to display '

The risk and danger noted above are there in our own country as well As Prof Hill said, all will admit that "the improvement of man's estate by the application of scientific knowledge is one of the loftiest adventures, but a belief that it can be achieved by scientific methods alone, without a moral basis to society, is a perilous illusion"

Unfortunately, the 'perilous illusion' is commonly held as a true belief by average scientists They forget that science is one of the branches of human knowledge and what is called the spirit of inquiry or the scientific method is no prerogative of the natural sciences only, and that science is not the sole discipline we have, making others redundant or superfluous and superceding them. The learned professor is well aware of this danger and spoke at some length about it It will interest the reader if I quote the following from it'

> Today when the public importance of science and its popular esteem may turn some people a heads, it is well that scientists should realize that the prestige of science is not their personal property but a trust which they have an obligation to pass on uncompromised to their successors but to use the general prestige of science as a bait to attract attention to pronouncements on other topics for example, on politics or religion, is a disservice both to science and the public. As a citizen I need no more justification than any other citizen in saying what I like about such things, but I have no right to pose as a representative of science in discussing them. "

He also told his hearers that,

> Scientists for the most parts are quite ordinary folk in their particular scientific jobs they have developed a habit of critical examination but this does not save them from wishful thinking in ordinary affairs or sometimes even from misrepresentation and falsehood when their emotions or prejudices are strongly enough moved.'

Therefore he was definite that scientists, like all good citizens cannot absolve themselves from taking account of ethical considerations, and according to him, 'the chief of these — as with other good citizens — are of integrity, courage, and goodwill."

What then is the special or peculiar ethical dilemma which science as science has to meet? This was the main theme of the address, which briefly is that the dilemma for science arises from its own vocation of bringing to light knowledge which has its bearing, for good or evil on human society

> Much scientific and technical advance has led to unexpected dangers and difficulties Without our present knowledge of bacteriology and preventive medicines gigantic armies could never be kept in the field and land war on the recent scale would be impossible is medical science therefore to be blamed for twentieth century war? The indiscriminate use of insecticides by upsetting the balance of nature, can quickly do more harm than good Radio communication may be used for spreading lies and disorder as well as truth and goodwill Developments in microbiology in many ways beneficent may be used in the future for biological warfare with effects at present unpredictable
>
> "In many parts of the world advances in public health improved sanitation, the avoidance of epidemics, the fighting of insect-borne diseases the lowering of infantile death rates, and a prolongation of the span of life have led to a vast increase of population — (leading to) shortage of natural resources particularly of food
>
> "The list need not be multiplied, all are aware that every new benefit to mankind provides also its own dangers either as unexpected consequences or by deliberate misuse'

Prof Hill admits that "there seems to be no simple answer to the riddle" and also notes that there have been two extreme types of answers:

> "All knowledge not only that of the natural world, can be used for evil as well as good, and in all ages there continues to be people who think that its fruit should be forbidden There are others who hold the contrary opinion that more and more of science and its applications alone can bring prosperity and happiness to men Both these extreme views seem to me entirely wrong — though the second is the more perilous as more likely to be commonly accepted Both seem to me just as mistaken as those who held that the scientific and the religious spirit are necessarily opposed Co-operation is required, not conflict for science can be used to express and apply the principles of ethics "

But Prof. Hill argues,

> "Science is not alone in this liberty may lead to license, religion can be used to inflame passions, laws

can be exploited to protect wrong-doing.* If scientists feel called upon to examine their consciences so much the better but they need not imagine that in this they are exceptional!

And he concludes that,

"It is true that scientific research has opened up the possibility of unprecedented good or unlimited harm for mankind but the use that is made of it depends in the end on the moral judgements of the whole community of men. It is totally impossible now to reverse the process of discovery it will certainly go on. To help to guide its use aright is not a scientific dilemma but the honourable and compelling duty of a good citizen."

Such a purist attitude is surely not convincing Does not every human act have an ethical meaning as well? Is science above ethics? Is discovery the result of an aimless or absolute inquiry, of an innocent or unmeaning curiosity? Is it an accident always? In short should not scientific activity also have an ethical code and has it no significance in values taking it even as factual? Prof Hill did not go into this vital aspect of the question and left it at that Sir Josiah Oldfield took up the gauntlet and replied to it in the *Anti-vivisectionist* of Nov-Dec 1952 as follows

Professor A V Hill in his Presidential address to the British Association on September 3, 1952 recognized that utilitarianism is not the final basis of scientific living and rightly held up to the scientific world that it must take into consideration the problem of ethics.

He inferred that it is not sufficient to say that such and such a thing is practical or to advantageous, or is the solution of a problem but that science must recognize that its most important basis is that of ethics and that therefore there can be no scientific progress unless we can recognise that such progress is ethical in its nature

Professor Hill rightly said that 'all the impulses of decent humanity all the dictates of religion and all the traditions of meditators insist that suffering shall be relieved

We come therefore to face the question I shall we *inflict* suffering under the guise of the *relief* of suffering? The foundation laid down is wise and correct, but when it is applied to the facts of life we must ask how it is to be interpreted

Humans seeking to take up certain branches of science are sooner or later faced with the problem shall we inflict pain suffering and agony in order to obtain knowledge or shall we recognize that the only knowledge worth having is that which can be obtained on ethical lines? Those of us who want to be scientists in the highest sense of the word must face this problem which Professor Hill ignored.

'Let us take this practical instance It is a scientific problem of great importance as to how long life will remain in a man or an animal in the absence of all nutriment with or without drink. Is science justified in obtaining the answer to this question by taking a hundred different animals putting them under strict conditions and gradually starving them to death and then gathering from the result of the experiment the answer to the question? I personally as a student of science deny to take any animal and subject it to such experimental suffering as gradual starvation in order to obtain the answer to a scientific problem. Quite apart from the varying results that may be obtained by a dozen students each taking a score of animals and starving them all to death, I would lay down that it is non-scientific to forget the laws of humanity and to assume that utilitarian answers are of paramount importance I feel that Professor Hill should have faced this serious ethical problem.

Where progress in ethics and the development of an ethical character would be interfered with by any series of actions these actions could not be justified by saying they are done in pursuit of science

'We who oppose cruel experimentation upon animals do so on the basis that it is non-scientific to break an ethical law in order to obtain a utilitarian answer I hope that Professor Hill will take the opportunity during his Presidential year of dealing with this great problem in order that there will be an interpretation laid down by a leading scientist.

To me the highest form of science has been for all time sought for by students of theology in their quest for the meaning of God in the Universe and it is this differentiation between scientific and unscientific principles which creates the difference between a Godlike and a Devilish interpretation of the world and its evolution."

Surely the world as it stands at present requires that science also must be made to subserve the ultimate good of the human world, it is not any way a privileged activity in the world of knowledge and wisdom. As the Duke of Edinburgh asked, "Of what use is science if man does not survive?"

20-5-'53

* But then licence is not liberty passions are not religion and wrong-doing is not law The moment these are abused and degenerate they cease to be law or liberty or religion Not so far science — Ed

COMMODITIES AND PROFITS

[A friend has sent the following cutting which I think will interest the readers. As he has not mentioned the source I am sorry it is reproduced without its due mention. —Ed.]

Workers in the industries are organized into a crew by the boss or his accessories, and the purpose of the organization is not so much to produce commodities as it is to produce profits for the owner Greed is the driving force. Commodities are merely incidentals and if the profits could be had without the commodities commodities would be dispensed with

But since commodities cannot be dispensed with, they are permitted, even encouraged, to the point of saturation where all profits stop

Profits cannot come without commodities, but commodities can come without profits — this statement is sufficient unto the day Commodities are a sure fire hit on any shooting gallery, but profits are uncertain even when hooked into commodities

Commodities can be maintained without profits so I cannot well see why profits should not be dispensed with. Excuse me: Profits subtract from the value of a commodity and put an addition to its price — it sounds like Oscar Wilde but it's so however

HARIJAN

June 13 1953

"GUILTY OF SUBTLE MATERIALISM"

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

Dignitaries of some Christian institutions in India have issued a joint statement expressing their categorical disagreement with and deep concern over Dr Katju's recent statement in Parliament about the role of foreign missionaries in India He said that they should have no need to do their so-called evangelical work henceforth in India The joint statement in effect says in reply that we should rather feel grateful to these foreign missions who did so much humanitarian work in the past - and secondly that there should be no objection on mundane grounds, because "in recent years they have transferred all authority into the hands of the Church in India and steps are being taken to transfer the ownership of all property" to it

But their chief contention is that "such an unreasonable demand cuts at the very nerve of missionary work of all religions" I think it does, but not on unreasonable but on very sound, legitimate and reasonable grounds I regret to remark that these signatories and others who have written to the Press in protest against the well-considered statement of the Home Member have missed to note its deep meaning and significance

If we only care to see what Gandhiji wrote on conversion and proselytization, *tabligh* and *tanzim* during the last generation, we will easily realize that what Dr Katju said is mere paraphrase of what Gandhiji repeatedly said to "Christian Missions in India" If we read his writings again, we can see that he held these missions themselves as really "guilty of subtle materialism" in their act of institutionalizing propagation of things spiritual in the form of Mission Societies Is not such institutionalization a mundane and material thing? Such one cannot bring forth conversion but may well aid proselytization And he will be really a bold man who will deny that these missions had no eye to proselytization Conversion is a matter of the spirit and the laws of spirit are all its own, requiring no mundane or subtly material aids or attractions like hospitals, dispensaries colleges, schools, leper asylums etc Like the lilies in the field which do not spin nor weave, the roses also do not need to propagate their fragrance, and so too the enlightened soul Matters of faith and spirit are not for wordy propagation nor need mundane attraction or aid like humanitarian works even They are to be lived and discovered in our own innermost being This has the strongest and the most irresistible appeal to kindred souls [illegible] mere vexation of the soul and the spirit indeed

I may not go here into the history of Christian missions in India However it must not be forgotten that they came to India as aids to the European campaign of Colonialism since the 15th century and not as early Christians who went proclaiming their faith without a bayonet or a loaded barrel Thank God all that is past history now and we are restored back our freedom to live as one people — as brothers and sisters living their own faith and belief freely and without any airs or presumptions of one's own superiority or uniqueness, — not merely tolerating its diversity and difference from one's own faith but heartily recognizing the fundamental equality of all faiths

And it is here that the meaning of Dr Katju's remark is lost on its opponents A secular State cannot recognize the assumption of superiority on the part of any one faith over others, which is obviously implicit in or underlies any active or passive evangelical or missionary work It must also be realized that there can be no such superiority really, as every faith really lived and experienced is a way unto God and no creed or belief may claim to be all true or unique or without unavoidable human frailties The spirit is a matter of one's own realization it is not one of certain creed or belief whatsoever it may be This unique element of the wisdom of India's religious experience has a deep social and human meaning also which should now be realized by all communities in India This is really the basis of our secular State. Secularism is not a denial or negation of any faith but is a positive recognition of the spiritual principle that every one has the right to live his own faith and may even hold it as unique *for himself* but no one shall hold himself superior in faith only because he has it from a certain Book or a certain Prophet Humility is the first virtue of any spirituality worth the name

I may well end this note by quoting from the speech of Shri Rajagopalachari, which he gave the other day to the Patna University He spoke about this very thing and said that "the Gita had a positive philosophy to offer and it said that all paths led to the same goal 'This is a positive doctrine of catholicity All religions teach tolerance but none of them says there is one goal though paths might differ In Hindu philosophy it is not just tolerance of others' errors, but a common goal is recognized We are told that it is not open to any Hindu to deny the gods of others This philosophy has a great bearing on community life and in a country like India inhabited by more than one community this doctrine which transcends even the spirit of tolerance has a great merit In my opinion it is the brightest jewel in our great inheritance'" (*The Hindu* 13-5 '53)

The Church in India than[illegible] as it is now from the tutelage of Euro[illegible]ulture and history is expected now to reali[illegible] make its own this great inheritance of our people of which it is surely an important part

20-5 '53

CAPITALISM AND TRADE UNIONISM

(By M P T Acharya)

Shri Khandubhai Desai writes in the *A.I.C.C. Economic Review* asking workers not to become co-partners of capitalists in looting. But the fact that they are engaged and employed as wage-earners makes them co-partners with those who employ them whether they are private capitalists or the State Otherwise they cannot get jobs, cannot be engaged and cannot earn wages and therefore cannot live even badly. It is therefore useless — meaningless to tell them that they should not help the capitalists unless it is also told that the employment system is also a looting system We must lay axe at the root!

Trade unions in all countries are not there to abolish the employing system They are adjuncts of that system Whatever form of wage struggle they may carry on if trade unions have to abolish looting they must work for the overthrow of the employing system But that is the object only of revolutionary anarchist — syndicalist unions They want to take over the works and run the industries themselves for the benefit of society, instead of allowing the private owners or the State to run production and distribution to suit themselves i.e. to loot others But that is not the object that Shri Khandubhai or any other trade unionist in India wants Otherwise they must stand for the abolition of the employing and wage system and to *take over all works and run them for the benefit of society*

In Russia trade unions are organized by the State to help looting by the State Their officials are only nominally elected for only those who are approved by the Government are allowed to stand as candidates for office And anyone who votes must vote for them Not to vote for them would be considered as treason to the State will land even the non voter in trouble or entail refusal of job The trade union officials are there only to enforce discipline and hard work upon the employees and are watch-dogs and informers against workers Of course there is no right to strike in the workers' fatherland — as that would be considered as treason even if the right to strike may be claimed to be "guaranteed" on paper and constitution

Shri Desai says that Western economic thought is utterly out of date and "we have to think of our own contribution in the making of New India" He does not tell what is the difference between Western economic fundamentals and our own We have also the same employment wage and looting system as in the West Capitalism and Imperialism which we condemn are only extensions of the looting system of the successful looters If we have to conduct the looting system at home, we will have to loot other countries also if there is any chance That we are not allowed to do it or it is too late for us to start on that career does not mean that we have given up looting at home In fact all economic systems up-to date including the Russian and Chinese are fundamentally the same — from China to Peru We are no exception so long as we want to maintain the employing and wage system If we want to abolish looting we must abolish all systems which make looting necessary and therefore inevitable

TRUE CONVERSION

To

The Editor *Harijan*

Sir,

It is satisfactory to read a newspaper report recently published that the Government of India has wisely forbidden foreign Christian missionaries to convert into the Christian religion poor Hindu villagers living in Indian villages by force or bribe as they have been now doing Anti-proselytizing ban is also applied to Indians living in the cities

Sir, the proper place for missionary zeal is among nominally Christian nations of Europe who are living unchristian life of selfishness and mad greed of money contrary to Christ's noble teaching of "love thy neighbour (which is all mankind) as thyself"

The missionaries should convert nominal Christians of Europe to be true and sincere Christians who will abandon fighting and war and who for peace, prosperity and happiness of the world should be in common life, in their daily dealings with fellow creatures, in business, in politics, in national and international affairs, honest, truthful, upright, just, righteous, sober, temperate, merciful, living in plainness and simplicity as true religion requires.

Conversion only really means conversion from evil life to a good life, conversion ought not to mean conversion from religion into which God gave us birth into another religion

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Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD-9

THE THREAD OF LIFE

By Dorothy Wilkinson

Principal of London School of Weaving

Crosspatch, Crosspatch, sit by the fire and spin — the author of those lines was a psychologist and occupational therapist if ever there was one, for it is hard to think of anyone remaining mentally ruffled while spinning The very action of the wheel gives a sense of calm and rhythm qualities which seep down into the mind of the spinner and are incompatible with evil or troubled thought. So Crosspatch may well be considered one of the earliest patients on whom occupational therapy was practised

One of my spinning students of some twenty odd years age came to me from a brain specialist, who recommended some use of hand and foot which would bring back co-ordination to those limbs, impaired after a serious brain operation The patient a Scot and a very brave and determined lady, suggested spinning for this remedial purpose and I was lucky enough to be chosen to help her I spent hours with her while she patiently wrestled with the problem during several short visits since continued work of more than twenty minutes or so was too tiring The task seemed well nigh impossible till at last we evolved a system which succeeded so completely that the wheel and hands were controlled simultaneously Her joy can be imagined and she has often told me that her spinning wheel saved her life

I have taught all my pupils by this method ever since and the normal student usually gets hand and foot co-ordination and spins within an hour's tuition But I always take very good care to impress on them that to spin well entails long and patient practice and that no one will spin well and easily unless they are carefully taught to analyse what is happening in each part of the mechanism of a spinning wheel

For the practised spinner I believe there are few things more conducive to a calm and balanced mind than spinning One of my students told me that during the London Blitz she always got her wheel She lived in a big block of flats and at first as all the inhabitants went to the shelter in the basement, she went too, and hated it One evening, when the sirens went, she happened to be spinning and she continued to spin After that evening she made a practice of getting her wheel as soon as the raids began and, instead of waiting in the shelter for a direct hit or for the danger to pass, she was calmly and happily spinning at the top of the building There is no better way to keep one's head than to use one's hands, of this I am sure

To talk of the things one loves is always to risk being thought sentimental but the time that I spend in spinning gives me some of my greatest happiness and spinning wheels have come to be some of life's most priceless possessions As the yarn travels from my hands onto the bobbin it seems to conjure up thoughts of beautiful things that I have known — thoughts of those I have loved who are no longer with me in this life, music mountains downs and hills and flowing rivers, the ebb and flow of tides and the sound of the sea Perhaps flowing water, of all things in nature, comes most to mind for the flow of fleece to the wheel instinctively suggests it I always tell my pupils to keep the fleece ' fluid ', so that it goes as running water towards the spindle eye

Spinning gives to me wonderful feelings of Eternity As I cast my mind backwards to the countless thousands of years that mankind has spun and forward to the time when my last length of thread will be spun, as I watch the little bridge of fleece travelling ever onwards to become thread, it seems symbolic of that tiny step which we all shall take from this world to the next When my own time is up and my wheel is still and I shall spin on it no more I can only hope that others will find in it the joy that I have found and that on and on, for still thousands and thousands of years, yarn will yet be spun by one of God s best gifts — the human hand

(From *Journal of Spinners Weavers and Dyers* Vol 1 No 1 U.K.)

NOTES

Bhoodan Collections

	(In Acres)
Bhoodan Collections — till 5th May, 1953	12,24,737
New Gifts till 20-5-'53	54,683
Total	12,79,420
Land distributed till 20-5-'53	28,823

The Drink Scourge

[The following by Evangeline Booth once head of the Salvation Army, is quoted in *Prohibition and Socio Economic Good* a pamphlet by G C. Hallen Saharanpur, from where it is reproduced below]

" Drink has drained more blood, hung more crape sold more homes, plunged more people into bankruptcy, armed more villains; slain more children, snapped more wedding-rings · defiled more innocence, blinded more eyes, twisted more limbs, dethroned more reason; wrecked more manhood, dishonoured more womanhood broken more hearts; blasted more lives, driven more to suicide, and dug more graves than any other poison scourge that ever sent its death-dealing waves across the world."

By Mahatma Gandhi

DRINK DRUGS & GAMBLING

Pages xi+175 Price Rs 2-8 Postage etc As 10

By Bharatan Kumarappa

WHY PROHIBITION

Pages vii+43 Price As. 12 Postage etc As 4

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TO THE WORKERS *

II

The third major defect which we suffer from is the lack of co-ordination in our work, to which I have already referred in my first speech. We have enough capacity and people expect much from us But our institutions carry on their work almost in isolation from one another The tendency is so far advanced that one does not know what the other is doing, and this is why we have failed to show much in the way of concrete result We cannot produce light if one man has the lamp another oil and a third the match stick. These different factors have to be brought together for producing light and destroying darkness

Let us, for instance, consider the *Katai Mandals* — spinning clubs — to see how the absence of this unity between different items of our activity leads to frittering away of our energy These *mandals* are started and the members gather together for spinning once a week and disperse after it is over So it goes on and gradually their own inspiration weakens About fifty *mandals* were started twenty-five of them are defunct The remaining twenty-five are working, but few care to know about them. The Gramodaya Sangh does not bother where they are and what they are doing In the same way the Charkha Sangh does not think it any of its responsibility to feel concerned if Gramodaya Sangh fails in any of its ventures This is how we are working at the present time This is wrong Every one knows that this is totally ineffective and yet it has continued for the last four or five years I have thought it fit to draw your attention to this once again because we have now embarked on something which is very big and would require all our concentrated efforts for success

However the question is receiving serious attention now and I am glad to inform you that all the different institutions will merge themselves in the Sarva Seva Sangh and the Sarva Seva Sangh will introduce homogeneity in the working of the different institutions Centres of work run by these institutions will not only carry on their special activity but represent all other constructive activities also in due proportion — due proportion being determined by the qualifications and the aptitude of the worker in charge of the centre, as also by the demands of the local conditions

In the end I will draw your attention to one thing more I have come to the conclusion after a great deal of observation that the morning and evening prayers we hold have become a formal observance I have seen that they are carried on in many institutions as part of the routine — as a matter of good manners Good manners are all right. But prayers offered as a matter of good manners cannot yield the experience which is the pleasant fruit of the prayers sincerely offered Bapu taught us much in this regard through his life and also through his death. At the time he departed from here his mind was intent on prayer and merged in prayer did he leave his mortal frame He uttered the Lord's name when the bullet struck him This was not anything accidental. He was always wakeful and his prayer twice a day was not a formal affair, he put his heart into it He used to say his prayer continued with every breath that he took. This was not an expression of egotism or fancy but a central fact of his life In our prayers while we observe the form we do not enter into the depth.

Not that one needs to do much in the way of outer work in order to be able to pray well. All the preparation is done within and that does not take much time, it may well be done even in a minute's time This we should do and I need not tell you that it will give us great strength. We should know that in the difficult tasks which lie ahead of us we can count upon no other strength than that of the support of God If we do not put sincere faith in God we cannot hope to follow truth and other disciplines that we have accepted unflinchingly

Yesterday Shankar Rao said that while we were working for the actual betterment of life in this world *yatras* and *yajnas* in olden times were aimed at the attainment of heaven beyond this world. He was right in pointing out this difference between our attitude and that of the people in olden times But we should consider the point as to why they linked their efforts at virtue with the heaven beyond this world a little more closely Suppose we ask a man to observe truth and tell him that this will also serve his interests more than dishonesty He, however, points out to a situation under which he is sure to die if he opts for truth whereas he can easily save himself by telling a lie Now what will they, who advocate unflinching loyalty to truth and forbid lying even in the interests of one's country or one's life, say to him? It was this difficulty which led the people of old whose approach was different from ours to link moral conduct with one's well-being in the other world They said, if you tell a lie you may seem to gain in this world, but you shall lose a great deal more in the other Besides, while the other world is permanent, life in this world is merely transitory. One should not then risk what is of permanent value for the sake of a transitory gain. One might say that this conception of the other world as the reason for unflinching loyalty to truth was rather immature The correct explanation would be to say that recourse to lying, whatever the circumstances, cannot give inner satisfaction. However the main thing is to remain loyal to truth, and though we may hold that the inner satisfaction offers a more potent motive force for a steady devotion to truth, we cannot yet find fault with those who pinned their faith in the

* This is the second half of Shri Vinoba's concluding speech at the Chandil Conference on the evening of 9-3-'53

other world because [illegible] ours.

The point is the [illegible] within in order that we m[illegible] our devotion to truth and duty and prayer can be of very great help in finding such support. I therefore want that we should strengthen our faith in God and put heart into our prayer so as to make it more living

Finally we need workers who will work full time for at least a year in order to carry through the task which lies before us Those of you who can do so will please send in their names to the Sarva Seva Sangh

(Abridged from Hindi)

WHISKY AS A PRIZE [1]

To The Editor, *Harijan*

Sir,

In *Harijan* dated November 29 '52 appeared a note by V G D under the caption "Commerce Ministry Progress". The note stated that according to the information supplied by the Press Trust of India the Commerce Ministry was buying more liquor abroad than before It further stated, "If this note is lucky enough to catch the eye of some good members of Parliament, will they ask the Minister for Commerce, if this progress is calculated to lead us to the nation's cherished goal of prohibition which Gandhiji described as one of the four pillars of Swaraj"?

The answer given by the Minister for Commerce and Industry to unstarred question No. 774, asked in Parliament on 28 3-1953 by Fulsinhji B Dabhi M P shows that whereas the quantity of foreign liquor imported in India during the year 1950-51 was 10,40,798 gallons, in the year 1951-52 it was 14,48,165 gallons, an increase of 3,07,363 gallons

In this connection the following piece of news, which appeared on page 5 of *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, dated 22-2-'53 would be interesting to the readers of *Harijan*

> ' The National Stadium in New Delhi presented a gay appearance yesterday with paper flags, festoons, buntings and fancy stalls for the two-day army navy and air-force There were the usual games which were as attractive as costly Those whom luck favoured no doubt knocked off *precious prizes* from anything like a leaf of pan to three *bottles of whisky* (italics are mine)'

PROHIBITIONIST'

[Is it proper for the Army and the Navy to use liquor as a prize? Albeit, Delhi is not under prohibition It is very unfortunate that the capital of India disregards the Constitution so long However for a Government department to behave in the manner reported above is to say the least flouting the spirit of the Constitution in an open manner Drink is surely no prize at best it can be a necessity as medicine, allowed under the Indian Constitution. Will Government see that such a thing as reported above will never happen again '

15-5-53 —M. P.]

LAW AND OFFICIAL OPINION

To

The Editor, *Harijan*

Sir

I have read with deep interest your article on Bhoodan Movement and Exploitation" (*Harijan* 9-5 '53) You say there, "If the Government and the workers in co-operation with each other continue to work patiently among the peasants this (implementation of Tenancy Act) can be made possible" But alas my experience for the last six years in this field is disappointing Government includes Mamlatdars and other Revenue officials. These people almost always sympathize with the landlords Tenants on this side have applied for purchase of lands according to the Tenancy Act The landlords are putting all sorts of obstacles in their way by not attending the courts refusing to give correct information regarding acreage of lands etc The tenants documents are misplaced Cases are purposely postponed by the officials I can give as many proofs as you like

I am convinced that as long as the lower officials do not work honestly the tenants' lot is not going to improve The Act by itself cannot act

V N KHANOLKAR

[The heading of the article will I think, attract notice of the reader as it is not 'law and *public* opinion' but is 'law and *official* opinion In a democracy it is public opinion which governs law the official can have no effective opinion apart from executing the law that exists in the most efficient and expeditious manner But unfortunately in our new democracy things do not sometimes seem to go in that manner and we often hear of complaints like the one published above The bureaucracy which ruled under the orders of their old British masters had been trained in another manner and perhaps the habit still persists to the great irritation and worry of honest reformers and social workers An efficient Civil Service for a Democracy has still to grow and come about.

There is another side to the picture as well the people also carry the legacy of the old rule, their behaviour has to be really democratic still further As they are so their rulers the officials But as the adage goes the sovereign, who are the people now can do no wrong It is the officials who stand to be blamed They have to implement, with all good faith and honesty what laws the State has and see that nothing that they do gives or creates an impression in the mind of the people that they sometimes act as if they sabotage the policies of the State which they as citizens might not be in agreement with

2-6-53 —M P]

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No Cause for Misgiving

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HARIJAN

16 Pages

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor : MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

VOL. XVII No 16 AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY JUNE 20, 1953 TWO ANNAS

गांधी संग्रह
साबरमती
1079

FOREIGN MISSIONS IN FREE INDIA

(By Gandhiji)

I

[A number of years ago a Press Correspondent had asked Gandhiji what the future of Christian Missions in India would be under India's own National Government The answer by Gandhiji was reported in the papers and obviously it created a great storm of protest from the missionaries Gandhiji while noting this replied to it in *Young India* April 23, 1931 as follows — Ed]

Correspondents angry or curious have sent me clippings from the Press or their comments on what has been ascribed to me by interviewers on the subject of foreign missionaries Only one correspondent has been cautious enough to ask me whether I am correctly reported. Even George Joseph my erstwhile co-worker and gracious host in Madura, has gone into hysteria without condescending to verify the report That is the unkindest cut of all

This is what a reporter has put into my mouth

> 'If instead of confining themselves to humanitarian work and material service to the poor they do proselytization by means of medical aid, education, etc., then I would certainly ask them to withdraw Every nation's religion is as good as any other Certainly India's religions are adequate for her people We need no converting spiritually'

I have given so many interviews that I cannot recall the time or the occasion or the context for the statement All I can say is that it is a travesty of what I have always said and held My views on foreign missions are no secret I have more than once expounded them before missionary audiences I am therefore unable to understand the fury over the distorted version of my views.

Let me re-touch the statement as I should make it

'If instead of confining themselves purely to humanitarian work such as education, medical services to the poor and the like, they would use these activities of theirs for the purpose of proselytizing I would certainly like them to withdraw Every nation considers its own faith to be as good as that of any other Certainly the great faiths held by the people of India are adequate for her people. India stands in no need of conversion from one faith to another'

Let me now amplify the bald statement. I hold that proselytizing under the cloak of humanitarian work is to say the least unhealthy. It is most certainly resented by the people here. Religion after all is a deeply personal matter, it touches the heart Why should I change my religion because a doctor who professes Christianity as his religion has cured me of some disease or why should the doctor expect or suggest such a change whilst I am under his influence? Is not medical relief its own reward and satisfaction? Or why should I whilst I am in a missionary educational institution have Christian teaching thrust upon me? In my opinion these practices are not uplifting and give rise to suspicion if not even secret hostility The methods of conversion must be like Ceasar's wife above suspicion Faith is not imparted like secular subjects It is given through the language of the heart. If a man has a living faith in him, it spreads its aroma like the rose its scent. Because of its invisibility, the extent of its influence is far wider than that of the visible beauty of the colour of the petals

I am, then, not against conversion But I am against the modern methods of it. Conversion nowadays has become a matter of business, like any other I remember having read a missionary report saying how much it cost per head to convert and then presenting a budget for 'the next harvest'

Yes, I do maintain that India's great faiths are all-sufficing for her Apart from Christianity and Judaism, Hinduism and its offshoots, Islam and Zoroastrianism are living faiths. No one faith is perfect All faiths are equally dear to their respective votaries What is wanted therefore is living friendly contact among the followers of the great religions of the world and not a clash among them in the fruitless attempt on the part of each community to show the superiority of its faith over the rest. Through such friendly contact it will be possible for us all to rid our respective faiths of shortcomings and excrescences

It follows from what I have said above that India is in no need of conversion of the kind I have in mind Conversion in the sense of self-purification, self-realization is the crying need of the times That however is not what is ever

[illegible] tizing To those who would [illegible] ught it not be said, 'Physician [illegible]

II

[illegible] n article What is Neutrality' *Harijan*, page 140 Gandhiji s Book — *Christian Place in India* — Ed]

[illegible] every religion should prosper on to[illegible] ality unless what is happening today [illegible] ity being the nominal religion of the ruler [illegible] receives favours which no other religion [illegible] A Government responsible to the peopl[illegible] cre not favour one religion over another But I should see nothing wrong in Hindus congratulating those who having left them may return to their fold I think that the Christians of free America would rejoice at the return to their ancestral Christianity of Americans of the slums — if there are any in America — temporarily calling themselves Hindus under the influence of a plausible Hindu missionary I have already complained of the methods adopted by some missionaries to wean ignorant people from the religion of their forefathers It is one thing to preach one's religion to whomsoever may choose to adopt it another to entice masses And if those thus enticed, on being undeceived go back to their old love their return will give natural joy to those whom they had forsaken

III

[This is from the report by Shri Pyarelal of a discourse some friends had with Gandhiji See *Harijan* — 7 1 1936 or *Christian Missions Their Place in India* p 288 — Ed]

"What is the place of Christian missions in the new India that is being built up today ? What can they do to help in this great task ? "

"To show appreciation of what India is and is doing," replied Gandhiji "Up till now they have come as teachers and preachers with queer notions about India and India's great religions We have been described as a nation of superstitious heathens, knowing nothing denying God We are a brood of Satan as Murdoch would say Did not Bishop Heber in his well-known hymn 'From Greenland's icy mountains" describe India as a country where "every prospect pleases and only man is vile" ? To me this is a negation of the spirit of Christ My personal view therefore, is that if you feel that India has a message to give to the world, that India's religions too are true, though like all religions imperfect for having percolated through imperfect human agency, and you come as fellow-helpers and fellow-seekers, there is a place for you here But if you come as preachers of the 'true Gospel' to a people who are wandering in darkness, so far as I am concerned you can have no place You may impose yourselves upon us"

FOURFOLD PROGRAMME FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT

(By S N Agarwal)

Our Enemy No One is the ever-yawning gulf of unemployment and underemployment in the country A lasting solution of the Unemployment puzzle consists in bringing about a few radical reforms in our economic and educational systems

Firstly far-reaching land legislation has to be enacted in India with a view to achieving land redistribution on a vast scale According to Acharya Vinoba Bhave's calculations, about five crore acres of land should be distributed among the landless labour within a few years providing employment to one crore families According to the Planning Commission s own recommendations, an absolute ceiling on land must be imposed as early as possible and the real tillers of the soil should be made the owners of land.

Secondly our industrial structure must be re-oriented boldly in order to decentralize the consumer-goods industries Unless we follow a courageous policy of revivifying the small-scale village and cottage industries in India, the aim of providing full employment to the millions of poverty stricken people would remain an empty dream To try to develop small-scale industries without in any way curtailing the scope and expansion of large scale industries would amount to toying with the vital question of liquidating enforced idleness in the country. We must of course, harness the benefits of modern science for making our small scale and cottage industries as efficient as possible But without a strong will and determination to rehabilitate the displaced cottage and village industries in our country, all talk of economic planning for establishing a Welfare State would be regarded as "sound and fury signifying nothing"

Thirdly, our educational system must undergo complete over-hauling so that our young men and women may be able to work and learn and earn in our educational institutions instead of merely learning and yearning for employment as at present The Basic system of education, as visualized by Gandhiji ought to become the very foundation of our future educational structure During their student days, our young boys and girls should not only receive education in the so-called academic subjects like history, geography, science and civics, but should also receive training in a few handicrafts through which they can earn their livelihood after completing their courses in schools and colleges.

And *lastly* we must learn to patronize Swadeshi goods produced by our own neighbours Instead of grumbling about their higher prices, we should purchase the cottage products in a spirit of patriotism and fellow-feeling

Let us not under-estimate the strength of our Enemy Number One. It is a standing

[illegible] and peaceful transfor- [illegible] of the essence The [illegible] poverty and hunger [illegible] of urgency Delay would be sure[illegible] disastrous We must wage war against unc[illegible]ovment in a crusading spirit, It should be re[illegible] almost as a ' Do or Die ' mission

(From *AICC Economic Review* May 15 '53)

SCIENCE AND BIRTH-CONTROL

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

A very interesting question was posed by Prof A V Hill in his presidential address to the British Association this year He was replying to a question which the Duke of Edinburgh had raised in his presidential address the previous year The Duke had asked "It is our duty as citizens to see that science is used for the benefit of mankind For, of what use is science if man does not survive ?

In the course of his reply Prof Hill tried to show how science qua science is a pure activity which can be used for good as well as evil and therefore a judgment of its activities in values is not the function of the scientist as scientist, but as a citizen he might well go into it as every good citizen should do

And he illustrated his remark by quoting how modern medicine helped to indirectly increase population by lowering the death rate and thus created problems of food etc In the same way we may go further and add as an illustration that to meet this problem of increasing population science devised birth-control devices and along with their questionable good gave both to evil in the shape of dangers of illicit or immoral sexual relations and over indulgence again requiring control over them The question thus persists

Can science claim immunity from being judged ethically ? Can it simply rest content with merely saying here is some piece of pure knowledge which can help you to check birth, you may make or mar yourself with it, which is none of our concern ? Is this not a form of irresponsibility ? As a human and social activity, should not science weigh the pros and cons of its own doing in terms of total human welfare ? Should not science be humble enough to bow to other disciplines like ethics, psychology etc., which also are relevant here ? Or should science hold the prerogative of working in a vacuum of its own,—in its own exclusive seclusion ? Briefly speaking Is science too sacrosanct for an ethical judgment ?

Nobody says or believes that procreation is to be unrestricted—that there should be no rational way nor law to govern it. Rather, man in his progress through history felt the need of and has had such governance and the world has had the know how too to govern births in various ways, including abortion, which man in his wisdom ruled out as evil. The point is that all these have a moral and social meaning and significance also The mechanical way of contraceptives also should have it. However scientists speak of that only in the name of science and propagate it Is it proper and scientific even ? How is the way of self-restraint not scientific, unless we hold science to be a peculiar inquiry in the mechanical know-how of things only ? Unfortunately today the common belief is like that and it is therefore that contraceptives are considered to be scientific and self restraint not scientific but religious

By the way, we may well ask, is not religion also a science in its own way ? The spirit of methodical inquiry into Truth is not peculiar to physical sciences alone it is the common way for all inquiry by the human mind So also ignorance and superstition as also fact and fiction are to be found lurking in all human quest, whether in the realm of the material or the abstract. Therefore it is not scientific to say that only methods of mechanical devices of birth-control or family planning are scientific and others not

However a perilous illusion ' is created in the popular mind that these devices of birth-control are scientific and hence should obviously be taken as good and acceptable and those who speak against them are not scientific Prof Hill, in another context notes the danger of such a " perilous illusion " possible in the popular mind and warns us in following terms

> "To use the general prestige of science as a bait to attract attention to pronouncements on other topics, for example on politics or religion is a disservice both to science and the public Scientists for the most parts are quite ordinary folk In their particular scientific jobs they have developed a habit of critical examination but this does not save them from wishful thinking in ordinary affairs or even from misrepresentation or falsehood when their emotions or prejudices are strongly enough moved"

For example, the demographer when he parades his statistics forgets that he deals with questions of politics and psychology and thus goes into questions not of fact only but of values as well. Similarly also when he recommends birth-control methods he is touching delicate problem of sexual and social relationships, which he does not care to go into as he holds them as no part of his job

We should clearly note this limitation of modern science and its unwitting bias in favour of materialism and agnosticism and not allow our mind to be clouded by the " general prestige of science as a bait " to attract undue attention to such pronouncements which really should come from social political and religious philosophy, to which sciences like demography etc should be humble enough to aid and assist

20-5-'53

HARIJAN

June 20 1953

NO CAUSE FOR MISGIVING

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

Shri Mirabehn a few weeks ago wrote an article raising certain points about the Bhoodan Movement as it goes on at present It was headed as "My Misgivings about the Bhoodan Movement" Obviously, it drew attention, specially in the North, and the issues raised in it were discussed in the Press by various competent people Mirabehn replied to all the comments and criticisms that appeared in the Press, restating that her misgivings still remained, or as she put it, "rather increased" It is unfortunate that it should be so I hope they will die away with further study of and contemplation over the matter and I suggest it would be much better if she actually sees how the Movement works in Bihar under Shri Vinoba's directions I say this because, after perusal of both of her articles, I have felt that what she says as her misgivings are really not so, but are a few suggestions to the sponsors of the Bhoodan Movement and her articles show no cause why there should be any misgiving as such about the Movement, because, really speaking, she has raised no fundamental point against the Bhoodan Movement *per se*

She made the following chief points in her articles

1 Little or nothing is said of the needs of cattle and trees by the advocates of the Movement,

2 Proper statistics and accounts of the gifts are not made available to the public,

3 The quality of the land donated is often bad a very large percentage of it is not of proper quality,

4. Fragmentation will be increased, the more so because even persons with very small holdings are invited to donate even a little, and

5 The distribution of the land received should be not only among the landless but also among the semi-landless as well

The reader will easily see that these points are such as should raise no controversy nor cause any misgiving regarding the fundamental need and object of the Movement At best they show what meticulous care Shri Mirabehn would herself like to give in a work of this nature She expects the same from all others and it is no way wrong But there is a limit to it and maybe it might not come up to one's expectation

Coming to her suggestions, as I said, they raise no serious or fundamental objection against the Movement For example, cattle and trees and many more other matters of such nature are alwa[illegible] in any programme for the rehabilitation of our agricultural population They are always there in any scheme of agricultural reform, requiring no separate mention. They come in automatically as the work evolves and develops

Undoubtedly accounts must be well kept But there are accounts and accounts and their nature is governed by the kind of work one may be doing at the moment One may perhaps be too meticulous for the beginning stage of a growing mass movement

Regarding the nature of the land donated, surely it is no way a reflection on the movement, it is, if at all one on the donor And we know that human nature is what it is Even as far back as the time of Nachiketa we see that he had to complain against his father who gave away old and dry cows, which was not good But that is surely not an argument against *go dan* as such So also land of whatever quality if it changes title in favour of the community and for the poor landless, may not be refused, though one may well say to the donor that his was a bad gift so far as he was personally concerned Bad land can be and has to be reclaimed and put to its best possible use

The question of fragmentation is not *created* by Bhoodan and is no way encouraged by it as well The point is otherwise Just like a poor man's pice given in charity and for a noble cause a poor man's piece of land is also very valuable as a pure and noble gift It is in wholesome contrast to the bad land-gifts, it gives a moral and spiritual tone to the Bhoodan No way does it mean that the small piece will remain as that in the ultimate redistribution It should be enough that the sponsors of the Movement know of the dangers of fragmentation to be guarded against when allotting land to the landless Reshuffling of fragmented land is surely to be done even by the State

Similarly the question of giving land to the semi-landless also can no way be controversial If more land comes forth, it can be undertaken The aim proposed by the sponsors is to see that a landless family gets at least 5 acres The semi-landless also are or can well be included in this target But they are at least better placed in comparison to the wholly landless who therefore come first It would not be proper to conclude therefrom that the semi-landless are to be excluded They also might well have their 5 acres quota made good, if enough land comes forth It is this that should rather be looked up and a concerted and country-wide effort made to get maximum Bhoodan

I may not reply to Shri Mirabehn's queries any further, and end with saying again that these queries which she has raised should cause no misgivings in any manner and they are such as can be well thrashed out in a conference of the Bhoodan workers as and when these demand their time and attention

I to the [illegible] the queries raised by Mira behn [illegible] to meet them with care and attention [illegible] is to be clear to ourselves that the Movement aims to achieve a silent revolution in the distribution of land in the country It is a part of the process that has set in in our country during the Gandhian era. During the course of the freedom movement public opinion got educated enough regarding some of the most pressing problems of reconstruction, viz, that under Swaraj we shall have no Native States that absentee landlordism and Zamindari will be removed that the poor will be helped to come to their own as respectable citizens in the new economy of Swaraj, etc The Constitution of India put these fundamental ideas of reform as part of itself Thus was started a process of a silent revolution to be followed up by us now Late Shri Sardar Patel through the device of Instrument of Accession roped in the Princely order to surrender their titles in the larger interests and for the greater glory of the nation Shri Vinoba has devised the Instrument of Bhoodan to settle the question of the Zamindari and absentee landlordism, this must be fully worked up for the nation s onward march There remains the question of capital concentration also in a few private hands and for their narrow profit We have to find out a peaceful way to reform this undesirable state of things also My point is that the Bhoodan Movement must be viewed in such a larger perspective and as continuing the silent revolution that Gandhiji started a generation ago There should, therefore, be no cause for any misgiving about its aims and objects It is a new item of the Constructive Programme that came to us under the stress of the forces born of our new situation It must be considered as an integral part of the Nation's Constructive Programme That great saying of the Gita which Gandhiji often applied to Khadi and such other constructive activities may equally well apply to Bhoodan also — स्वल्पमप्यस्य धर्मस्य त्रायते महतो भयात् (Even a little of this righteous course delivers one from great fear) It should therefore cause no misgiving to us

8-6-'53

By Mahatma Gandhi

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GANDHIAN LABOUR MOVEMENT

(By Khandubhai K Desai)

Shri Acharya commenting on my article raises two issues— "Unless the Trade Unions aim to abolish capitalism, take over all the works and run them for the benefit of the society, they would have to function merely as adjuncts of a capitalistic system and thus be a partner in the loot'

The second observation Shri Acharya makes is this Taking over of production and distribution by the State is not enough, where the State becomes the employer the trade unions are organized to help the State in looting

In this connection he cites the example of Russia, where strike is considered as 'treason' Shri Acharya, therefore concludes that so long as the employees and the wage system continues this evil cannot be cured

One has properly to understand Gandhiji's conception of relationship between the employer employee, and the community to reply to Shri Acharya s assumptions In Gandhiji's view labour and capital are both co-partners in the field of production — one supplies the capital and the other supplies his labour Labour is in fact worker's capital, without the combination of the two no production is possible

However so long as the worker is not conscious of his contribution he is not treated fairly and suffers under the exploitation of the employer On the other hand when the worker is conscious of his contribution he refuses to be exploited

Gandhiji also desired that the employer would never be a party to the loot of society in collusion with the workers Gandhiji, therefore desired that the employer shall behave in a manner as if he is a trustee and not the sole owner of the wealth that he possesses

It may appear that this is an idealistic picture and difficult to realize in practice Gandhiji was too practical not to realize this He therefore encouraged the labour movement and strengthened it on the one hand to stand against all injustice by the employer, and on the other hand tried to make both employer and employee subservient to the needs of the Nation He therefore emphasized on settlement of disputes by arbitration, which is after all the reflection of the public mind — eschewing thereby dictation either by the employer or the employee; and simultaneously he made all endeavours to persuade the capitalist to substitute the service motive instead of the profit motive

When an employer fully understands and follows this ideal he will behave more as a trustee than as a profiteer It is possible to conceive an employer as abusing his status to exploit workers or the community but the same charge can hardly be levelled against the workers who even now receive a wage which is hardly adequate to enable him to maintain a suitable

standard of life Even then Gandhiji took sufficient care that the worker may not develop a craving for money In the constitution framed for workers he advisedly used the words "to secure remuneration for the workers having regard to their work.' During the war years he discouraged the tendency of the employers who distributed a monthly bonus and advised the workers not to fall a victim to such a tendency The final safeguard devised by Gandhiji in this connection was that a worker however powerful his organization may be cannot dictate his terms of employment and in case of dispute the society shall have the final voice It is for this purpose that he advocated adherence to the principle of arbitration for settlement of disputes

Thus as shown above Gandhian Labour Movement keeps away from the Western exploiter exploitee formula and aims towards the welfare of all concerned This is however not an easy task and requires education of the employers, the workers and the society on correct lines Adoption of these principles will ultimately result in the good of all

PROHIBITION AND ILLICIT DISTILLATION

(By Gopaldas Patel)

Prohibition has been in force in the Bombay State for well over three years now It is a favourite argument with some anti prohibitionists in their campaign to discredit this reform measure that it has led to an increase in illicit distillation A few even went so far as to allege in the Bombay Legislature that every house is a small distillery! The argument is intended to suggest that prohibition should be scrapped in order to stop such malpractices

It would not need much scrutiny to show that the suggestion is fallacious in the extreme and this was pointed out in a previous issue of this paper with telling evidence of the American experience In this regard There is no prohibition in America and yet illicit distillation is being practised there on a very large scale An idea of just how large it really is will dispel any doubt regarding the falsity of this argument. It will therefore interest the readers to peruse the extracts which are reproduced below from the *New York Times* of April 16 1953 One should however take care not to fall in the equally grievous error of concluding from these facts that the Government could discourage the production of illicit liquor by lightening the taxes Because even in countries like America where drinking is so common no one has any doubt about its evil effects both on individuals and on the society as a whole And therefore no Government in the world would ever think of preventing illicit liquor by reducing the prices of licit liquor All are agreed about the need to put severe restriction on the production and consumption of alcoholic drinks and other intoxicants The point to be [illegible] here is that [illegible] the greedy are sure to go [illegible] any trade — licit or illicit — if it promises a good return without any regard for morality or social well-being so long as there are no effective social and moral restraints to curb them The society and the Government therefore have to evolve those other restraints for weaning them away from this evil It is totally wrong to think that it springs from prohibition. It has nothing whatever to do with prohibition To scrap prohibition in order to eradicate this evil will be like jumping out of the frying pan into the fire The following are the extracts from the report in the *New York Times* referred to above:

The Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division of the Internal Revenue Bureau has reported that its agents destroyed 10 289 stills and seized 5,700 580 gallons of fermenting mash in 1953 It estimates however that for every still seized ten continued to produce untaxed whisky resulting in a loss of hundreds of millions of dollars to the Federal Government each year

'The liquor industry estimates that 25 to 50 per cent of the liquor consumed in the United States is bootlegged by large and small operators It notes that about 61 cents of each dollar spent for legal liquor goes for Federal State and local taxes

The Federal tax on whisky has risen from $ [illegible] per hundred proof gallon in 1937 to $ 10.50 per gallon The last increase in the tax was in 1951 and since then the increase in alcohol tax revenue has been only 1 9 per cent although the tax increase was 16.77 per cent

Since 1943 the tax on distilled spirits has climbed [illegible] per cent and the number of stills seized by Federal agents has increased 59 per cent, with mash seizures rising 110 per cent.

In one country in North Carolina fifty four stills were observed from the air and later destroyed Five days after the destruction thirteen had been replaced

"Small moonshine stills represent a low capital investment but a large still in a metropolitan center may cost $ 100 000 to build A still capable of making 1 000 gallons of whisky a day costs $ 10 500 in taxes for each day It escapes detection

(From Gujarati)

MONEY — THE MECHANISM OF EXPLOITATION

(By M P T Acharya)

It is complained that centralized industry products compete with and dislocate village production That is because centralized industries can manufacture cheaper But so long as villagers use city money and trade among themselves with that money and the villages cannot give better value of quantities for the money, centralized industries will invade the village with their goods The common market and money between village and city will make the invasion possible and inevitable

Radhakamal Mukherjee and others have pointed out that when British textiles first came to India and the village weavers found that they could earn more by selling foreign textiles than by weaving some went as agents of foreign textiles and abandoned weaving thus becoming richer than village weavers soon. So much so these foreign textile agents began to form a separate caste marrying only among themselves!

Of course centrali[illegible] destroying village industrie[illegible] of their products higher [illegible] make enormous profits by m[illegible]

The village proletariat will [illegible] will go into centralized factories Formerly in all countries, the city factories had only seasonal workers from the villages who lived in the villages better than in cities but who wanted to earn some extra money when they had nothing to do in the villages i e on the field Today they depend only upon hiring themselves out to centralized organizations for their existence

What they earn is not enough to maintain themselves but they have no other go If the employers have to provide them with food, clothes and housing it would cost them much more to hire them than the wages they pay Therefore if the villages would provide them with free food, clothes and housing, they would be better off in the villages than by hiring themselves out to industries in the cities and they would settle down in villages Otherwise they would move to towns for jobs After all people do not care for money but it is made necessary to purchase things (exchange for things) Money cannot be eaten or worn What they want is certainty of eating, not even proper eating. For workers who hire themselves out there is no choice All work is alike useless or useful nefarious or beneficial to society The chief thing is to earn some money and to eat something *Responsibility must make workers to refuse to do useless or nefarious work* But there is no choice for them even if they could use judgment Our system is hireling system

So long as food and other village products are sold for city money and to the market, the villages will suffer But if the villages instead of supplying raw products and goods to the market provide for the needs of the villagers, the whole top-heavy system which pumps more than it gives will collapse Otherwise villages will suffer and be destroyed not only under the present system but also under a Bolshevik system or any system of government. It is useless simply to complain against centralized industries One must act Otherwise one can go on grumbling and villages will go to rack and ruin all the same

There are schemes afoot for (new fields for investment) establishing so-called co-operative organizations by banks in the villages They will make life more miserable than now, although they will cease to function after creating misery —creating a desert They are only hesitating because of the risk of lending money to millions of peasants who are practically paupers

If goods are not in the market, banks cannot fatten So if goods are withdrawn i e not sold for money, banks will die of inanition.

THE NEW DANGER

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

[illegible] was a time not very long ago in our [illegible] en Hindus and Muslims fought with [illegible] cow-slaughter and music before [illegible] reason for indulging in that painful [illegible] is a change in the situation after [illegible] of Pakistan though the unity [illegible] to see established between the [illegible] has not really been achieved [illegible] before us and remains as urgent [illegible] past

In addi[illegible] to this old task however it seems we would soon be called upon to face a new one of a similar nature The situation is developing when we may find Hindus fighting the Hindus led by narrow sectarian loyalties The movement launched by the Dravid Sangh in Madras for breaking Hindu idols is a case in point If the followers of this group do not believe in idol-worship nobody is going to compel them for it. But it is not so, for they themselves worship idols of their own gods and goddesses Their iconoclastic fury is directed only against the gods of their supposed enemies, the Aryan Hindus and they have announced their determination to break and desecrate the idol of Ganesh The non Brahmins in the South have long been nursing a feeling of grievance against the Brahmins and the relations between the two have been far from happy for many years past It has had its origin in the social and political rivalry. It is this feeling of antagonism which is now expressing itself in insulting and desecrating the idols of the opponent. It is an indication of the malady of casteism, which has hidden in our mentality, coming out in this manner It is a dangerous development. Its intrusion into the religious sphere enhances its capacity for mischief and makes it still more dangerous

The Hindu religion sanctions idol worship and Hindus worship the idol But Hinduism makes it clear that the idol is only an image and not the Deity The Deity is seated in the heart of every one of us and the image is only a symbol to remind us of Him Therefore the breaking of the idol should not really matter much, because in itself it is no more than the destruction of a material thing But then it hurts the feelings of the worshippers and that is what is really aimed at in this campaign. Otherwise it signifies utter lack of good sense and faith in God which does nobody any good

How are we to meet this mischievous impropriety? The most effective way to check it would be for the people to ignore it by remaining completely calm and silent Just as abusive words are spent away without any effect if we do not pay heed to them and refuse to be provoked, in the same way this movement would stop automatically if it is ignored and allowed to exhaust itself Like children breaking their toys they

[illegible] many [illegible] brisk [illegible] ment of the [illegible] refusing [illegible] the profane use of their work the [illegible] will have to learn to make idols themselves [illegible] too will be an acquisition [illegible] art [illegible] Anyway the idol-worshippers should [illegible] completely indifferent and calm. This [illegible] that while this can not result then Deity [illegible] any retaliation or [illegible] provocation on [illegible] part certainly will [illegible] I rather pray [illegible] to give wisdom to [illegible] so that they may learn to keep to the path of virtue and not be led into such unseemly [illegible] We are happy to note that [illegible] Raja is following this wise policy

This agitation in Madras holds out a lesson for the country which it will do well to learn The old malady of communalism seems to be raising its ugly head in new forms Shall we now let ourselves fall into the snares of linguism and casteism? The white populations in Europe and America are fighting over the differences of colour and economic classes Shall we also fight one another over our differences of languages and castes? Let us return a clear and decisive No to these questions This is the lesson of this agitation in Madras We have not yet fully eradicated untouchability The evil of casteism has gone deep into our society We have to beware of these evils and steer clear of them lest we should fail to achieve not only social and economic equality but also stand to lose whatever political equality we have In a society ridden with various social diseases like casteism the attainment of independence has also the effect of aggravating these evils in the body politic and pushing them to the fore Let us remember that these evils were the reason for our political subjection and we can preserve our independence only by keeping them away Our independence and the political equality it has brought us can be a powerful weapon for fighting these evils and to that end should it be used Failing that, our very independence can be an equally powerful weapon for internecine conflicts and our eventual destruction as a nation

3-6-'53

(From the original in Hindi)

SAMPATTI-DAN AND INCOME-TAX

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

A concession granted this year to those who [illegible] income-tax exempts them from the payment of tax over the portion of the income they might donate to registered charitable institutions — to the extent of 5% of the total income or Rs 100 000/- whichever may be less. Income-tax will be assessed only on what remains after deducting the donated portion.

This reminds me of Shri Vinoba's demand for *Sampatti dan* He demands 16% of the earnings However we would have quite a huge sum at our disposal if every one donated only 5% i.e a twentieth of his income for which relief from tax has been granted by the Government. I asked my friend Shri Vithaldas Kothari, Professor of Economics at the Gujarat Vidyapith, to find out the estimated figure for this sum of money The following is the result of his inquiry based on authoritative sources

Year	Total National Income (in crores)	Taxable Income (in crores)	Percentage
1931-32	Rs 1,389	217	12 7
1946 47	Rs 5,580	568	10 1

On the basis of the 1946 47 figures we will have twenty-eight crores of rupees at the rate of 5% of the earnings from the income-tax payers"

Imagine how much constructive work can we do, how many more welfare programmes can be implemented if we could command this huge sum of money every year for the service of the poor That would enable many more institutions to come into existence and do their work without being worried for money and therefore with great efficiency The *Sampatti-dan* Yajna from this point of view appears to be of very great value and deserves to be seriously considered. Besides, if persons concerned thus donate a portion of their taxes instead of trying to evade the payment by falsifying or hiding the accounts, it will also initiate a very welcome change in the psychology of our moneyed classes

1-6-'53

(From Gujarati)

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

VOL XVII No 17 AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, JUNE 27, 1953 TWO ANNAS

A MINISTER'S CONFUSION ABOUT KHADI

(By Shrikrishnadas Jaju)

Shri H Siddhaveerappa, Minister for Home and Industry, Mysore State, in his written speech delivered at the Conference of Khadi workers held at Bangalore on 2nd June, 1953, after narrating what the State had done to encourage Khadi, said

"(i) We are accused of nourishing and pampering an inefficient cottage industry at the expense of the successful industrialization of the country and particularly at the cost of the Indian textile industry I would, however point out that while we are pledged to promote and develop the Khadi cult, it will be wise for us to consider the other side of the problem also. We are devoted to Khadi because it has played such a prominent part in the liberation of our country It has in fact been our most potent weapon in combating the forces of imperialism and economic exploitation. But now that the battle is won we are being constantly asked whether we should still adhere to this old weapon which, as a weapon has outlived its usefulness? Our critics wish to know whether it is right to encourage Khadi and to subsidize and support it at the expense of our own indigenous textile industries merely on ideological grounds or whether it has any positive advantages that make this encouragement worthwhile

"(ii) No doubt, it has certain advantages of its own It provides for a fuller employment of the man power available in rural areas a better utilization of the raw material available and for a more productive use of skill and initiative It provides useful spare time occupation to our rural folk whose agricultural activities are seasonal It also provides them with a means of supplementing their all too meagre income It is also a most valuable recuperative pastime which provides mental relaxation and tranquillity and helps us, harassed mortals, to stand up the stress and strain of this hectic civilization. All these factors no doubt, render it a very valuable hobby or pastime

"(iii) But, considered in the context of India's industrial progress and self-sufficiency we are asked whether Khadi as an industry has any claim to be encouraged at the cost of any other industry Have we any reason to believe that given adequate assistance and support, it will, within a reasonable period, be able to hold its own against the Indian textile industry and stand on its own legs without further support? *In my humble opinion, State subsidies and other forms of support are justifiable only if we have this positive assurance* And it is up to us Khadi lovers assembled here to put our heads together to apply our minds to this vexing problem, and to devise ways and means by which, through efficient organization improved manufacturing technique and by the provision of adequate marketing facilities this industry so dear to all of us comes into its own and stands four-square with the other industries of our country I appeal to all Khadi lovers in the State to extend their co-operation in this important task

About the year 1927 when in some of the other Indian States Khadi cap was frowned upon and even subjected to humiliation the Mysore State had the courage and sagacity to start the production and sale of Khadi on its own The work was organized through one of its departments which was specially set up for this purpose and has continued ever since In the beginning there was much enthusiasm and good progress, but subsequently slackness set in and there was consequent decline At first for some years they worked as an institution certified by the Charkha Sangh The connection with the Sangh was, however, severed in 1945 At the present time their spinning wages are three-fourths of the Sangh wages It is now hoped that as a result of the constitution of the Khadi and Village Industries Board by the India Government, the Khadi work in Mysore State also will undergo an appropriate change as elsewhere and receive greater encouragement than before

I invite the attention of the readers to the italicized portion of the speech of the Minister of Home and Industries, Mysore, quoted above. It depicts fairly well the mentality of most of those in authority who want to develop Khadi and village industries They want Khadi if it would subsist without their having to restrict the textile mills which would be allowed to work freely as at present Of course, they are prepared to provide some aid to it for a short time At the same time, they make it clear that meanwhile Khadi lovers should devise a suitable technique which will enable Khadi to stand on its own legs in competition with the mill-industry Such aid as is being granted today cannot be continued for very long it is only a temporary affair If you want to preserve and perpetuate Khadi then make good use of this chance Hereafter it should be able to maintain itself independently without any aid

A study of the past fifty years of our economic history will show that many of the centralized industries like iron, cloth, sugar etc have all along been receiving financial and other forms of protection worth crores of rupees from the Government All the countries of the world have

India [illegible] deciding que[illegible] protection of deserving indu[illegible] industries which are [illegible] understanding [illegible] a specified period [illegible] extended either [illegible] short break. This is [illegible] forms of indirect help [illegible] It is only in the [illegible] industries that a whole [illegible] brought forward [illegible] to improve their claim for help

Hon Minister again asked for an assu[illegible] within the period of grace which is [illegible] to Khadi at present efforts will be [illegible] develop a suitable technique which may [illegible] Khadi to stand its ground in competition [illegible] the mill-cloth Why this demand for such [illegible] rance? We have about 30 years ex[illegible] of manufacturing Khadi Efforts have [illegible] to be made for effecting improvements [illegible] various operations which compose the [illegible] manufacture of Khadi. But none has ever claimed [illegible] at Khadi can withstand competition from the [illegible] in respect of the prices Anybody can easily [illegible] that a village industries product is bound to [illegible] more than that of mechanized industry based upon centralization

The power-loom is a miniature form of the mill, but even the power-loom cloth cannot compete with the mill-cloth It is the same with the hand loom cloth. How can Khadi then which is made up of hand-spun yarn? Supposing that we are able to devise a Charkha which is driven by electricity, would it then be possible for the cloth made from its yarn to stand successfully against the mill-cloth? The Charkha Sangh has introduced many improvements in the various processes involved in the making of Khadi And in carding at least they have achieved a sufficient degree of success Efforts are being continuously made for the improvement of Charkha. Models, although incomplete as yet, have been devised, which if they succeed, will considerably enhance the speed of spinning Even so can we hope that the Khadi produced from the yarn of this Charkha will be able to successfully compete with the mill-cloth?

In the second paragraph of his speech, the Hon. Minister has correctly and beautifully enumerated the advantages of Khadi, but he ends with a note of warning that if Khadi cannot compete with the mill-cloth in prices then it will forfeit its claim for Government help There is, it seems to me, a basic fallacy in his argument If the ability of Khadi to hold its own in the competition with the mill-cloth is to be the basis of Government help, then he should not spend [illegible] of Khadi until [illegible] e asks for How [illegible] spending money in [illegible] one has given such [illegible] held out its hope His [illegible] what it is his argu[illegible] strengthen the con[illegible] fute it

H[illegible] individual who does [illegible] at the advan[illegible] have it But [illegible] is inclined to [illegible] the pros and con[illegible] other Let us [illegible] will clear their [illegible] issues [illegible] If they find [illegible] vantages of Khadi [illegible] quite enough to [illegible] demand for protection and the question of [illegible] in the form of prices can be ignored [illegible] should they help Khadi

9 6 53

From Hindu

THE VALUES OF THE SMALL COMMUNITY

(By Wilfred Wellock)

No one who meditated upon the history of the last fifty years would conclude that Western civilization had more than the remotest connection with the good life Two world wars, long periods of mass unemployment, the merciless repressions of Right and Left Dictatorships, mass purgings, and liquidations, mass migrations, mass concentration and forced labour camps, testify to a civilization that has lost its bearings and is on its way to self-destruction.

Today the West is gripped by a three-fold fear — of failing markets and economic breakdown, of communism and of the third world war. In consequence, increasing percentages of its substance are flowing into armaments Yet none of these fears need exist, and they only do so because man has lost his grip on Truth and thus upon himself How is he to recover that grip?

Our age requires a new pattern of life which takes account of the whole man, — the economic man who lives by bread and the spiritual man who lives by truth, fellowship, service and self-giving, meditation affection, religion, love

That pattern must embrace three important rights or values responsibility and creative opportunity in one's daily labour, and vital relationship with the community in which one has one's being These rights the social system must provide, so that every man may live creatively and satisfyingly in the fullest use of all his powers

Our age has lost sight of the fact that man is a social being whose life can be fulfilled only in vital, vocational relationship with his community A man's vocation, the quality of his personality and of his labour, and the vitality of his community relationships all hang together, they flourish and decline together.

[illegible] dustrial [illegible] with [illegible] towards [illegible] tion with [illegible] ended it, [illegible] that [illegible] ended workmanship [illegible] up to the paying of [illegible] foundations of the [illegible] on like so much [illegible] name of progress

To remedy [illegible] are to society Its function [illegible] man his basic freedom [illegible] as to this end is the [illegible] industrial communities in which every [illegible] on has the status of a responsible worker and citizen and enjoys organic relationship with a community which controls its economic and political life by means of Guilds Councils and such other institutions as it deems advisable

History proves abundantly that it is in small, largely self-governing communities that workmanship reaches its highest quality and citizenship its peak of culture and grandeur To produce for a user a neighbour is far more satisfying than to produce for a trader in that it establishes a permanent relationship of esteem and goodwill It is in these conditions that a man puts all he has into his labour while to have something of one's soul in the homes and surroundings of one's habitation is to be widely honoured and beloved — a reward which means more to a man than the cash return of his labour

There is a vital connection between institutional smallness and human wholeness In the small social unit every member is able to grasp all its functions to know how they work and who is responsible for them and to have contact with every person who achieves any kind of distinction Hence civic affairs are vital and have a homely ring, being concerned with matters which come within everybody's ken

It is infinitely easier to become a creative and neighbourly person in a small community than in a large, or even to think and meditate This is because tradition, habit and intimate knowledge of one's neighbours pave the way to communication and co-operation Thus, as Lewis Mumford says, 'Fifty thousand people gathered in a single place can do fewer things together than twenty five groups of 2,000 " He adds Dictators love crowds and seek to provide bigger arenas and auditoriums for them, the bigger the crowd the emptier their function" *(The Culture of Cities)*

In the big city everything has to be sacrificed to its smooth running The individual becomes as a grain of sand Yet there is no such thing as a city soul

In small communities every man's work and worth is known Persons are a primary interest. More people take notice of what one does, and appreciate what one does well, a fact which stimulate [illegible] do one's be[illegible] uprightly

I am not arguing for a return to the Middle Ages but I am arguing for a recovery of some of its values — values that have been lost in the perilous journey to modern industrialism Every age has its evils, its shortcomings, temptations and failures and the Guild era was no exception to this rule, but there are human rights and values which ought to belong to every society in every age It is because so many of these precious rights and values were sacrificed during its reckless pursuit of riches and power, that the Industrial Revolution stands condemned

In the Guild era every village and country town had character, a quality and beauty of its own In comparison, our industrial towns are monsters of ugliness, dreariness and vulgarity The comparison is well described by G M Trevelyan in his classic-*English Social History*

> "The modern city in the unplanned swamp of its increase lacks form and feature It is a deadening cage for the human spirit. Urban and suburban life in modern England made no appeal through the eye to the imagination, as had the old village life of our island or the city life of ancient and mediaeval Europe " He goes on to say that in these conditions the stage is set for the gradual standardisation of human personality"

Two more values I must mention neighbourliness and the influence of nature. Few things are more painful and tragic than the spiritual isolation and starvation which obtains in vast populations where there are no organic or functional ties and values

Another value of the small agro-industrial community is close contact with nature for nature is still man's finest teacher and a potent means of maintaining his spiritual balance Nature stimulates the habit of observation, of thought and meditation, and these tend to produce stability of character

Civilizations collapse when they become rich and powerful, not when they are small, diligent and hard-working It was when Rome became a powerful empire founded on slave labour and began to devour the fruitage and fertility of the Sahara, thus transforming it into a desert, and allowed her own once rich acres to return to swamp, that her civilization began to decay, and ultimately perished.

Are we doing much better? What of the Near and Far East, and of Africa, in the current struggle of the dinosaurs for world power? Most of the world's soils are being mined and bled, and Western demands are rising

The hope of mankind lies in the creative society of the small community, not in the mechanistic society of the giant state, and from now on all man's genius must be directed to building it, here and everywhere.

(Abridged from The Orchard Lea Papers No 5)

HARIJAN

June 27 1953

AMENITIES TO WORKERS

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

A friend draws attention to the following [illegible] from a series of articles written by [illegible]alist' that appeared in *The Times of* [illegible]

> The Factories Act lays down that mills should make provision for the supply of at least one gallon of drinking water per employee per day besides six gallons of water for washing purposes. This is an unexceptional stipulation provided the supply of water is plentiful. In Bombay city where water becomes a luxury during summer strict enforcement of this statutory obligation is impracticable.
>
> It is, of course necessary that canteens drying halls rest rooms etc should be built in these factories where they do not exist. But it is equally necessary to remember that in most of the mills in Bombay city there is little or no space for such constructions. There is also a serious shortage of building materials. The capital expenditure would be Rs 160 lakhs. The Government of Bombay seems to have realized the magnitude of the task and has been most accommodating in enforcing the provisions of the Factories Act.

And he remarks:

> Since the factories cannot supply one gallon of water per man for drinking and 6 gallons for washing it is useless to attempt it — is the capitalist argument. It never enters into their head whether alternative methods such as sinking wells and pumping water from them should not be attempted.
>
> Further since it will cost Rs 69 lakhs (an aggregated figure) to provide canteens and Rs 100 lakhs to provide shelters rest houses and lunch rooms, it must not be attempted. They can go on without these! These gentlemen should join the workmen and work under their conditions and they would then not talk or write like this.
>
> If this is too much for the 'industry' and nation to bear then it proves that these gentlemen cannot give amenities to workers — essential amenities. If these things cannot be done under capitalism then the logic is capitalism should be liquidated rather than the worker should go without amenities. A system which cannot give the necessary amenities should be scrapped.

That the capitalist logic is faulty and fallacious is obvious. The present world is realizing it at great cost and worry. What I wish to add by way of further comment is that if money needed for giving these amenities which are essential human conditions for labour must be provided for by the industry or as the 'Industrialist' says if this expenditure of money and material is justified — which means if it is a due and reasonable charge on the industry, then it must necessarily be found.

And this is what the capitalist is not anxious of doing and the present socio-economic group allows it with impunity.

Again it is clear that this charge on the industry which is accepted to be legitimate is not met because it affects the capitalistically organized industry in two ways: 1. It requires the industry to raise the prices of goods; 2. it needs curtailing profits and dividends, both of which the industry would not do. However, as is obvious, if legitimate charges are to be met some rising of prices may be necessary, however that is not done as it would affect sales, which means the much-talked-of cheapness that machine-made goods apparently possess and which is much boasted of by the industrialist as against hand-made cloth is simply fictitious and only nominal and is really at the cost of the poor and unorganized worker. And the State, by patronizing such industries, knowingly or unknowingly upholds that order.

And how does the industrialist get his title to work in such a set up and in this manner? It is due to the right of private capital-owning. Our present ideas of private property and its use allow it. Like the land owner or Zamindar the industrialist becomes a capital-owner, and through the device of share-capital and the legal trick of floating limited company the industrial order has facilitated absentee capital-ownership like absentee land lordism thus reducing the real worker to be a mere machine tending wage-earner like his confrere the tenant or the agricultural labourer. This is really the problem for the nation, which we have to solve now in the so-called industrial sector of our economy. The capitalist the share-holder the industrialist and all such people who go to make up and conduct the industrial order that obtains at present should put their heads together and co-operate to find ways and means to solve it. The political parties and trade union workers should apply their minds to finding out a way that will restore labour as co-partner with capital which is today the sole owner of our industries both in law and practice. This is unjust. Labour and capital should be joint partners and the evil of absentee capital-owning or share-holding must go. As I said in my article * 'No Cause for Misgiving' in the previous issue of 20-6-'53 it is the third task for which an instrument of direct action is necessary. I shall leave this question here, to be developed further hereafter.

18-6-'53

* There remains the question of capital concentration also in a few private hands and for their narrow profit. We have to find out a peaceful way to reform this undesirable state of things also.

WHY PROHIBITION

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LANGUAGES DEVELOPMENT CONFERENCE, POONA

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

I am glad to report to the readers of the *Harijan* that the All-India Languages Development Conference that was held at Poona and to which I had referred in the *Harijan* of 16-5-'53 was a success from many points of view and its deliberations have made a distinct mark on some of the problems confronting our educational and cultural reconstruction The following are the three sets of conclusions arrived at by that Conference

Section A

Building up a Vocabulary of Technical Terms

(1) All technical terms for all sciences should be drawn as far as possible from Sanskrit sources.

(2) All international symbols signs and formulae should be retained for use as they are in use at present

(3) International scientific terms and expressions should be retained if suitable Indian equivalents cannot be framed

(4) Scientific and technical terms should be uniform throughout the Union as far as possible

Section B

Development of the Official Language of the Union

(1) One of the existing obstacles to a ready spread of the official language of the Union is the apprehension that it will encroach on the sphere of regional languages. It should therefore be made clear that the regional languages should each in its area be the language in which all the affairs of the area are conducted and all instruction is imparted.

(2) Hindi having been chosen as the official language of the Union the States in which the other languages of the Country are spoken should take steps to spread a knowledge of the official language of the Union among their populations.

(3) The development of the official language of the Union in accordance with the directives of the Constitution is the common concern of the speakers of all Indian languages This Conference calls upon the Universities Language and Literary Associations Academic Institutions and State Governments to take up immediately the study of concrete action on lines indicated by Section 351 of the Constitution. It is hoped and expected that the official language of the Union that will develop as a result of these efforts will conform to the genius of the parent stock and therefore will be easily and naturally acceptable to those whose mother tongue is Hindi.

Section C

Methods of Increasing Knowledge of Regional Languages

This Conference recommends

(a) that the regional language or the mother tongue at the option of the pupil be the first language of our school going children

(b) that provision be made for the teaching of Hindi at Secondary Schools

(c) that provision be made whenever possible for the teaching of another Indian language other than the regional language at Secondary Schools

(d) that advanced courses and research in Indian languages and literatures be instituted at all our Universities

(e) that Bureaus for translation of literary and scientific works from one Indian language into another be instituted at State Education Ministries Universities and Language Societies

(f) that at the first step grammars conversation books and bilingual dictionaries of Indian languages be prepared

(g) that every regional language should have an (All literature) magazine in which the users of that language should find information about currents in other Indian literatures

(h) that the Central and State Governments should establish Indian Language Teachers Training Centres to serve the needs of schools

(i) that the Central and the State Governments should institute prizes scholarships grants and funds to encourage writers Societies and Universities to take up and accomplish the items detailed above"

The reader will note that the question of the medium of instruction has been well decided the Conference came to the conclusion that it should be the regional languages for all grades of education up to the University The Governor of Bombay, Shri G S Bajpai who addressed the Conference at the end of its deliberations put a seal on this decision by clearly expounding that hitherto English has been the unifying factor — the common link that held together administration and law promoted inter provincial as well as international commerce, and was the common currency of political debate Now English must go not because he regarded it as a symbol of bondage or something which Indians cannot master, but because it could never become the language of the greater majority of people or even of a substantial body of our intellectual *elite*

Moreover Shri Bajpai continued democracy demands equality of opportunity for all in every walk of life it also demands freedom of intercourse and intimacy of understanding between the masses and those who represent them or serve them and for this we need the idiom of the soil But this does not mean either the substitution of Hindi as the medium of education for regional languages or the latter's subordination to Hindi On the assumption that the flowering of the human mind in arts and in science is imperfect except in the mother-tongue it would be criminal even to attempt to supplant Bengali or Marathi or Tamil etc by Hindi which is not so highly developed These regional languages must remain the vehicle of teaching and thought in all stages Hindi must be left to develop its linguistic appeal through organic growth which must be gradual and cannot be forced by official decree

The second point that emerged from the deliberations of the conference was that Hindi should be taught as a subject and the Hindi which is to be the official language of the Union is not the Hindi of the U P but it will develop as the common concern of speakers of all the Indian languages and according to the directive of the Constitution of India, Section 351

The work of building up a vocabulary of scientific terms, was the third important matter gone into by the Conference I am sorry to report

that [illegible] comparison with other two sections, [illegible] go into the problem so thoroughly [illegible] because of a defective perspective [illegible] approach to the question. Science was [illegible] ught of as a subject for the common [illegible] and information of the people but was taken to be, as if, a mere subject for B Sc M Sc etc in higher education. Therefore it seems the Conference in its deliberations noted these needs only and did not clearly say that like arts popular science also will develop in the regional languages of the people and necessary terms for such development will be not a special jargon devised unnaturally from Sanskrit etc but will be according to the genius of the people's language where no preconceived impositions can have any place

The Conference did not go into the question of the teaching of English though Shri Bajpai touched it in his address He asked whether English should be banished altogether and said that it was not necessary as we stand to lose more than the outside world if we do so But he doubted whether for the somewhat restricted purposes like diplomatic intercourse would trade higher technical skill in sciences English need be taught in our High or Intermediate Schools but said that facilities for learning it as an optional second language ought to be made available after the Intermediate stage

And at the end of his address Shri Bajpai summed up to say that (1) regional languages should be the medium of instruction in *all* stages beginning with the primary

(2) Hindi to be a compulsory second language from some point in the secondary stage

(3) English to be an optional language after the Intermediate stage

And he warned that to treat all three as compulsory at or from any stage would be to lay premium on imperfection to create the 'Babu mind' not in one but in three by overloading and confusing it

Thus was some solid contribution made by the Conference in the solution of our burning question today viz the place of our languages in education and administration and their development accordingly

12 6-'53

GANDHI AND MARX

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GANDHIJI AND SOCIALISM

The Editor *Harijan*

I do not think that Gandhiji was against Socialism as Shri Wellock believes I remember his having said some time I am the great Socialist existing But his ideas of Socialism may be — are — different from that of Western Socialists and he may be nearer Socialism than Western Socialist — I mean more correct

Gandhiji believed in voluntary (not coerced) Socialism Abolition of class-society and establishment of classless society are alike Socialism That is what the Western Socialists and Gandhiji stood for But he believed the people must themselves go about doing it instead of leaving to others ' to organize Socialism ". During the elections, Pandit Nehru told the truth that Socialism cannot be established by legislation That means classless society cannot be furthered by the State

Gandhiji once said In my State there will be neither army nor police That will never be tolerated by any State

Russian revolution if it has taught anything has proved that Socialism cannot be established by violence Britain has shown that legislation can only create a new class of rulers who run the State in the interest of their sidarics Both are monstrous abortions of Socialism

Gandhiji understood Socialism as a Socialist while "Socialists understand Socialism like capitalists. If classes have to be abolished and a classless society has to be generated — we must start thinking in terms of classless society to produce a classless society — instead of thinking in terms of class conflict and class struggle and class war and class State as the starting point. Destruction of private capitalism is not necessarily the basis of Socialism for instead of private capitalism State capitalism will be erected which will have to prevent Socialism But so called Socialists mean only State ownership as Socialism or State capitalism as transition vehicle of Socialism That is falling from frying pan into fire

From all that is pointed out above it means Gandhiji did not believe any State will establish Socialism i e classless society He was right In this matter, he was an anarchist may be philosophical anarchist He even went further when he said "The nearest approach to pure democracy is anarchy based on non-violence To my mind, Western democracy is the negation of democracy" That means Gandhiji did not think that any State can be democratic but only the people What cannot be done by the people cannot be democratic But people can act only decentralistically and Gandhiji stood not for village autonomy under a State but complete and unfettered village independence Today Gandhism is watered down to make it "respectable" but it is killing Gandhism

Bombay 20-4-'53 M P T ACHARYA

NOTES

[illegible]

One [illegible] tribe how [illegible] is planning [illegible] itself [illegible] rightly and [illegible] important [illegible] of true planning [illegible] following news-item [illegible] much [illegible] and might be [illegible] followed with profit by those who decide [illegible] country

Aruppukottai, June 9

Mr. [illegible] Chief Minister today gave an assurance [illegible] handloom weavers in the State that [illegible] be done by the Government to give [illegible] idea that if the question of rather [illegible] handlooms was put to vote he would [illegible] of the mill. He was also [illegible] Minister would endorse his view (*The Hindu*, June 10, P. 5)

10-6-53 M. P.

The Main Cause of War

Bertrand Russell in the course of an article with the caption "The Next Eighty Years" (*The Saturday Review*, August 9, 1952) says

> The first half of my life (1872-1912) was spent in an atmosphere of nineteenth-century optimism while the second half (1912-1952) has been spent in the era of great wars. In a large view great wars are an outcome of industrial competition between nations (The Italics are ours). Both wealth and military power depend upon industrial development, but a well-developed industrial technique, if it exists in many countries, produces more than the world can absorb and therefore leads to a cut-throat competition which is not conducted by the old orthodox economic methods but by fighting. If the world is to recover stability, it will be necessary that industrial development and production shall somehow be [illegible] rationally regulated and controlled, since a world of unrestricted national industrial freedom must inevitably continuance of the devastating wars that have [illegible] characterized this unhappy century.

V. G. D.

What's in a Name?

The Parson draws a "stipend,"
The Lawyer pockets "fees,"
The Banker adds up "interest,"
The Merchant "profit" sees
Shareholders cash their "dividends,"
The Landlord calls for "rent,"
The Statesman takes a "salary,"
To Royalty "grants" are sent
The Pirate seizes "booty,"
The Smugglers "plunder" lag,
Brigands demand a "ransom"
The Burglar collars "swag."
What's in a name? 'Tis all the same—
Obtained by law or stealth
But from the Workers' toil alone,
Comes every form of wealth

—A. E. Anderson

(*Industrial Worker*, 1910)

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THE FOUNDATION OF OUR AGRO-INDUSTRIAL ECONOMY

(*By C. Rajagopalachari*)

My convictions and policies are old and simple. This country must stand erect on the foundation of agriculture. Work on the land and the raising of food must be our principal concern. Then our most backward industry, namely cottage-weaving must be our next main concern. We must make the peasants happy and hopeful and sure of the fruits of their labour and we must fill the life of the weavers with hope and assurance of a market for their industry. Neither the weaver nor the peasant should be made to feel that he is treated as a thief or an unwanted man. If the zamindari system in land must go, the zamindari of textile production must also yield place to individual production. So, I began my administration with two things. I did not mind what others feared or doubted. I did not mind what the doctrinaires grimly threatened. I announced decontrol of food. It made farmers and peasants feel that they were free men. The laws of human endeavour and the motives that feed it cannot be ignored in a field that has little joy but demands much labour and patience in the task. So I said decontrol is the best grow more food programme.

Plight of Weavers

I declared war against mill *dhotis* and *sarees* and wanted the handloom products to be assured of an unhampered market in India. I do not wish to go into arguments now on this or expatiate on the reasons for my persistent demand for a ban on mills against *dhoti* and *saree* production. I feel that the resistance to my demand is unwise and in the result unpatriotic. My demand is not for a dying cause or for a few people, but on behalf of millions of honest and industrious men and for an industry on which twenty million souls depend. And the articles produced by these handloom weaving families are not inferior but in every respect superior to those produced in mills even as truth is superior to a mere show of honesty. It is a sin I say to buy a mill *dhoti* or a mill *saree* when you can buy and wear a handloom *dhoti* or a handloom *saree*. It is not politics or economics but human fellowship and compassion for the man and the woman and the sucking baby. The weavers know their craft and work hard and produce the best cloth in the world for you to wear. India consists of peasants and weavers. What is left for patriotism or politics if we do not feel for them? Do not turn the weaver away and go and buy a factory-made cloth.

(From a report of a speech in *The Hindu*, 24-5-53)

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THE CONTEST BETWEEN GOOD AND EVIL

After the prayer-meeting in the evening, the interested among the audience stay over to hear Vinoba's talk about various questions raised by the inquisitive. It all assumes the form of an *Jam darbar*, so to say to which all — the rich and the poor, the learned and the ignorant, have free access and where they can freely give vent to their doubts and have them cleared. At Vishrampur a friend asked, "How is it that in the contest between the forces of evil and the forces of good we often find the former dominating the latter?" It is a question which troubles most of us and especially those who are weak of faith and temperamentally pessimistic. Shri Vinoba gave a very illuminating reply to the question, which such of us will do well to ponder over.

He said that evil opposing good serves one very valuable purpose. It puts goodness to test. But if one keeps patient and goes on returning goodness in the face of evil, he will see that ultimately it is good which wins. Goodness to be effective should be allowed a real chance. The good must take care not to resort to evil out of impatience. The weapon of the good is goodness. And they can prove themselves strong only by using their own weapon. Of course one must have the patience to wait. Christ was crucified and killed. Outwardly it would appear as though he lost. But the world has forgotten the killers of Christ while Christ lives in countless human hearts. But you cannot hope to succeed in 15 minutes. The seed of goodness takes time to sprout up. Bhoodan is an outstanding example of the success of goodness. So far as the individual is concerned goodness has always won. We are now engaged on an experiment whether it can also win in the social sphere.

But for success in the social sphere on a social scale, we must organize goodness. What happens is that while the wicked organize and unite for serving evil, the good do not care to unite on the side of good. Bhoodan is now doing this. Charity has always been practised but only individually. We are now organizing it on a social scale and in the form of a country-wide movement with a view to resolving some of our problems. This was not attempted before. The good should throw in all their might for the success of this movement and for the triumph of good over evil.

Gaya, 23-5-'53 N D
(Adapted from Hindi)

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TRAINING FOR LEPROSY ORGANIZERS

Maharogi Seva Mandal Wardha, has started a Training Centre for lay workers at Dattapur Leprosy Home under the auspices of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi. They are to be trained in such a way that they should be able to organize and run a leprosy colony with medical help if available. But in case doctors are not available, the trained lay workers should be able to run colonies on approved lines. Applications are invited before 31st July, 1953 for being admitted to the third team of this class which will commence from 1st November, 1953.

Educational Qualification. Minimum qualification for admission is inter-science, inter-arts, or graduates of institutions recognized by the Indian Faculty of Medicine. Rural Medical Practitioners of Madhya Pradesh will also be admitted. Exceptions can be made in suitable cases by the Governing Body of the Maharogi Seva Mandal.

Age. Between 21 and 40 years. Exceptions to the age in special cases.

Other Requisites. Candidates must have humanitarian spirit of service, sincerity and devotion to such a type of work. The candidate may be of any sex but must be healthy and capable of undertaking pioneering organizational work.

Training Period. 12 months.

Medium of Instruction. Medical subjects with the help of English but non-Medical subjects will be taught in Hindi or Marathi.

Arrangements for Lodging and Boarding Stipends etc.

At present the number to be admitted will not be more than 10. Each candidate, selected to undergo the training will be given free quarters and a stipend of Rs 50 to Rs 100 per month according to the needs of the individual for twelve months. Boarding charges will have to be paid by the candidate.

The candidate will have to give a binding to serve for five years after training on a salary up to Rs 150 per month according to his merit.

Dattapur, Kushthadham
P. O. Nalwadi, Wardha

M. B. DIWAN
Secretary,
Maharogi Seva Mandal

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Objections against Bhoodan Yajna Answered

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HARIJAN

FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI
Editor MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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1629

THE THIRD TASK

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

While discussing the Bhoodan Yajna (*vide Harijan* June 20, 1953 p 125), I had briefly referred to the threefold 'process of a silent revolution that has set in in our country during the Gandhian era' And I described it as follows

(1) Late Shri Sardar Patel, through the device of the Instrument of Accession, roped in the Princely Order to surrender their titles in the larger interests and for the greater glory of the nation

2) Shri Vinoba has devised the Instrument of Bhoodan to settle the question of Zamindari and absentee landlordism.

3) And I had said that there remained the third task of resolving the question of capital concentration in a few private hands and for their own profit, and that we have to find out a peaceful way to reform this undesirable state of things also

How to fulfil this third task is one of the important questions that are before us The question is not new It is born of the Industrial Revolution in the West and is its chief worry today

A few socialists in the Indian National Congress during the thirties of this century, tried to put before us that capitalism was the cause of our slavery and that we should organize on socialist lines to give combat to foreign rule The issue was raised before its due time, it was as if in imitation of the Western peoples who were free and fought capitalist orders in their own countries on socialist lines In the context of our fight for national freedom, wherein all, including the so-called capitalists also, were equally interested and took part, it became almost meaningless and irrelevant; it could not really appeal to us it appeared more as an ideology being discussed almost as an academic subject That time is now passed We are now free as a people and we wish to rebuild what economy and social order the foreigners have left to us At such a time the question of concentration of capital in a few private hands, like that of the Zamindari or the concentration of ownership of land in a few hands, becomes important and demands solution now

However I may note in passing that it was not out of our sight altogether and it is not new in that sense My point is that the evil of capitalism, whatever existed then and which was irrelevant and quite secondary in the pre-freedom era, has now assumed primary importance and at a time when we are thinking and planning to rebuild India it becomes one of the chief things to be minded It has now its own urgency and importance

But one thing that must be noted here is that while in the highly industrialized and urbanized West capitalism is the evil No 1 in our country which is predominantly rural and agricultural, it is *an* evil — one among a few others I may say, it came to us as a legacy from our Western rulers It is to be found in what we have by way of mechanized industries in some of our big industrial cities However, it is a growing thing and assumes further strength from the fact that our planners today are of the mind to further industrialize our economy "In fact," as the Prime Minister said in Parliament when opening a debate on the Five-Year Plan 'we are trying to catch up as far as we can with the Industrial Revolution which came along years ago in Western countries and made great changes in the course of a century or more' (*vide Harijan* January 17, 1953 'Catching up the Industrial Revolution', p 398) Naturally, therefore, what the West is suffering from begins to be our lot also, and hence we are naturally called upon to mind it and find out what to do about it There is no ready-made remedy for it available from the ailing West They are groping in the dark themselves Therefore if we follow them, it would be like the blind following the blind

As I said before the question is not a new one to us Only the other day Shri Kripalani, while speaking on democracy, expressed it in the following words 'The root cause is the inequality of wealth and opportunity, created by the Industrial Revolution, based on centralized and mechanized big industry, in private hands"

And he defined its remedy as well He said, 'The only possible remedy therefore is to break up big business through socialized and co-operative enterprise and decentralised industry'.

[illegible] ing [illegible] wagon of local self-government [illegible] us

The chief thing therefore is how to [illegible] Where are the concrete ways and means of break[illegible] big business and securing devolution of power? As I said at the beginning this is the third task to which the leaders of the people have now to attend and find out a concrete way to fulfil it

The same question arises in another connection also Those who might have followed the discussion about Labour and Trade Union[illegible] by Shri Khandubhai Desai and Shri M P T Acharya in these columns * will have noted therefrom that the question that emerges from it is the same viz., how shall we implement the Gandhian doctrine of trusteeship for resolving the duality of the employer and the employee, which is at the root of modern money or cash economy? As Shri Acharya puts it in a letter to me "If the employer becomes a trustee he would simply be a worker contributing to productive labour, say as a manager Then the wage system which produces classes would have to disappear The clear division as classes is produced by the wage-system which is a system of civil war, as those who give wages have to make profits from the wage-earners It is the wage—and profit—system that drives the employers to be profit seeking They cannot avoid it because of the instrument they use The ownership and wage-system give the employer vantage-ground The question is not who owns factories and works, but who owns the products and who distributes them."

And in a capitalist order in which we are at present it is the employer who owns and distributes through the mechanism of modern finance and banking Therefore what we are required to do today is to frame policy and take effective and concrete steps accordingly on the economic and other plans and forge out a plan to realize the doctrine of trusteeship in actual practice This is the third task before us I shall discuss the matter further in another issue hereafter

25-6-'53

* *Vide Harijan*, 18-5-'53, p 82. 'Gandhian Labour Policy', *Harijan*, 13-6-53, p 117 'Capitalism and Trade Unionism', and *Harijan*, 20-6-'53 p 125 'Gandhian Labour Movement'

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HOW SHALL WE OCCUPY OURSELVES?

(By M J L)

[*The Interpreter*] is a monthly magazine published (except July and August) by the School of Living of America and edited by Mildred Jensen Loomis. The School was founded by Ralph Borsodi in 1934. It believes that the existence of poverty insecurity disease neurosis crime war and other social evils is at fundamentally a social education Hence the School stands for a crusade for personal and nation-wide re-education. It believes that true education for life lies in work that satisfies and gives joy to the whole man But modern technological civilization has changed this natural aspect of work and made man alone (a machine keeper or a machine tender) hunger ravenous for his spiritual and creative needs which he must satisfy to fulfil through leisure as apart from his work. This is the root cause of many social and individual [illegible] evils in modern society Being the most modern and [illegible] technological gains America seems to be the [illegible] victim thereof Hence the quest for a new way of life appears to come strongly to its inquiring soul. *The Interpreter* stands for this rediscovery of the true art of life which is shortly described by the Gita in the following verse

"From food springeth all life from rain is born food from यज्ञ—sacrifice comes rain and sacrifice is the result of Karma—action."

"Know that action springs from Brahman and Brahman from the Imperishable hence the all-pervading Brahman is ever firm founded on sacrifice

Together with यज्ञ—sacrifice did the Lord of Beings create of old mankind declaring by this shall ye increase (evolve and progress) may this be to you the giver of all your desires.

With this may you cherish the gods and may the gods cherish you thus cherishing one another may you attain the highest good (Chap 3—14 15 10 11)

The following article—Occupation—How Shall a Human Being Spend His Time?—from the *Interpreter* by its editor is a living commentary on these verses which give us the eternal law of life and work for man on earth It will remind the reader of Gandhiji's conception of Basic Education also

14-5-'53 M J L

How shall we organize our work play and rest in order that our capacities be granted fullest growth? What norms or principles can guide us to a human solution of the occupational problem?

How do you regard "work" and "play"? Do you distinguish sharply between them—do you agree with the Biblical dictum that man must "eat bread in the sweat of his brow"? Or do you look forward with Rexford Tugwell to the time when "the machine will completely abolish work"? Perhaps you join the millions who look upon work as "something one does for money," and feel that a good goal is to continually reduce the work and increase the money and the leisure in which to spend it.

Henry Ford I is reported to have said that he did not want his men to enjoy their work. He wanted them to do what the engineers laid out and he would pay them enough to buy a good time Some industrialists may have improved their attitude since his day, but a common "solution" for the "problem of work" is that we would shorten hours and raise pay. Many Marxists, Socialists, labour unionists and Technocrats have made that an almost universally unquestioned hope among office and factory workers But is that adequate? Would that fulfil

psycho physical an psycho-social

Satisfaction in Work

ol of Living defines work as that to fulfil our maintenance needs — and shelter Seeing how persistent d are those needs, we assume that around for a long time It won't most people to agree that work should me worker But what is satisfac- known people like the youth p opera scripts and says, I just hat not do anything else for the sly he is satisfied So we need a job enough reason for choosing a particular work pattern? Can wrong conditioning lead us to k

l satisfaction involves nk in the full sense — enjoy- s all aspects of the person in monious proportion Work that uses the body becomes drudgery But work uses the body not at all results in sluggish les and is likewise incomplete Work that ure the mind becomes monotonous es one "unfulfilled" and unsatisfied mind work it would seem, should involve the person — mind for the planning and de- will for deciding the purpose and choice and materials body for the executing object to this 'dividing' the person mind and will but for the purpose of it seems useful)

who work for themselves usually de- k pattern that permits a harmonious e person's capacities The craftsman, the farmer homesteader and all who duce their own maintenance needs e better opportunity for a completely se of their time

The Specialist

the specialist? The frustration in factory or office in their repeti- e operation is too well known to need dis- sion For the health and wellbeing of the kers it must be changed But what about the ofessional specialists like engineers doctors, eachers scientists or opera singers? They seem e useful in the kind of society we have created not there several aspects of the person — the physical and a chance to work me — which are transgressed by such

should we plan to eliminate the pro- l specialist? A blunt "yes" would me But in planning a good society, t be well to move toward less special- for than more? Instead of teaching and maiden that their highest 's a commercial specialists' job, be well to help them see that their or diversity, and that self-develop- real satisfaction are more probable in a own?

As we developed a society in which each person is more and more adequate to his own needs we would require fewer specialists A really healthy people could do with fewer doctors A people who naturally dance and sing at home could conceivably get along without many stage or TV performers Many farmers and country people are already their own engineers They might even be their own teachers and preachers

The other side of the picture is that specialists can add diversity to their own lives. After work hours", instead of turning to spectator recreation many are already joining the move to the small acreage homestead. This seems a nearly perfect "solution" for the necessary specialist There he, not to mention the wife and children — can work with nature and have a measure of integrated experience so often missing in his regular routine

A wise man once said that "since humanity came into being, man hath enjoyed himself too little" Do you think he was inviting us to "play" more or to develop a work-pattern in which we find real joy? Modern man has been very proud of the machine It may have reduced work, though some claim that unproved Has joy increased in our industrial age? Some, like Frederick Juenger, say that man and the machine are irreconcilable enemies But with or without the machine, that person has found a good solution to his occupational problem who can say with Thoreau ' I am convinced by experience that to maintain oneself on this earth is not a trial and a hardship but a sport and a quest"

How Far Is It True?

To

The Editor, *Harijan*

Dr Herbert Snow M D (London), says about sudden heart attacks

> Of recent years many men and women in the prime of life have dropped dead suddenly often after attending a wedding feast or banquet. I am convinced that some 80 per cent of these deaths from heart failure are caused by the vaccinations or inoculations they have undergone These are well known to cause grave and *permanent disease to the heart* The Coroner always hushes it up with Natural Causes I take the many deaths of prominent people from heart failure in the prime of life — which the papers are always reporting — to be merely a sequence of inoculation in some form or other Poor Lord Carnarvon of course died under the treatment." *(Health Review)*

Dr Hodwen, an eminent British doctor, says in an article entitled "The Fraud of Inoculation" published in the well-known London newspaper *Truth*

> According to a statement made by the Secretary of State for War in the House of Commons a sum of no less than £ 4 000 000 per annum was being paid in pensions to soldiers for heart disease At the present time 100 000 men are receiving pensions as compensation for heart troubles contracted during the war. I have come to the conclusion that the majority of these cases of functional and organic heart trouble are due wholly and solely to the inoculations forced upon the man

74, Wodehouse Road SORABJI R MISTRI
Colaba, Bombay

HARIJAN

July 4 1953

OBJECTIONS AGAINST BHOODAN YAJNA ANSWERED

(By Narhari Parikh)

The critics have from time to time urged several objections against the Bhoodan Yajna Movement They may be summarized as under

1 The Bhoodan Movement is a programme of rousing land gifts from the landowners for the landless While it brings honour and glory to the donor for his large-hearted philanthropy it has the effect of undermining the dignity and self respect of the landless [illegible] who receive lands Besides the donee cannot properly appreciate the value of the gift which comes to him without any effort on his part

2 It is not just to assume that the whole class of landowners are sinners and need to do penance to absolve themselves of the wrongs done

3 The average agricultural production in our country as compared with that in other countries is very low Our immediate aim therefore, should be to adopt improved agricultural methods and increase the yield The Bhoodan Movement not only does not take cognizance of this important aspect of our land-problem but may also lead to a further decline in the yield for the following reasons

4 It will result in an increase in the fragmentation of land and hamper the process of consolidation of holdings

5 The landless peasants who will get land gift may prove very ignorant and irresponsible cultivators for the simple reason that being landless they have had no experience of cultivation as owners of land Apart from lack of necessary knowledge and experience they will also be without the wherewithal — bullocks tools and implements, and requisite capital.

6 The movement will lead to an increase in the number of small holders What we need for raising our agricultural output is co-operative or collective cultivation The division of land among an increasing number of small holders will present difficulties in the way of collective cultivation if and when it is attempted to be brought about.

7 The Bhoodan Movement is essentially non-violent and therefore voluntary It will therefore succeed only in those parts of the country where there is abundance of land and where the land is of low quality The movement gets greater response in regions where the land-problem is not acute But where there is scarcity of land and keen rivalry between the landowners and tenants for its possession, it fails to rouse any appreciable enthusiasm

8 The difficulties which the various States are experiencing at present in solving the land problem do not arise from the landlessness of the peasants The real difficulty is that of training them in improved methods of agriculture and of providing them with the wherewithal — the bullocks and ploughs etc The fact that our villagers prefer to go to places far away from their homes in search of labour rather than do cultivation-work on lands which is made available to them by the Government is a clear evidence of this situation

9. No attention seems to have been paid to the need of determining the size of the holding which a family would require to become self-sufficient. There is also no provision for meeting the increased needs consequent upon the increase in the family It looks [illegible] prescribing for a serious [illegible] in consequence

10 The [illegible] consolidation of land has to proceed simultaneously [illegible] two different lines first, the tillers should be enabled to own the land, and next methods of agriculture must be improved and the output increased This Bhoodan Movement has not indicated so far how it is going to reconcile these two different needs under the changing conditions of today

11 The existing economic structure is not helpful to the Bhoodan Movement The land donated to the landless would be mostly uneconomic and unprofitable from the economic point of view They will therefore soon become debtors Then in order to pay off the interest on their debts and the rent on their lands they will be compelled to grow commercial crops Even if they grow food-crops they will have to sell the produce Hence the ownership of land will land them in greater economic difficulties. By comparison they are better off in their present position of wage-earners

All these objections surely deserve consideration But if one has a proper appreciation of the outlook and ideology behind the Bhoodan Yajna one will not have any difficulty in pointing out where they go wrong I will therefore try to explain this ideology

The Bhoodan Movement though humanitarian in its appeal, does not beg for mercy to the landless The landowners are told in very clear terms leaving no room for any doubt on this point that it is their duty to allot a due portion of their lands to the landless and that if they would take a long view of it it is also in their own interest It is also made clear that there is no such idea behind this movement that the rich are wicked and vicious and the poor are virtuous and high-minded Many landowners are very good men individually and many among the landless may be very wicked individually The injustice lies in the prevailing economic order We have to remove this injustice and create an equitable order so that each member of the society may be enabled to live happily and peacefully This is shortly the aim of the Bhoodan Movement

As to the need for increasing the agricultural production the movement fully accepts it But there is nothing to show that large-scale cultivation either collective or co-operative or under private ownership, is bound to result in increased production On the contrary, many agricultural experts even in the West have veered round to the view that small scale cultivation is superior to large scale one in that the former permits better care being bestowed on land and the crops It is true that the present trend of opinion in our country favours co operative farming But I should like to say that there is need for great discrimination in this matter

The co-operative or the collective system of cultivation requires the peasant to work as labourer under the guidance and supervision of the management. How far this kind of farming can improve our agriculture is a question which has to be considered very seriously In the first place, it is doubtful if the cultivator will show the same sense of responsibility and devotion to work

[illegible] collective cultivation as he does [illegible] own land This will come about [illegible] received a high degree of moral [illegible] The change may very well come in [illegible] if we can jump over to it all at once today To take the example of Gujarat The limited number of co-operatives which have been working here have not shown any appreciable success in this respect Of course I do not suggest that agricultural co-operatives are useless and should not be formed at all But it is clear that for some time to come co-operation will have to be very limited in its scope For example co operation can be easily and quite profitably undertaken in regard to the bullocks for tilling the fields the procurement of good quality seeds protection of the harvest from birds and animals, marketing of the produce, and purchasing of goods and such other things But so far as the actual agricultural operations are concerned the peasant families will do well to do it separately themselves

The transformation of the landless into land holders will certainly increase the number of small holdings But the disadvantages inherent in small-scale cultivation can be successfully avoided if they agree to work on the basis of co-operation in such things as are stated above

There is a great deal of talk about economic and uneconomic holdings A holding which would suffice to maintain a family of five or six members comfortably and which can be tilled by a pair of bullocks would be regarded as economic But if we were to divide the cultivable land available in our country equally among all those who depend on land for their livelihood, the share each family would get would be less than an economic holding We have not enough cultivable land for that It is therefore proposed to reduce the number of those living on land and transfer the rest to other industries But this would not be right from the point of view either of the improvement of our agriculture or the all-round development of our rural population There is another difficulty in this If a large number of those who are at present engaged in agriculture are absorbed in other industries on a permanent basis and are therefore required to leave the villages to go to live in the cities then there would be a grave shortage of labour in the villages in the agricultural season And if as is suggested we take to the use of machine to overcome this difficulty, the remedy would prove worse than the disease It would introduce capitalism even in the sphere of agriculture Besides it is impossible to give effect to all these fanciful suggestions in full measure Even their partial application will result in greatly increased unemployment

Secondly, if an individual remains fully occupied in agricultural work alone some of his vital urges remain unfulfilled He does not find any scope for expressing and developing either the skill of the hand or the subtlety of his in- [illegible] achieved however, if agri- [illegible] handicrafts Therefore a better [illegible] integrate agriculture with [illegible] family will not only work [illegible] time in industries It [illegible] not only handicrafts and [illegible] be combined with agri- [illegible]

[illegible] with agriculture is [illegible] villages It is good but we [illegible] peasants to keep cows [illegible] The cow has an advantage [illegible] that she provides bullocks [illegible] milk and ghee Among other industries Khadi *gharu* and gur making may be regarded as principal ones Therefore instead of aiming at agriculture as an occupation calculated to provide the needs of the cultivator by itself we should encourage the idea of joining agriculture to cow keeping Khadi and other suitable village industries This will give a better and more dependable means of livelihood to the peasants Integration of agriculture with cottage industries and adoption of co-operation in some of the agricultural operations is thus the way to avoid the disadvantages of small-scale cultiva- [illegible] and to secure all its advantages

About alleged ignorance and want of sense of responsibility among the land labourers, whom Bhoodan seeks to invest with land, it should be remembered that it is these labourers who perform all the agricultural operations today and they know how to do them well. Only they do not know what to do when Besides, they also lack responsibility The number of these landless labourers is about 8 to 9 crores i e more than a crore and half families That such a huge part of our population should be poor and helpless and devoid of a sense of responsibility is a grave danger to the nation If the injustice which it involves, is not removed speedily the security of the entire society may be put in jeopardy Not only justice therefore but also the peace and security of the country demand that we make them responsible members of the society by giving them lands even at the risk of the supposed decline in agricultural output In fact however there is no fear of any decline in the agricultural output It is merely a bogus cry raised by vested interests who want to preserve the *status quo* and who stand to lose by this change The society should shoulder the responsibility of educating the families who receive lands Along with land they should also be provided with necessary wherewithal and trained in handicrafts and village industries. If this responsibility is properly discharged the production may rather increase than decrease Several constructive workers are still undecided about their duty with regard to the Bhoodan work They should realize that Bhoodan is a very comprehensive programme and they will have in it scope for doing all that they may want to do That is

[illegible] and devote themselves to the Bhoodan [illegible] Our hope for enlivening Gandhian constructive programme depends on the [illegible] the Bhoodan Movement It is only by intensive constructive activity with agriculture [illegible] shall march forward on our way towards [illegible] of a non violent society

I [illegible] now consider objection No 11 The [illegible] this objection is largely covered by what I have been stated above Yet I will further [illegible] at the risk of repetition The Bhoodan Movement [illegible] not merely a programme of the reformers mind It is a vast revolutionary movement [illegible] at the reorganization of the entire [illegible] set up We will be missing the whole [illegible] of this work if we overlook its [illegible] and potentiality and discuss its pros and [illegible] on the assumption that the present economic order will remain as it is Shri Vinoba has called this activity by the name of a Yajna This word is highly significant It denotes that the movement aims at a complete social and economic revolution on the basis of non violence The Bhoodan workers have to realize this well They have to remember that they are engaged in the holiest important task of working out this revolution with the help of the landless who are [illegible] lands Their progress in the direction of this revolution will be the measure and the test of their success

It is only that the movement receives response only where the land is of low quality and cheap merely because ignorance on the part of the critics In Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, in many [illegible] a *bigha* of land costs anything from one [illegible] thousand rupees or even more. Zamindars and small landholders even in these parts have given it freely from their possessions to their landless brothers It shows that the revolution has touched their hearts and transformed their minds They have realized that it is unjust to remain in possession of land and profit by it without putting in any labour and that there is danger in keeping the real tillers dispossessed of the land for any longer

There is one thing more which we shall do well to remember It does not appear that the world would at any time reach the stage when evil would have been finally wiped out from its face. It is a characteristic of the world process that while we attempt to remove an evil, newer forms of evil continue to arise either from the attempt itself or otherwise There is nothing like a permanent solution of our problems here Just as though we bathe every day yet the body continues to get dirty in the same way, however thoroughly we may reform the society, it would continue to need constant care and attention We may solve the land problem in its present [illegible] hardly be expected [illegible] one [illegible] again present itself in future in other [illegible] But we should not worry about it People in those times will find appropriate solutions for their problems Nothing endures in this world for very long Had it been otherwise the world would have been changed into the heaven [illegible] our own desire long ago and there would have been nothing left for us like the gods [illegible] drink nectar and enjoy a perpetual holiday But a thinking man would regard a state like this — even if it were possible — as good and desirable It leaves no room for adventure for daring and doing things

Shri Vinoba has found out for us the infallible remedy of the great malady of our times after long and deep meditation The exposition of the subject that I have attempted above will show that the Bhoodan solution of our problems is not the prescription of a quack

(From Gujarati)

Bhoodan Figures

(Upto 20th June 1953)

S. N.	Name of the Province	Land Collections Acres
1	Assam	1 312
2	Andhra	7 097
3	Orissa	7 793
4	Uttar Pradesh	4 70 218
5	Karnatak	673
6	Kerala	3 800
7	Gujarat	2,501
8	Tamilnad	8 498
9	Delhi	1 121
10	Punjab & Pepsu	1 719
11	Bengal	203
12	Bombay City	—
13	Bihar	7 87 292
14	Madhya Pradesh	31 005
15	Madhya Bharat	2 491
16	Maharashtra	7 871
17	Mysore	694
18	Rajasthan	23 597
19	Vindhya Pradesh	2 382
20	Saurashtra	3,000
21	Himachal Pradesh	1 206
22	Hyderabad	75,870
	Total	14 44 088
	Total Land Distributed	29,030

Sevagram

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GANDHIAN ORGANIZATIONS IN AMERICA

(By Douglas Kelley)

It takes the newcomer to India quite some time to learn the purposes and functions of each of the various constructive organizations here Judging from the questions my wife and I have been asked since we came to India in January Indians have even more difficulty — and understandably so — in making sense out of the [illegible] collection of American organizations they [illegible] usually hear about I have been asked, therefore to briefly explain the various U S organizations [illegible] most interest to Gandhians in India

[illegible] should be made clear that since Gandhiji [illegible] visited America and since various aspects [illegible] in programme appeal to interested [illegible] in varying degrees there is no single [illegible] organization in the U S The organization which comes closest to being so in the [illegible] opinion is the Quaker service agency *Friends Service Committee* [illegible] varied programme (including [illegible] of excellent work to promote better [illegible] to end discrimination inter- [illegible] camps and overseas recon- [illegible] winning more and more [illegible] among thoughtful [illegible]

[illegible] American organizations [illegible] two aspects of the [illegible] into four categories those [illegible] with — 1 Non violence 2 Decentralization Abolition of Caste Discrimination and [illegible] Constructive Work

1 Non-violence

Fellowship of Reconciliation (F O R.), [illegible] is organized in other countries as [illegible] the U S is the backbone of the U S [illegible] movement Its pacifist education con- [illegible] largely in the Christian ministers who [illegible] large proportion of its membership, [illegible] pacifist ideal alive in America

[illegible] *Resisters League* also organized in [illegible] Europe and the U S, is less religious than the F O R in the nature of its opposition to war Each of these groups has a few thousand members

The *Peacemakers* are a smaller group of 100 per cent " pacifists who counsel even refusing to register with the authorities for possible military service

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom founded by the famous social worker, Jane Adams, is especially strong among Quaker women, and carries on educational work of an internationalist and pacifist nature

2 Decentralization

Unfortunately, even though conservative politicians did much agitating against " centralization in Washington ' during the New Deal Era of Roosevelt and Truman, few Americans take an active interest in practical measure to encourage decentralization of economic and political power The co-operative movement is an out- [illegible] in India [illegible] the city consumers co-operative [illegible] which belong to the *Co-operative League* [illegible] A [illegible] are a real force for decentralization [illegible] also take considerable interest in the [illegible] movement in Asia

Dr Arthur Morgan the former [illegible] T V A whom readers will remember [illegible] member of the Commission on Higher Education [illegible] India is now in charge of *Community* [illegible] *Inc* which attempts to stimulate a [illegible] rural communities in America and publishes literature expressing the decentralist point of view

The Federation of International Communities a new organization of persons [illegible] in various experimental co-operative communities ' in America and elsewhere is interested in contacting co-operative communities and *ashrams* in India.

3 Abolition of Caste Discrimination

India's caste problem has a close parallel in America's problem of racial discrimination Much more work against discrimination is being done than most friends overseas realize, and progress is being made The largest of the many anti discrimination organizations is the *National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People*, with over a million members of all races Its technique is largely resort to the courts, however whereas the much smaller but very active *Congress of Racial Equality* (C O R E) is doing an excellent job of using Satyagraha in eliminating discrimination, and in its statements and literature clearly characterizes itself as Gandhian. C O R E has active local groups in several major cities and among university students One example of the technique it uses If a restaurant refuses to serve Negroes and the manager refuses in negotiations to change his policy a group of C O R E members of both races enter the restaurant and occupy seats as they become vacant They quietly wait for service, even for hours, and in literature distributed to onlookers explain what they are doing Victories are being won in this manner

4. Rural Constructive Work

America's problems of rural development are rather different from India's For although educational and health services in rural areas of the U S tend to lag behind those of the cities neither mass illiteracy nor serious underemployment are problems There are a number of organizations concerned in one way or another with some phase of what might be termed 'constructive work' in rural America, but no general organization of rural constructive workers such as the Sarva Seva Sangh exists in the U S

An increasing number of idealistic young Americans, however, are becoming interested in the possibility of joining in rural constructive work in other countries They are coming to feel,

any of [illegible] ting work [illegible] the village o[illegible] sou[illegible]

The Int[illegible]pment Placement Association [illegible] been established for the purpose [illegible] qualified of these [illegible] out (many as volunteers [illegible] employees) to [illegible] with [illegible] tions overseas [illegible] from the local [illegible] and get their hands dirty [illegible] cases they will stay for [illegible] Many are trained as teachers [illegible] nurses doctors and nurses [illegible]

Attr[illegible] are now being made for a number of [illegible] young volunteers to come to work with Gandhian organizations in India Many leaders of the [illegible] will have met Miss Pat McMahon the I D P A s first volunteer in India in the course of her walking with Vinobaji. Two others social workers Bill and Eloise Rowe have arrived at Sevagram and a young medical doctor and his wife a medical technician are expected at Sevagram later this year (The writer of this article and his wife though representing the I D P A are at Sevagram only for a short time in preparation for work in East Africa)

Gandhian institutions interested in receiving young American volunteer workers are invited to write to the International Development Placement Association 1841 Broadway, New York City, or to E W and Ashadevi Aryanayakam, at Sevagram.

DR SHYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

Bengal s great and valiant patriot, Dr Shyamaprasad Mookerjee died suddenly in the early hours of the morning of June 23 under very distressing circumstances which makes his sudden end especially poignant For some months past he had been as the leader of Jan Sangh, fiercely opposing the policy of the Government in regard to Kashmir For this purpose, he had also gone on a tour of the country some time ago and had asked the people even to offer Satyagraha in support of the movement which his party had launched on this issue In the end he himself jumped into it He went to Kashmir defying the ban on his entry into that State and was put under detention There while still undergoing detention he fell ill and after only a few days of illness in the hospital to which he had been removed for treatment, he passed away at the age of 52 only In the death of this illustrious son of an illustrious father Bengal and India have lost an erudite educationist and a leader and a patriot of a very high order His politics was different, but the qualities of courage and independence which he brought to bear on it had [illegible] gent [illegible] 1947, h[illegible] first G[illegible] in [illegible] discharged it with [illegible] he was a rare orator and debater [illegible] nths ago, I had the good fortune to he[illegible] in Hindi on the Chaupati grounds in Bo[illegible] That he chose to speak in Hindi and the fl[illegible] simplicity of his Hindi made on me a deep [illegible] about his great love for the country and the capacity of Hindi as the national language [illegible] 1947 with the developments in the political life of the country, it appeared that his outlook was getting Hindustic He relinquished his office in the Government and set up a party of opposition However his ringing declaration that whatever his differences of outlook and policy with the Government in regard to the Kashmir issue in the event of invasion of India by a foreign power he will forget them all and fight for the defence of the motherland by the side of the Government, — this will be ever remembered by the Indian people as bearing eloquent testimony to his great love for the country Shri Mookerjee's politics provides an object lesson of the great truth that opposition against the ruling party may well be based on honest differences but it cannot be treason against the country This is his valuable gift to us Shri Shyamaprasad Mookerjee will have an abiding place in the galaxy of our great patriots May the fragrance of his noble life continue to inspire us to good deeds

(From Gujarati)

28-6-'53

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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GOD AS TRUTH

(By Gandhiji)

You have asked me why I consider that God is Truth. In my early youth I was taught to repeat what in Hindu scriptures are known as one thousand names of God. But these one thousand names of God were by no means exhaustive. We believe — and I think it is the truth — that God has as many names as there [illegible] and therefore we also say that God is nameless and since God has many forms we also speak Him formless and since He speaks to us through many tongues we consider Him to be speechless and so on. And when I came to study Islam I found that Islam too has many names for God. I would say with those who say God is Love. God is Love. But deep down in me I feel it to be true that though God may be God. God is Truth and all. If it is possible for the human intellect even the fullest description I have [illegible] conclusion that for myself God is Truth. [illegible] years ago I went a step further and said Truth is God. You will see the fine difference between the two statements viz. that God is Truth and Truth is God. And I came to that conclusion after a continuous and relentless search which began nearly fifty years ago. I have reached that the nearest approach to Truth [illegible] Truth. But I also found that [illegible] meanings in the English language [illegible] human love in the sense of [illegible] offending thing also. I found [illegible] the sense of *ahimsa* had [illegible] difficulties in the world. But [illegible] meaning in connection with Truth [illegible] atheists had [illegible] power of truth. But in the [illegible] Truth the atheists have not [illegible] the very existence of God — [illegible] of view rightly. And it was because [illegible] that I saw that rather than [illegible] I should say Truth is God. I [illegible] Charles Bradlaugh who delight[illegible] atheist but knowing [illegible] I would never regard him as [illegible] call him a God fearing man. [illegible] he would reject the claim. His [illegible] if I would say "Mr. Bradlaugh [illegible] God-fearing man and not a God-fearing man" I would automatically disarm his criticism by saying that Truth is God, as I have disarmed the criticism of many a young man. Add to this the difficulty that millions have taken the name of God and in His name committed nameless atrocities. Not that scientists very often do not commit cruelties in the name of truth. I know how in the name of truth and science inhuman cruelties are perpetrated on animals when men perform vivisection. There are thus a number of difficulties in the way no matter how you describe God. But the human mind is a limited thing, and you have to labour under limitations when you think of a being or entity who is beyond the power of man to grasp. And when we have another thing in Hindu philosophy viz. God alone is and nothing else exists and the same truth you find emphasized in the *Kalma* of Islam. There you find it clearly stated — that God alone is and nothing else exists. In fact the Sanskrit word for Truth is a word which literally means that which exists — *Sat*. For these and several other reasons that I can give you I have come to the conclusion that the definition — Truth is God — gives me the greatest satisfaction. And when you want to find Truth as God the only inevitable means is Love i.e. non-violence and since I believe that ultimately means and end are convertible terms I should not hesitate to say that God is Love.

What then is Truth?

A difficult question but I have solved it for myself by saying that it is what the voice within tells you. How then you ask different people think of different and contrary truths? Well seeing that the human mind works through innumerable media and that the evolution of the human mind is not the same for all it follows that what may be truth for one may be untruth for another and hence those who have made experiments have come to the conclusion that there are certain conditions to be observed in making those experiments. Just as for conducting scientific experiments there is an indispensable scientific course of instruction, in the same way strict preliminary discipline is necessary to qualify a person to make experiments in the spiritual realm. Everyone should, therefore,

realize his limitations b[illegible] the dictates of his inner voice Therefore, we have the belief based upon experience, that those who would make individual search after truth as God, must go through several vows, as for instance, the vow of truth, the vow of *brahmacharya* (purity), for you cannot possibly divide your love for Truth and God with anything else — the vow of non-violence of poverty and non-possession Unless you impose on yourselves the five vows, you may not embark on the experiment at all. There are several other conditions prescribed but I must not take you through all of them Suffice it to say that those who have made these experiments know that it is not proper for everyone to claim to hear the voice of conscience, and it is because we have at the present moment everyone claiming the right of conscience without going through any discipline whatsoever that there is much untruth being delivered to a bewildered world. All that I can in true humility present to you is that truth is not to be found by anybody who has not got an abundant sense of humility If you would swim on the bosom of the ocean of Truth you must reduce yourselves to a zero Further than this I cannot go along this fascinating path

Young India 31 12 31

MAN AND THE MACHINE *

(*By Wilfred Wellock*)

Work is a human necessity From the moment of his emergence on this planet man has lived and developed by hard work by ingenuity and invention and when these have declined he and his life have declined To yield to ease and luxury is usually the prelude to the fall of man

Thought and action ideas and their application are the means whereby civilizations come into being and thrive Science art religion philosophy, all appear in due order to play their part in man's evolution The totality of this evolution is work made manifest

Work has five primary functions to earn one's bread and the wherewithal to a full life to develop all one's powers — of perception and understanding, of skill creation achievement, including personal wholeness to discover the laws of nature and the art of living to make one's maximum contribution to the wellbeing of the community and thereby win the right to enjoy the fruits of others' labour, and a rich harvest of fellowship, to learn the art, and the values of co-operation

Work in its fullest content therefore acts like social cement in the cultivation of a rich matrix of community relationships

Our age has made the tragic mistake of equating abundant life with abundant possessions or what it calls high standards of living In conse-

[illegible] the [illegible] human [illegible] [illegible] are h[illegible] makers' [illegible] them are [illegible] thus inglorious [illegible] along is t[illegible] [illegible] tion human [illegible] level Th[illegible] [illegible] is to our shame

Criminologists are increasi[illegible] the conclusion that repetitive in[illegible] cesses are one of the chief causes [illegible] Two Swiss professors in criminol[illegible] hygiene stated in an article whi[illegible] the first issue of the *British J[illegible] quency* that a

> serious source of aggression [illegible] of many who are caught up by m[illegible] production particularly workers [illegible] along [illegible] yor lines where it is almost [illegible] for a human being to sublimate and [illegible] love and aggressiveness by [illegible] starvation the desire for real life [illegible] substitutes with Hollywood film [illegible] crime stories

Experiments have proved [illegible] one of the best means of rehabilitating mind cramped and mind wrecked human beings is creative occupation such as handicrafts

Modern industry may make profits and quantity of goods but it unmakes men dwarf their minds and cramps their spirits while people who do not work creatively usually [illegible] by getting their pleasures on tap On the other hand men who work creatively [illegible] their leisure creatively Every modern Dictator knows that when life is reduced to mechanistic and monetary terms mass power and money and not the freedoms of democracy determine the politics of the mass-man

Vocationalism is the supreme means of developing the genius of a community of raising the quality of its life and developing a valid democracy Under vocationalism creative genius reaches its greatest perfection and society its maximum stability

* Adapted from *The Orchard Lea Papers* No 8

[illegible]

NOTES

An Obviously Good Activity

Shri Rajagopalachari in an article for the N P S India replies to those who in and out of season proclaim that Prohibition is a failure specially because of illicit distillation He says

[illegible] cannot hope for complete success all at once in prohibition when we have had the devastating system of public drinking shops for a hundred years past [illegible] But those who claim that because of illicit [illegible] the whole adventure must be taken to have failed [illegible] exaggerating Has crime ceased to be ? No [illegible] Penal Code must remain

[illegible] immediately benefit from State Prohibition [illegible] the villages will feel and whatever the [illegible] may say

[illegible] begin to realize that prohibition is an [illegible] good activity It is a moral social and [illegible] revolution undertaken by free India [illegible] people

M P

A Big Gamble *

[illegible] of examinations and competitions [illegible] were all a big gamble Those who [illegible] got angry They were also not [illegible] job once they got it After getting [illegible] to go up and up and if they [illegible] they were worried That [illegible] was not among the masses [illegible] But people might [illegible] complete advancement ' ' He [illegible] other countries had pro[illegible] they did not attach too much [illegible] Government jobs Each one did [illegible] own sphere

[illegible] and Drink

[illegible] in a Bombay Paper had the [illegible] declare that Hinduism 'regards [illegible] favour' But as a matter of fact [illegible] found in the Rigveda (VII 86 6) [illegible] thing as one of the causes of sin [illegible] lust it figures as one of the [illegible] in *Maitrayani Samhita* (III 6-3) [illegible] Upanishad (V 10-9) looks upon [illegible] as wickedness to Brahman[illegible] (XI 34) also places it in the cate[illegible] [illegible] And Brihaspati goes so far [illegible] man who drinks can be purified only if he pours red-hot wine down his own throat Maddened by drink the Yadavas, Krishna's clansmen fought among themselves and perished to a man.

The Columnist is equally in error as regards Christianity Solomon remarks that wine biteth like a serpent and stingeth like an adder (Proverbs 23 32) Cardinal Mercier similarly testifies that alcohol kills more men than war and kills them in a dishonourable manner

V G D

* [illegible] Rajagopalachari's speech at Thakkar Bapa Vidyalaya Ilangavanagar Madras *The Hindu* June 20 1953.

Encouragement of Hand-pounded Rice *

An immediate ban on the huller type of rice pounding mills was demanded in one of the resolutions passed at the third meeting of the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board held in Bombay in May 1953 The resolution also demanded that there should be no further increase in the number and capacity of sheller mills Why this ban on huller mills is a legitimate question and the reply is not far to seek The huller mill is in the opinion of the Food Ministry a destructive type of equipment for milling particularly raw rice

The output of the whole grain is low lower by 7 to 12 per cent than that of the sheller and the hand process The nutritive value is also less because there is loss of bran The power consumption by a huller mill is higher by cent per cent than by the sheller mill. There is thus wastage of electric power also. The bran produced by huller mill is also not in a pure form It contains broken paddy husk and other fibrous matter with great admixture of silica This bran is harmful to cattle and is, therefore consumed as fuel by the rice mills This means that the huller type mills are a permanent handicap and reduce food quantities of the country either for human food or for cattle feed*

The Ministry of Food has been pressing upon State Governments to eliminate the huller type of rice mills

In fact unlike the other cottage industries, the rice pounding industry in hand has survived to a great extent and till recently continued to handle practically three-fourths of the paddy processed It was only during the period of controls and procurement of paddy by Government for rationing purposes that the mill quota has gone up to 40 per cent of the paddy processed the remaining 60 per cent being still hand processed Action of Government therefore was directly or indirectly responsible for the recent increase of rice mills This has worked against the hand pounding industry This can be remedied by the State Governments by refusing to give procured rice paddy for milling by the huller or sheller rice mills.

The hand pounding industry is a natural adjunct to the agricultural processes Hand-pounded rice is tasteful and nutritious the hand pounders get wages in kind the agriculturist prefers selling husked rice to selling paddy for it gives his cattle bran, and the women folk work. It is for all these reasons that the Board has urged the restriction of the number of sheller mills to their present strength Till the hand pounders get the work taken away from them by the 1,100 huller mills

The Board has in hand the designing of introduction of improved methods of hand processing paddy It expects to extend the use of paddy husking *chakkis* Attempts at organizing societies for delusking of paddy are also part of the programme The problem is being tackled from all viewpoints and the placing of a ban on hullers and the imposing of restriction on the introduction and extension of rice mills is only one part of the programme.

* From the Bulletin issued by the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board.

HARIJAN

July 11 1953

ABSENTEE SHARE-HOLDING

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

[illegible] spondent catches up a hint contained [illegible] Amenities to Workers' (*Hari*[illegible] [illegible] 132) viz. The political p[illegible] [illegible] on workers should apply their minds [illegible] a way that will restore labour as [illegible] with capital which is today the sole [illegible] industries both in law and practice [illegible] L[illegible] and capital should be joint [illegible] the evil of absentee capital owning [illegible] must go. And he writes how [illegible] He says

> [illegible] Amenities to Workers. In the [illegible] the last para shows [illegible] the right but it should go to [illegible] ers by [illegible] The worker instead [illegible] paid Bonus [illegible] should be paid in Shares [illegible] the existing [illegible] so amended that a [illegible] service satisfactorily [illegible] He will own [illegible] and will be getting good [illegible] after retirement [illegible] will turn the ownership from [illegible] to actual workers a greater respon[illegible] placed on the shoulders of the workers."

[illegible] that this was the very thing [illegible] when I wrote the above-mentioned [illegible] said at the end of that article [illegible] the idea further by citing an in[illegible]

[illegible] Bombay tenancy legislation is [illegible] that along with the owner [illegible] the *Khatedar* under the Raiyat[illegible] who works on it as a tenant has [illegible] the former has [illegible] right under law, which is in [illegible] element of the economy, the [illegible] wealth and gives value to [illegible] the proprietory right is [illegible] any economic content [illegible] mere legal trick evolved [illegible] prevalent today, filling [illegible] reality without which the legal [illegible] no meaning and significance [illegible] name of social justice the actual [illegible] must have certain specific [illegible] The Bombay Legislature is [illegible] laws on this fundamental [illegible]

[illegible] the principle to industrial rela[illegible] come to?

[illegible] on the strength of his [illegible] the know how of an in[illegible] by the trick of floating a [illegible] invests money so obtained to [illegible] and in the name of the share[illegible] wins it by a legal fiction under [illegible] Surely [illegible] nomy [illegible] wealth by [illegible] told us [illegible] if the [illegible] on of [illegible] must [illegible] that [illegible] the sh[illegible] though they [illegible] the actual [illegible] absentee land[illegible] absentee capital[illegible]

[illegible] surplus capital to [illegible] secure unearned [illegible] This is a very big qu[illegible] with saying [illegible] capital or surplus [illegible] things to society [illegible] back for produc[illegible] and a national [illegible] it may himself use [illegible] otherwise he [illegible] should all be own[illegible] allow as inte[illegible] nomy of the [illegible] But in no [illegible] entee share[illegible] to secure healthy [illegible]

[illegible] who also [illegible] labour but who, [illegible] the [illegible] legal recognition [illegible] share holders [illegible] narchy of employer and employee [illegible] system complicating our industrial [illegible] loading the dices in favour of the [illegible] the capital-owners. This chain [illegible] must be removed by legislation. The [illegible] laws viewed from this point of [illegible] industrial age when indus[illegible] led and the devil was free to [illegible] That age is now passing away [illegible] of its birth, viz. Europe [illegible] but shun it as an anachronism [illegible] self to make a fundamental [illegible] inaugurating a new approach which [illegible] both capital and labour should in [illegible] owners of industry legislation [illegible] amended accordingly. The industrial [illegible] economy must be tackled on [illegible] plan of work should be prepared by [illegible] overnment and labour organisations.

4-7-53

TRULY CHRISTIAN

Mookerjee the Governor of West Bengal [illegible] his loved Gandhiji and his work [illegible] keep in touch with the Navajivan which [illegible] writings He often corresponds with [illegible] ious topics His recent letter dated [illegible] the Manager Shri Jivanji Desai is [illegible] relies of the readers specially at a [illegible] Indians are discussing conversion etc [illegible] that we should never wish that any [illegible] but our innermost prayer should [illegible] be a better Hindu a Muslim a [illegible] Christian a better Christian' Like [illegible] Dr Mookerjee a Christianity also [illegible] in a similar way as can be learnt [illegible] Jivanji Desai reproduced below

M P I

15th June 1953

[illegible] Jivanji Desai

[illegible] herewith a copy of the [illegible] Gita containing the original [illegible] together with a Nepali translation [illegible]

[illegible] translation of the Nepali Gita was the [illegible] result of [illegible] I observed that at Darjeeling, Kurseong and Kalimpong during my visit in October last year in the Darjeeling district of West Bengal

To my deep and grief I found that many Nepalis who [illegible] themselves as Hindus are [illegible] of practices abhorrent not merely to Hindu but [illegible] a Christian in the third generation like myself

The thought therefore came to me that it was my duty to provide the Nepali hillmen with [illegible] scripture in their most concentrated form [illegible] in the Srimat Bhagwat Gita

[illegible] the matter up with certain business-[illegible] Darjeeling Kurseong Kalimpong and [illegible] to have settled in these places and [illegible] to them to provide me with funds to [illegible] edition of the Gita in Nepali Later [illegible] approached four big businessmen of [illegible] and succeeded in collecting altogether [illegible]

[illegible] approached Sir Paul Benthall, who [illegible] to England and who was the [illegible] Director of the Titaghur Paper Mills, [illegible] all the paper required for the Nepali [illegible] concession rate. He not only agreed to [illegible] manufactured a specially tough kind of [illegible] calculated to stand hard wear and tear

[illegible] Dharam Dhar Sharma M A B T an [illegible] of the Central Hindu College, [illegible] who has just retired from Government [illegible] and who moreover is himself a Nepali [illegible] supplied the translation and corrected the [illegible]

[illegible] copies were printed the cost per copy [illegible] nearly 10 annas My plan is to sell each [illegible] at five annas, of which one anna will be [illegible] by the bookseller as commission and four annas will come back to the original fund

You will no doubt be pleased to hear that already 7 000 copies have been taken by different booksellers and I have every confidence that the rest will be sold within a year at the most.

Panilit Bhanu Bhakta Sharma who died round about 1840 is the author of the Ramayana in verse in Nepali There are one or two editions of this Ramayana but they are full of errors

I have asked the present Headmaster of the Government High School here, who is also a profound Sanskrit scholar to provide a life of this poet and a glossary of the difficult words together with an authorized variorum edition of this great work

I am planning to print 10 000 copies at a cost between Rs 30 000 and Rs 35 000 and to make the book available to the hillmen at about Rs 1-8-0 per copy This I believe is the only way to help in the cultural renaissance of the hill people inhabiting this part of our motherland

I am giving you all this information in the hope that my attempt to assist the people here may have the support of your prayers to the Almighty Whom we all worship in our different ways

With best regards

Yours sincerely,
H C Mookerjee

VINOBAJI IN GAYA

II

In the women's meeting held in the morning, Vinobaji first referred to Gandhiji who gave them the consciousness of their worth as independent beings and of the important part they could play in national life Vinobaji said 'Gandhiji believed that women have the quality of Ahimsa in a greater degree and they are therefore better qualified to carry out his work than men" As an example he referred to the work of Shri Janaki devi Bajaj wife of the late Seth Jamnalal Bajaj Shri Janakidevi has been moving about in the villages under scorching sun and collecting gifts of ornaments from women She has taken a vow to get 108 wells constructed in this district Vinobaji said Ornaments are the main cause of the timidity generally found among women Let them throw away the ornaments and become fearless Vinobaji was pleased to hear that the Gaya Mahila Samiti had both Hindu and Muslim women as its members and that there was perfect understanding and goodwill among them Replying to a question asked by a Muslim sister, Shri Vinoba said, It is men who create the element of fear and insecurity in social life With women coming to the fore and taking up responsible work the evil of fear will disappear Let us create peace around ourselves and there will be peace in the world"

Then he went to the Bihar Bhoodan Workers Conference which was attended by more than 600 workers from all corners of the province. A worker from each district gave an account of the work done in his part of the province They were followed by Shri Damodarbhai who spoke of his most exhilarating experience of the progress of

[illegible] its [illegible] from [illegible] of [illegible]

[illegible] achieve [illegible] in the province [illegible] Vinobaji was highly [illegible]

[illegible] tulate the Bihar Congress- [illegible] this resolution It shows [illegible] has now accepted full [illegible] work Bihar's first target [illegible] been fulfilled and just as [illegible] expansive in Bihar than [illegible] per day collection of [illegible] has risen in Bihar to [illegible] acres ' Vinobaji said [illegible] achieved was due to the [illegible] Bihar suffered from [illegible] wranglings amongst [illegible] They were disunited [illegible] told to make this [illegible] account for It ? [illegible] though weak [illegible] to the occa- [illegible] they have done, [illegible] of merit lying em- [illegible] both Gautam and [illegible] watching [illegible] efforts and blessing [illegible] started their work of turning the [illegible] *Dharma* in this province It is imbued [illegible] through with sacred memories which [illegible] life into the lifeless and power into [illegible] The Upanishads say 'Thou art [illegible] In no other language of the world is [illegible] so short in size and yet so rich [illegible] We are weak and prone to the ways [illegible] tells us that you are not this [illegible] but the immortal soul Shake off [illegible] and withdrawing yourself look [illegible] within This saying has [illegible] me otherwise I have not seen [illegible] myself

[illegible] he defects which hamper our [illegible] said Indolence and ill-will [illegible] are two of our principal [illegible] centre round them But I am [illegible] will soon be consigning them to the [illegible] of this great *yajna* The trust which [illegible] people have shown in me is a very [illegible] for me. Whatever merit you find in [illegible] mine it is derived from Mahatma [illegible] the Rishis If we fulfil this task we [illegible] ated an unprecedented example in [illegible] which people from all over the [illegible] to see and learn from When we [illegible] ourselves to such a high task we [illegible] our petty likes and dislikes We [illegible] the doors of our heart wide open [illegible] outside with its wealth of end-

[illegible] his gratefulness to the Bihar [illegible] May God make me worthy [illegible] affection

N D

[illegible] India

COLIN CLARK *vs* MALTHUS

[Professor Colin Clark is a well known economist [illegible] His remarkable broadcast on population [illegible] reproduced from the *Listener* of March 26, 1953 pp 503-4 —V G D]

I

[illegible] be born in accordance with the wishes and [illegible] their parents and it is a matter of national [illegible] that it should be But there are now many people [illegible] as Malthusians who say that children should not be [illegible] or at any rate that they should be born only in [illegible] small numbers The reason which the generally [illegible] an economic one though most of them have no [illegible] aims to discuss economic problems

Let us consider first the purely economic questions A large part (but not all) of the economic activities of [illegible] in [illegible] community are carried out in [illegible] of increasing Returns These [illegible] large scale manufacture transport [illegible] banking insurance and the like [illegible] these activities are [illegible] To [illegible] one of these kinds of economic activity there [illegible] an increasing population [illegible] economic gain [illegible] A large and densely settled population is [illegible] only economically advantageous [illegible] in many cases a condition without which they could not exist

Diminishing Returns

The Law of Increasing Returns was [illegible] known to Malthus and other economists of his time [illegible] with the Law of Diminishing Returns which [illegible] universal but which we now know to be only applicable in agriculture mining and handicraft. Most people who use the phrase diminishing returns do not [illegible] its real meaning In most countries the returns or [illegible] from agriculture are steadily increasing year [illegible] Law of Diminishing Returns as [illegible] additional capital and cannot make [illegible] farming methods then returns per head in a [illegible] related agricultural country will be less than in [illegible] densely populated one

But using more capital and better farming methods is precisely what progressive countries [illegible] faced with increasing populations This [illegible] theoretically speculative it is an established [illegible] cultural population per square mile of [illegible] about the same in Denmark as it is [illegible] returns per worker are five times as great in Denmark A similar comparison could be made between India [illegible] the Philippines The agricultural population per mile of cultivable land in India is [illegible] many people and undoubtedly it is [illegible] It is equally high in Italy where the returns per [illegible] more than twice what it is in India [illegible] establish to the Indian not how to operate the [illegible] machines and tractors but just the simple [illegible] and fruit growing and rice cultivation as practised [illegible] Indian peasant the "*India would be [illegible] twice as well off as he is now*" The Dutch [illegible] successful farming people [illegible] a rural population [illegible] square mile of cultivable land as much as [illegible] the Indian but the Dutch return per square mile [illegible] six times the Indian If all the cultivable land [illegible] world were farmed at Dutch standards of skill [illegible] work and our consumption per head of food [illegible] was also at the present day Dutch standards (which [illegible] quite a high one) then the "*world could support [illegible] population* somewhere between 10 000 000 000 [illegible] 15,000 000 000 people as compared with the [illegible] 2,000 000 000 people it is supporting now And [illegible] before allowing for any future improvements in farming methods which may take place or seeking any [illegible]

* The italics are mine V G D

[illegible] of certain [illegible] as which [illegible] economic [illegible] [illegible] for [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

HOW TO ABOLISH POVERTY

(By M P T Acharya)

The Indian National Congress Movement [illegible] by Shri Dadabhai Naoroji D E Wacha Sir William Digby Sir William Wedderburn and A O Hume complained against increasing poverty of India under British rule and gradually came to the conclusion that unless British (foreign) rule disappeared the drain to England could not be stopped The object of the Congress was to abolish poverty The argument was if British quitted the wealth which remained in the country would enrich the people The Congress said they knew how to abolish poverty and would abolish it if they came to office or power

It is not remembered that the Romans complained that India was draining away their gold by supplying luxury goods We were also doing it though not ruling Rome but just by trade

During the Civil Disobedience days Shri Vithalbhai Patel told in a public meeting that " we become poor so that the poor may become rich "

Instead of all that after independence the drain which was going away to England is now going upwards to some people and Governments in the country If tomorrow people earned more, they will be taxed more and will continue to remain poor

The Government wants to expand economics *on the narrow basis* That is exactly what cannot be done The Government can have no control or influence on the narrow economic set-up on which it is based The economy will run as it is set up and the Government will have to adapt itself to its running

No constitutions, no elections no parliamentary debates can make narrow economy work for a broader basis It can only get narrower

Economics is not a matter which can be run according to legislation It is time that people were told not to attach any importance to all these talks in Delhi or other capitals and prepare themselves to feed themselves The Government cannot do it even if we had a Bolshevik Government Either the people organize themselves to feed themselves or they must get prepared to go without food It is waste of time to read and hear what luxurious people are trying to do We must concentrate attention only on the economic problem with special preference to food Self-help is the best help We must produce food and distribute it with or even without money Otherwise it is shilly-shallying with the food question

Food production — all production is a technological matter only It cannot be produced if certain conditions are attached to it Government cannot do so There can be no legislation in advance of time i e according to foresight Legislations are seals on accomplished facts only One cannot for example abolish landlordism by [illegible] That is why the [illegible] to secure compe[illegible] n is paid the ter[illegible] [illegible]nment and becom[illegible] which becomes [illegible] is [illegible] of legislation Even [illegible] land is no solution It is only [illegible] the disposal of people who contribute la[illegible] productive and useful purposes can the [illegible] blem be solved All should be taken care [illegible] of common production There should be no [illegible] tion of employed and owners The Gove[illegible] takes for granted that there must be a cl[illegible] people who must remain employment-seekers and must live for wages It is the most degrading thing The Republic of Greece and Rome were built upon la es who were not members That is the kind of republic with employers and owners That exists also in Russia today We must abolish employment seekers looking for wages Slaves cannot collaborate Fear of being starved is the worst method of seeking collaboration Slave collaboration is unwilling collaboration and cannot be of any use

The Roman Emperor Diocletian tried by decree to fix wages and prices The result was the wages went down and the prices went up He got disgusted and went to cultivate cabbages The Chinese Emperor Wang Mang introduced State ownership of all things but it broke down after a time Since then all these two thousand years they are trying the same thing everywhere as if history has no lesson to teach They are all vain attempts and Government will break against economics Leave the Government alone If people want to organize themselves to feed themselves they will have enough sanctions to do so No Government can stand against them in all villages Villages can starve Governments if necessary They must not seek aid of Government Local solidarity is the best answer to outside interference and tyranny

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GANDHIAN TECHNIQUES IN THE MODERN WORLD

By Pyarelal

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor: MAGANBHAI P DESAI

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THE 85TH CHARKHA JAYANTI
(Eighty days' spinning programme from 17-7-'53 to 4-10-'53)

The 12th day of the dark-half of Bhadrapad which is Gandhiji's birth-day according to the Hindu Calendar is observed as Charkha Jayanti. In Gujarat it is known as *Rentia Baras* The 80 days annual Jayanti Spinning programme this year will begin at 7-30 a m on 17-7-'53 after the morning prayers

This programme originated from this place twenty years ago Gandhiji blessed it and encouraged it It was then adopted by the Charkha Sangh and by other provinces It has played a great part in promoting Khadi work.

Gandhiji used to send encouraging messages every year on this occasion He also got some well known leader to come over here for inaugurating the programme Some of these relevant messages and sayings are reproduced below

From Gandhiji's letter in connection with programme observed on his 70th birth-day

Ch Narandas

* * *

If conditions there permit you may undertake other items of work, such as going to the Harijan part of the town and doing service to our Harijan brethren But this is to be done only if persons other than those who are engaged in spinning are available The same group of persons trying to do all the things may spoil all of them Therefore, you will not do anything which is not supported by your experience I have made the suggestion only for introducing some variety in your programme But that is secondary Our principal aim in observing *Rentia Baras* (i e Charkha Jayanti) is to concentrate all our attention on the Charkha during this period.

1-7 38 Bapu's Blessings

The Charkha Sangh has taken the decision to observe the Jayanti They propose to collect funds for Khadi organize spinning, and collect the yarn In this regard the Charkha Sangh may well follow the example of Narandas Gandhi He has been observing the occasion for many years past by raising subscriptions and collecting yarn He is getting increasing success every year There is no reason why the Charkha Sangh should not get the same degree of success If the worker is determined in his resolve, the success is bound to come In the absence of Khadi, the time may come when people will have to go naked Charkha Sangh is the only organization which can ward off that evil day

M K Gandhi

From Bapuji's letter dated 31-8-44

Ch Narandas

The Kasturba Smarak Nidhi has collected by now about seventy-five lakhs It will be used in the way they decide I do not know how much of it can be spent for your work. Therefore you who are working for raising this fund should let it proceed in its own way Those who have always been helping you to fill in the Charkha Jayanti Funds have to understand this And I hope if they understand this they will continue to help you as they have been doing Where you feel that these contributors need to know my opinion on this question you are free to use this letter I should be sorry if the people misunderstand the purpose of the Kasturba Fund and your work suffers on account of it I will consider this fund to have been fruitfully spent only if activities such as you are carrying on prosper and spread everywhere

Sevagram Bapu's Blessings
Wardha (C.P.) 31-8-'44

Gandhiji's message on the occasion of the celebration of his 76th birth-day

Ch. Narandas,

I have carefully gone through your annual report I have not yet started writing to anybody except three letters to friends who are suffering from ill health But there is no one in the world who is suffering more than Daridranarayan (the poor) You are one of his devoted servants You have been observing *Rentia Baras* on the occasion of my birth-day and every year increasingly tightening yourself for more and more service to this deity It will be a very hard test this year I wish for your success I had an opportunity in the jail to read something of Marx and of the events in Russia. There can be no comparison between the huge experiments which they are carrying on in Russia and our comparatively tiny Charkha There too they have called on the

[illegible] between [illegible] the Nation and the State [illegible] our simple and unostentatious [illegible] giant [illegible] propagating [illegible] truths. And we [illegible] moving Charkha. The [illegible] of mass violence [illegible] is bound to win. But [illegible] worshippers cannot slacken [illegible] then we will bring shame not [illegible] but also on non violence. [illegible] lent you should now try to [illegible] lines and make it scientific. [illegible] machine has its own science. [illegible] perfected its technique. It [illegible] thoughtful practice.

Just as knowledge without [illegible] less, even so faith without [illegible]

Juhu 20-5-'44 Bapu's Blessings

In the course of a discussion with [illegible] the leading workers of U. P. Bapuji said: "I will place before you the programme of [illegible] nizing spinning on an ever growing scale.

"I had left off spinning for some days on the advice of the doctors. But I again began when I heard from Narandas Gandhi [illegible] his efforts for promoting Khadi) and I am [illegible] going to leave it now until my hand gets paralyzed.

Ch. Narandas

I have no thought of my birthday. I know it only as the Charkha Day. You regard the day as important and observe it not because you are my relative but because you also love Charkha as dearly as I. Your work will surely help propagate Charkha around you. The task is undoubtedly difficult in the present atmosphere of idleness. It may appear even unattractive. But unflinching faith makes easy what appears difficult and makes attractive what appears unattractive. May your faith bring home the power of Charkha to those around you.

Sevagram Bapu's Blessings
Wardha 28-9-'30

Message from Bapu given on the occasion of his 70th birthday

The present times in our country are such when all of us, the rich and the poor, the great and the small, men and women, all without exception must spin. If people do not take to Charkha, it is very likely that the time may come when we may have to go naked.

1-7-'12 Bapu's Blessings

Shri Vaikunthlal Mehta, well known leader of Saurashtra, has accepted our invitation to in-

[illegible] the [illegible] the following from [illegible]

[illegible] services have been [illegible] the purpose are al[illegible] to study the [illegible] will be looking [illegible] of [illegible] attention to [illegible] the [illegible] not [illegible] undertake [illegible] I will [illegible] attention and [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

[illegible] couple of [illegible] nment [illegible] ility [illegible] the [illegible] mmed by [illegible] dustr in [illegible] ed [illegible] every [illegible] tage [illegible] in the [illegible] t it does not need [illegible] It [illegible] villagers a spare [illegible] their incomes

[illegible] ustry has an in [illegible] there are about 200 [illegible] al [illegible] per cent of the [illegible] major portion [illegible] profits Now some [illegible] big factory owners [illegible] thinking of mech [illegible] the industry if [illegible] sinable machine could be devised It will save them the trouble of employing so many person [illegible] and also bring in more profits Two of such machines have already been produced They are expected to manufacture ten to fifteen thousand *bidis* per day — which means they will do about the same amount of work as twelve men Later on when they are improved their capacity for ousting more men from work will increase still further and the capitalists will be enabled to reap latter profits by investing their money in machines and turning out the workers from their jobs and making them free to die of hunger

The example serves well to illustrate the havoc which the machines and big mechanized factories are capable of working in the economic life of the country It reveals how many of our village and cottage industries were destroyed and those which have survived are still being destroyed The question is what we are to do about it

When a discussion was raised about the use of these machines in the *bidi* industry, the Deputy Commerce Minister, New Delhi, assured that the Government was fundamentally opposed to mechanization in any particular section of industry which might result in large scale unemployment (T P J, New Delhi, 14-5 53) I think the Post and Telegraph Minister should also make a similar announcement And the Government should declare as its settled policy that it will do all that is necessary for promoting and protecting the remaining village and home industries and take steps to start others which may be found desirable The Government should do so because the removal of unemployment is our most important problem today The policy which fails to tackle it will be judged as futile under present conditions

18-6-53

(From the original in Hindi)

JEALOUSY AND MODERN CIVILIZATION

(By Nagenbhai P Desai)

A friend gives the following information which is not only interesting but also very significant from the point of view of the mass psychology that is born of modern civilization. He says

> In a book called *We Tibetans* by a Tibetan lady called Pho Ra Ma who married a British Consul called Mr King as the first Tibetan woman to do so, she said before this war
>
> We Tibetans have no motor cars or radios and we are happy for it For if these invade the country, some will get possession of them and others will go without them and then there will be jealousy and quarrel for them Now we have no such problems Every beggar in Tibet can ride a horse or yak'

Modern civilization aims at raising the standard of living by producing as much consumer goods as possible economic and physical sciences help it with zest and enthusiasm, but it has not till now seriously touched the problem of their proper distribution which is at present governed chiefly by the money mechanism and values of private property

It does not also mind much less decide, priorities in this matter of raising the standard of living All surely cannot do it at the same time nor have they equal opportunities There is therefore along with this race for higher standard of life a feeling of jealousy and hatred born in the mind of the people It becomes as if while all are called few only achieve and the race goes on for these few as well there is no end to it

And this state of things has created diverse problems in social psychology and much worry and vexation in the resultant social order Modern civilization faces this problem acutely at present

Gandhiji solved this problem by stating his Sarvodaya doctrine that all can rise provided the last among us are minded first i e raising the standard of their life is considered the topmost priority for the whole community The capitalist order i e an order based on money and machine economy by its very nature, cannot accept this and hence it almost becomes an order of perennial jealousy and hatred, devouring unsatedness and consequent neurosis indifference to human and spiritual values — all leading to frustration and rivalry Western psychological studies have not sufficiently gone into these deeper problems it is high time they do it At least let us in India not merely ape the ways of the West but probe deep into and examine for ourselves the values set up by it and choose our own way of life — that of peace and Sarvodaya.

12 6 53

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HARIJAN

July 18 1953

THE JUDICIARY AND THE EXECUTIVE

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

An independent judiciary separate from the executive is one of the fundamental principles of British democracy That these two departments of the State should be separate does not of course mean that there should not be any co-operation and harmony in their work, because they exist in a State so that both together might collaborate for the welfare of the community However, in a democracy to fulfil their respective functions properly, it is felt necessary that the judiciary must be independent and the executive should no way control it, though both should work in harmony and co-operation in the larger interests of the community

Though the English believed in such freedom for the judiciary, they did not adopt it fully in the governance of their Indian Empire. It was easy to rule a foreign land that way, the White could have an upper hand thereby, and whenever it was so needed the executive had great facility to set aside dictates of justice in favour of the preservation of foreign rule

That this was a bad thing was known to our national leaders long ago Since the establishment of the Indian National Congress in 1885 we find that it continuously resolved that the judiciary and the executive must be separated But how could a foreign government undertake a reform that would undermine its foundations?

Now foreign rule is no more, and we have our own Constitution. Therefore, there is contained in it a Directive (Sec 50) that "the State shall take steps to separate the judiciary from the executive in the public services of the State" It is a matter of joy that the Government of Bombay is first to implement this Directive, for which it deserves congratulations On the first of this month it was announced that the executive and the judiciary will be separate in the State henceforth This has demonstrated that the State Government believes in democracy, and it has now opened the doors for the judiciary and the executive to develop on sound democratic lines

This change has laid a very great responsibility on the two departments of the State. They have now to get out of their old habit formed during the British rule and institute a truly democratic system They will have to learn to work in harmony and co-operation for the common object of the good of the community, because, ultimately they are for it The judiciary which was till now under the executive, should not fly away with its newly acquired freedom, similarly the execut[illegible] work by suppres[illegible] that it has to be [illegible] otherwise they will quarrel [illegible] instead of collaborating for the [illegible] of the people's good

The Chief Minister [illegible] speaking from the A I R., Bombay, on the [illegible] announcement of this great change, said

> I trust that the [illegible] be understood and accepted in its true [illegible] institution while insisting upon the independence of the judiciary has not accepted the extreme form of the doctrine of separation of powers and [illegible] the outmoded political philosophy of the [illegible] balances which implied in certain constitutions Separation is a loaded word A Welfare State cannot continue by separation but only by co-operation in the three grand departments of State the Legislature the Executive and the Judiciary all working not only for liberty but also for social and economic justice and equality of status and opportunity We are not so think of the legislators but of the Legislature not of Ministers but of the Executive not of Judges but of the Judiciature These are the three great continuous bodies which must be abstracted from all transitory individuals who may happen to hold their power In making administering and also in interpreting laws essentially they must all be guided by popular will within the framework of the Constitution which the people have given to themselves Fusion of functions may be bad but confusion of powers would be worse I need not further emphasise that the separation of functions does not mean cutting the lines of connection but on the other hand strengthening them for the common purpose of serving the people

On this great occasion the Judges of the High Court, Bombay, invited the Bombay Ministers to dinner, speaking on this occasion the Chief Justice congratulated the Chief Minister for the reform and felicitated him personally for demonstrating his faith in democracy thereby And regarding the judiciary, which will henceforth be under his complete control, he observed that it was also for the people's welfare and was equally interested in the ideal of a Welfare State. And he added that a judge like others was also an erring human being, but his post — the seat of justice was important and worthy of respect and only if he can work freely could he give the benefit of the rule of law to the people of a democratic State

During the days when the news of this good beginning were appearing in the Press, we had another piece of news that the Chief Justice, in disposing an appeal from a district court, said that the judges and magistrates were not concerned with the policy of the Government and that their sole function was to enforce law as it was 'The facts of the appeal as can be gathered from the Press are that a person was punished with 3 months' imprisonment and a fine of Rs 500 for being found drunk. He appealed to the Sessions Court who confirming the sentence remarked that the prohibition policy had advanced and the accused was therefore not shown mercy under Sec. 92. It was when hearing the

[illegible] remarked [illegible] the sentence [illegible] leniency should be shown if there was [illegible] ision in the Act

[illegible] re one or two things that deserve to [illegible] Firstly, prohibition is not something [illegible] ect of Government policy or its adminis[illegible] law Like the Directive of the separation [illegible] judiciary, prohibition is another Directive [illegible] by the Constitution of India Therefore [illegible] the judiciary moves it does so to respect [illegible] Directive and in the service of the ideal of [illegible] Welfare State to do which is the duty of the [illegible] cutive, the judiciary, and the legislature also

Secondly popular sentiment is very strong [illegible] been against drink cases and illicit distilla[illegible] At such a time it is understandable and [illegible] ciable if the judiciary resorts to deterrence [illegible] than mercy and leniency Law does not [illegible] in that the first crime *shall* not be punish[illegible] It is natural to consider the first crime liberally and judges have the discretion to do what they think proper Under the present circumstances when there is a spurt of drink crime in cities and towns it must be considered as a social malaise like black-marketing adulteration etc To cope with it, it is natural and necessary for the three wings of the State to collaborate as in a common and joint endeavour It is not as we noted above, a matter of a certain law or policy of administration that is involved here it is the Directive of the State to its three wings, which they are enjoined to fulfil and thus achieve the idea of a Welfare State

We congratulate the State of Bombay and its High Court as well as the Ministry on the advent of this great reform and expect that the judiciary will now be reorganized so that our people are happy under it and the drawbacks of the British system are removed The bar must educate public opinion about these necessary reforms The proverbial delay, expensiveness, use of foreign language in administering justice are some of its obvious drawbacks It would be good if the independent judiciary will now move to remove them

8-7-'53

(From the original in Gujarati)

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A DEPLORABLE DECISION

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

The Executive Council of the U P Con[illegible] Committee which met in Agra during the re[illegible] AICC week there is reported to have de[illegible] that the AICC circular of May 30 1953 on [illegible] language issue would not be effective so fa[illegible] U P was concerned and the Committee's [illegible] decision to recognize Hindi alone as the St[illegible] language would stand

The AICC circular referred to above [illegible] phasizes the place of Hindi and adds that regional languages also should be developed in their respective areas and recommends that due place should be given to Urdu As it says, "it must be thought that Urdu is a language of India, which took birth and shape in India and is spoken and written by a very considerable number of the people in the country

In this connection we further learn from papers that U P Bhasha Samiti has prepared a memorandum viewing with "great alarm" the agitation for the recognition of Urdu as another State language of U P The memorandum will be submitted to the Congress President It declares that the move for recognition of Urdu, "instead of bringing the communities together will accentuate their differences"

It is very unfortunate indeed that people in U P and the North where Urdu is also a common language of the people irrespective of class or creed have been wrongly educated to look upon Urdu as Muslim language It is rather this that gives the simple question of the language a communal tinge and an undesirable turn, thereby creating avoidable friction and bad blood. The Congress has always stood for a common language for India which shall be a simple form of a happy amalgam of Hindi and Urdu This position of the Congress has been amply vindicated by the Constitution of India in its enunciation of our future language policy Urdu along with others viz Hindi Bengali Gujarati Marathi Tamil etc is a recognized Indian language under the Constitution (*vide* Schedule 8) To refuse such recognition to it whether it is a spoken language — and surely it is a language of a considerable section of the U P — is against the Constitution and the ideology of the Congress as well For the U P Congress to oppose it therefore is very much to be deplored We hope wiser counsels will prevail and communal feelings which are unnecessarily provoked by such refusal will not be given a new lease by U P's opposition to our sound language policy given to us by the Congress and the Father of the Nation

11-7-'53

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NEED FOR REAL WORKERS*

I had come to this district (Daltonganj) [illegible] red some of its villages six months ago [illegible] been a big change in the atmosphere [illegible] during these six months. When I [illegible] for I talked of collecting hardly [illegible] thousand acres from a district [illegible] now we are now talking of collecting [illegible] The Bihar Congress in its first [illegible] decided to collect only four lakh acres [illegible] now raised the target to 32 lakh acres [illegible] have come to have very great expectations [illegible] the movement and in turn we have [illegible] demand from the people. More and more workers are forthcoming to help us in our task. Almost every political party in the country has expressed its sympathy and wished success to our endeavour. Doubts are still raised now and then; they are necessary and useful too in their own way, because doubts help to clarify and correct the views we and they have about the work. But all are agreed that the Bhoodan Movement will do nothing but good to the country. To some its progress appears to be slow. There may also be difference of opinion about its capacity to bring about a full revolution. But everybody accepts that the more does the movement grow, the more good will it do to the people.

Every revolution arises first in the form of an idea in the mind. The idea is then expressed in speech and made dynamic through the action of the will. It is then translated into practice. To begin with, the practice is confined to an individual; gradually it expands and is adopted by the community. Finally when it has sufficiently impressed itself on the social consciousness the society bestows its sanction upon it and makes it a normal part of its conduct. It is in this way that a religious idea emanating first from the mind of an individual evolves and passes on into [illegible] social injunction and a State law. And then eventually it becomes a matter of normal social behaviour. The society then comes to [illegible] an unquestionably correct law of human life and pays natural allegiance to it. To [illegible] example: Stealing is today looked down upon as a crime. Both the society in general and law [illegible] against it. But it is not the fear of law which deters men from stealing. The fact is that the man's sense of right and wrong, his rational conscience accept that stealing is against humanity. This is why the injunction against stealing finds place both in the religious law and the State law. It was not so in the beginning. But gradually as its ethical propriety and social utility were understood it was assimilated into the life of the community and accepted as its permanent part.

This example will show you how the society [illegible] and act on new ethical and moral ideas. We now seek to introduce and establish [illegible]

practic[illegible] Mahatmas [illegible] an ideal [illegible] and the [illegible] This is why [illegible] धर्मक्षेत्र, [illegible] Dharma. It [illegible] aims at introducing [illegible] truth in the social life [illegible] basis. Non possession [illegible] contribute appropriate [illegible] There was little [illegible] of the [illegible] that it was equally helpful [illegible] development and progress of ordinary [illegible] will not be possible to put an end to exp[illegible] unless social life is reorganized on the [illegible] principle of non-possession. This [illegible] will begin with the transformation [illegible] people's thought and belief and end by revolutionizing the society.

The obstacle [illegible] through on which we are present [illegible] not is the beginning of the [illegible] tribute [illegible] and many other friends [illegible] parts of the country for the [illegible] that we [illegible] accelerate the [illegible] and decided that the experiment should be [illegible] in some selected prominent [illegible] to demonstrate how the problem can be fully solved through this method. I have [illegible] demanded 32 lakh acres from Bihar. The figure may appear big but look at the [illegible] the problem which we are out to solve [illegible] will understand that the demand is just [illegible]

Now if we succeed in convincing the people that the accumulation of wealth is wrong and are able to collect 32 lakh acres [illegible] love and non-violence then whether the problem is fully solved or [illegible] we will have cleared the path for it. We have [illegible] and propagate the basic principles [illegible] movement. For this we need workers who have adopted and implemented these principles in their own lives. The greater the number of [illegible] workers of this type the more speedily [illegible] can be achieved. The atmosphere is [illegible] with the basic idea. We see how willing and eager the people are to give them land even in such a backward district as Palamau. It means that the atmosphere is charged with this thought in an unmanifest form. But the workers have to go to every village and [illegible] from every peasant so as to draw it out in the manifest form.

For this we need workers of high character with strong faith in the Bhoodan mission. Our work would be said to have been successfully fulfilled only when we are able to get something from every peasant in every village as the token of his love and goodwill for this movement.

*Speech at Daltonganj

[illegible] the prop[illegible] [illegible] ideas. Of [illegible] [illegible] shine [illegible] [illegible] ideal [illegible] [illegible] weaker [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] Yoga is achieved [illegible] work without any [illegible] and dislikes and [illegible] longer [illegible] be undertaken [illegible] the spirit of [illegible] They should [illegible] to the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

FOREIGN CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN INDIA

To

The Editor, *Harijan*

Sir

When I was in London in 1938 I used to attend religious sermons daily preached in Hyde Park. A Jewish gentleman who as he told me was a native of Poland daily came to Hyde Park and discussed religious subjects with Christians assembled there. At that time Hitler was oppressing the Jews in Germany following the murder of German ambassador Von Ruth by a Jew in Paris. The Christians at Hyde Park told this Jew that until and unless Jews all over the world would abandon the Jewish religion of their forefathers and adopt the Christian religion suffering will continue to fall on the Jews. But the Jew at the Hyde Park very properly told the Christians that it is not necessary for a man for salvation of his soul to abandon the religion in which God gave him birth and embrace Christianity for as Christ Himself has said, the salvation of our soul depends upon giving food to the hungry and clothes to the naked poor who are as dear to God as we are. There is no salvation but in the performance of good works of charity to the utmost of our power through the whole course of our life. Similarly conversion of Indians from religion of their birth to Christianity is not needed for salvation of our soul, as Christian foreign missionaries pretend and would have Indians believe.

The above-mentioned Jew also ridiculed the dogma of the Christian Churches that the blood of Christ would wash away the guilt of sinners and said that Christ has preached the doctrine that "as man soweth so shall he also reap".

The Government of India is right in forbidding proselytizing of Indians to Christianity by missionaries.

34 Wodehouse Road, Colaba, Bombay 5

Yours faithfully,
Sorabji R. Mistri

A NATION BUILDER AT WORK

By Pyarelal

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor : MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

VOL. XVII No. 21 AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY JULY 25, 1953 TWO ANNAS

ALTERNATIVE TO INDUSTRIALISM

(By Gandhiji)

A correspondent writes

> Do you then believe that industrialization of India — to the extent of India producing her own ships, locomotives aeroplanes etc — is necessary? If not will you kindly suggest the alternative means by which India shall discharge her responsibilities as a free and independent nation?
>
> 'If you believe in the establishment of such industries who should be your opinion exercise control over the management and the profits that will accrue?'

I do not believe that industrialization is necessary in any case for any country It is much less so for India indeed I believe that Independent India can only discharge her duty towards a groaning world by adopting a simple but ennobled life by developing her thousands of cottages and living at peace with the world High thinking is inconsistent with complicated material life based on high speed imposed on us by Mammon worship All the graces of life are possible only when we learn the art of living nobly

There may be sensation in living dangerously We must draw the distinction between living in the face of danger and living dangerously A man who dares to live alone in a forest infested by wild beasts and wilder men without a gun and with God as his only Help, lives in the face of danger. A man who lives perpetually in mid-air and dives to the earth below to the admiration of a gaping world lives dangerously One is a purposeful, the other a purposeless life

Whether such plain living is possible for an isolated nation, however large geographically and numerically in the face of a world armed to the teeth, and in the midst of pomp and circumstance, is a question open to the doubt of a sceptic The answer is straight and simple If a plain life is worth living then the attempt is worth making even though, only an individual or a group makes the effort

At the same time I believe that some key industries are necessary I do not believe in arm-chair or armed socialism. I believe in action according to my belief, without waiting for wholesale conversion. Hence, without having to enumerate key industries, I would have State ownership, where a large number of people have to work together The ownership of the products of their labour, whether skilled or unskilled, will vest in them through the State But as I can conceive such a State only based on non-violence I would not dispossess moneyed men by force but would invite their co-operation in the process of conversion to State ownership There are no *panahs* of society, whether they are millionaires or paupers The two are sores of the same disease And all are men "for a' that"

And I avow this belief in the face of the inhumanities we have witnessed and may still have to witness in India as elsewhere Let us live in the face of danger

Harijan 19-'46

THE LAND-OWNER AND THE FACTORY-OWNER

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

In the *Harijan* of 27-6-'53 we had reproduced a portion from Shri Rajaji's speech in which he had spoken of abolishing zamindari not only in land but also in mills and factories His suggestion is worth serious thought. He says that just as we find land on which a large number of tenants and agricultural labourers work and toil lying in possession of a zamindar who practically takes no part in raising the yield, so we also find mill-owners holding in their possession a vast number of spinning and weaving machines in the form of mills and thus giving rise to what may be aptly called 'industrial zamindari' Therefore along with the zamindari in land, this other form of zamindari in industries should also go Then only shall we be able to put an end to the present conflict and chaos in the industrial life of the country and to reconstruct it on a secure foundation A vast majority of the population of our country consists of peasants and weavers. If they are provided for adequately, if they are equipped well to carry on their work without hindrance and earn their bread peacefully, then we may be said to have laid a strong and secure foundation for rebuilding our Indian economy

Shri Rajaji holds this to be the pivot of our national policy and says that his efforts are directed to the achievement of this end It is, however, a pity that our planners at the Centre do not yet accept this, which has led to a grave defect in our Five Year Plan. I recently came

[illegible] ask in [illegible]
[illegible] R H [illegible]
[illegible] says

[illegible] ions and [illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] and

[illegible] in this [illegible] restore [illegible] honourable [illegible] regarded as pos[illegible] a real plan, it is [illegible] motive force necessary for [illegible] and initiating a revolu[illegible] course of this speech [illegible] types of zamindars in our [illegible] — the zamindar proper and the indus[illegible] zamindar or the factory owner One thrives [illegible] the ownership of land and the other on the [illegible] ownership of capital Both are after making pro[illegible] They are not directly concerned as they [illegible] ould be with producing food and clothing and other necessaries for the community Similarly the merchants and the traders are also not directly concerned with it They do not primarily work to distribute at due economic rates consumer goods They are primarily concerned with their profits That is why clandestine methods of making profits such as hoarding and black-marketing are regarded as skilful tricks of their trade

The emphasis on the profit-motive thus constitutes a very serious drawback in our economy Only a plan drawn up after full and careful consideration with a view to removing this evil can be called a real national plan The peasants and the weavers of India should be enabled to become self sufficient It will at once solve the problem of food and employment for a very great majority of our population The readers will remember that when Gandhiji was first arrested in India by the British Government in the course of his trial when he was asked him about his profession, he had replied that he was a farmer and weaver He included the spinner in the farmer, for he always impressed on the nation that the leisure left to the farmer from his work in the fields should be occupied by doing some common productive work useful for the nation, and that carding and spinning were eminently suited for this We realize today that our principal problem is that of providing food, clothing and shelter to all It means that the farmer and the weaver, i.e., their land and *charkha* and the loom should be rehabilitated in the economy of the country But they are being crushed today under the dead weight of the two types of zamindars referred to above and are not able to contribute the best [illegible] to fulfil the task. This [illegible] abolish or at any rate keep under [illegible] which private [illegible] playing with our [illegible]

The [illegible] mainly raise as to how we are to [illegible] We will have to devise just and peaceful [illegible] democratic means of achieving this change [illegible] means we adopt for working out this change will be based on the principle that a just order of society must provide for the utilization of the entire resources of the nation in land labour and capital in the interests of the entire population and secure to each section its rightful place in the society, and not on the pernicious assumption of inherent class-war i.e. society will continue to be a camp of warring employers and labourers zamindars and peasants, the rich and the poor The yawning gulf which divides them at present will have to be filled in Land labour and capital — all are for the society not for private aggrandizement Not only all land but wealth also belongs to society They should therefore be exploited for the wellbeing of the entire society

The Bhoodan Yajna Movement and various legislative measures of the States for the solution of the land-problem are based on this main principle It is necessary to extend this principle to the sphere of capital and labour, the two other factors of production also and to reorganize industry on its basis The way to do it peacefully will have to be found out by the various labour-organizations on the one hand and banks and industrial organizations on the other It should be remembered that this is not merely a political or an economic ideal It is aimed at the reorganization of our society on a newer basis and therefore requires a broad-based people's movement for its fulfilment We must therefore immediately draw up a definite programme conducive to this aim Looking at the problem from this point of view, it appears that there is no such integrated programme before the people It has now become necessary to place it before them. Then only will the people show forth their innate power of doing things themselves

(From the original in Gujarati)

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RAISING THE STANDARD OF LIVING *

(By J C Kumarappa)

It has become a fashion in these days for all and sundry to include 'raising the standard of living' as one of the objects of our planning Our Prime Minister incessantly repeats this sentiment And there is hardly any public man who does not refer to it at some time or other But we are yet to find even a single person giving a courageous lead in this direction either in theory or practice

No person needs to be told how to live better If he had the wherewithal he would eat well, he would clothe himself well he would educate his children well he would obtain satisfactory medical care and will live under conditions of hygiene and sanitation as would be desired The main trouble lies in his economic position Therefore we have to consider how to provide him with satisfactory income

In capitalistic economics labour is dealt with as a commodity to be bought and sold So the wages appear as a price for this human commodity But it is completely detached of fundamental human considerations An industrialist buys human labour with the same heart as he buys high speed steel Naturally therefore he is out to beat down prices and get the most he can out of the bargain. This is the order of exploitation and cannot be changed as long as human labour is dealt with as a commodity

Where we desire to deal with man as a human being the consideration should be based on social values The price we pay for human labour should be calculated not on the basis of the market prices that will be fetched by any commodity to be produced, but on what it will cost to maintain the producer If (for example) a tapper requires a balanced diet like any other human being, and he requires also a weather-proof house to live in sanitary and hygienic conditions with enough amenities and facilities to bring up his children in the way that a worthy citizen would be expected to maintain then such a standard of living should be worked out for a tapper's family And this should form an irreducible minimum cost of the human labour Supposing his requirements are equivalent to a present day money income of Rs 150/- per month then we should calculate how much marketable commodities a conscientious and skilled tapper will produce with his labour in a month and spread that money income of that tapper over the market price of the commodity One may even imagine, by so doing we may raise the price of gur to Rs 1-8-0 per seer But we should not be afraid of high prices if we aim at bringing about social justice As a matter of [illegible] intermediate [illegible] we [illegible] prices in this [illegible] ment [illegible] cut down various [illegible] from capitalist [illegible] foreign imports [illegible] can ever hope to [illegible] our producers [illegible] is nonsense If [illegible] mean business we [illegible] in right earn[illegible] Otherwise let us [illegible] about the air [illegible] waste our time and ener[illegible]

(Adapted from *Gram* [illegible] July 1951)

* From a summary of a speech delivered by Shri J C Kumarappa at the All India Palm Gur Conference held at Lucknow in June 1953

A VICIOUS CIRCLE

(By M P T [illegible])

All are ready to help the unemployed — to solve the problem of unemployment — provided there come the chances of making profits It is a vicious circle There is plenty of material available, plenty of labour ready to work at any price and plenty of needs of the people but nothing can be done to produce what is needed for profits cannot be made for a long time We cannot get the materials and means of production till we pay for them and we cannot employ people till we are sure of profits — a large margin of profits to allow possible losses

The Government plan is to employ people on construction Of course there is not enough money to employ even a large number of people, i e to pay them and also pay for the materials required to make them work. It can only employ a limited number of people

Most of the money expended by Government goes into the pockets of contractors, experts and offices Only in a period of construction a certain number of people can be employed But as soon as the construction is over most of them will be thrown out of employment for only a few hands will be required to maintain and run the works In order to re employ the discharged, new constructions will have to be started with new capital

I was in the erection of a Vanaspati factory It was employing hundreds of people during erection but on the day of the opening of the factory the proprietor discharged hundreds of men But on that day, the gate had a cloth stretched on which was inscribed Industry abolishes unemployment ! The proprietor of the factory advertised "Use no ghee, use only Vanaspati, for ghee contains microbes bad for health Vanaspati is untouched by hand" (I told him to add Touched only by Brahmin hands !)

I asked the boss if what he advertised was true did he use Vanaspati ? He said : "Never, I use only ghee"

HARIJAN

July 25 1953

HANDLOOM, CHARKHA AND TEXTILE-MILL

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

' The Committee of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry has, in a memorandum to the Textile Enquiry Committee of the Government of India, urged that in any form of assistance to be given to handloom industry, steps be simultaneously taken to ensure that the number of persons dependent on handlooms was not only not allowed to increase, but was reduced in an orderly manner

" As a contribution in this direction, the Committee has suggested offering of 'active encouragement' to all those who were willing to leave that industry and encouraging weavers' children to enter other occupations — P T I "

The news-item reproduced above is significant in various ways Does the Federation represent and speak for the handloom industry ? Or is it its gratuitous advice to the Government and an unasked for offer to the weavers ? And why should the handloom industry be not allowed to prosper ? Why should the number of persons dependent on it be reduced in an orderly manner ? As Shri Rajaji once put it, does the Federation realize that " the question is not a question of yardage but of human families whose care is the obligation of the Government " ? (*Harijan* 20-9-'52, p 250)

And if the offer of other occupations is made to weavers and their children, why does the Federation not take steps to employ so many others that are already unemployed, but require weavers to be made unemployed ? And how many people can the mechanized industry employ ? Do we not know that conditioned as it is by the use of the machine it can prosper only by eliminating as many men as it can through rationalization ? Again it is never its primary intention nor object to give work to the people and remove unemployment It exists for its own profit and exclusive enrichment It can never employ all the weavers who are really being starved today by the mills through supplying insufficient yarn to them If at all the Federation is so minded, it may better advise its textile mill constituents to produce and supply as much yarn as the great weaving population wants That would be serving themselves as well as hungry weavers and thereby the people

But the news quoted above betrays the real mind of the industrialist He, in self-defence and to perpetuate the economic order that is to his interest goes to such length as of suggesting what virtually amounts to not exploiting to the fullest our great national industry — viz the handloom and its immense potentialities to remove unemployment The Federation blinded by self-interest does not see that as Pandit Jawaharlalji said in Parliament when presenting the Five Year Plan to it, " Ultimately you have to deal not with steel and cement and things that you can measure, but you have to deal with 360 million human beings in this country, each different from the other "

The Textile Enquiry Committee, we hope, will note that it is not a Textile-*mill* Enquiry Committee but it is a committee to see that our composite textile industry which is carried on through the Charkha, the handloom, and the machine also is so re-arranged and co-ordinated that thereby we secure to our hungry millions an honest and decent occupation through working for our textile need Let not the organized capitalist interest of the few who are well entrenched and very vocal be allowed to be too overpowering for such a reshuffle in national interest Rather, the textile mills must be controlled in the nation's larger interests to supply all the amount of yarn necessary for our very expansive handloom industry Let us note that the handloom and the Charkha are very potent instruments in the hands of our people to combat unemployment scattered as widely as the expanse of our land They must be fully exploited Therefore providing for the yarn need of the handloom should be the first concern and purpose of the textile machine if at all it exists or is allowed to exist in our new economy And further as our village people learn to see the wisdom of using their enforced leisure in producing yarn by spinning for their own cloth need and as a result we have more and more good handspun yarn available for our weavers, the mills might gradually lessen their yarn supply Let us also remember that it is an axiom of full employment of our people that production of food and cloth must not be mechanized and in that way centralized in the hands of the industrialist-cum-capitalist, but that it must be the decentralized activity of our whole people and free from the clutches of modern finance and money-market, and the profit motive Then only can we have all of us food and cloth without which people can have no meaning in freedom.

11-7-'53

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AS A TOKEN OF UNDERSTANDING

(By Vinoba)

Excepting Bhoodan and Sampattidan we will not take or ask for any other form of gift or *dan* this is a condition which we have voluntarily accepted in the interest of our work We are engaged in solving a mighty problem which calls for the mobilization of all our energy Raising of money-subscriptions I regard as particularly dangerous. Similarly *go-dan* i e giving of cows has no use for us

We should certainly ask for one-sixth of the total land, but we cannot refuse if what is offered is less than that Of course, if it is extremely little, it should not be accepted because it degrades the donor

About Sampattidan we should observe very great care, because he who signs the pledge is required to continue the *dan* year after year for his life One may sign it on the impulse of the moment but fail to fulfil it subsequently This should be avoided, because it will spoil the atmosphere We should therefore make sure that the donor signs with full faith and after full consultations with the members of his family

The donor of the Bhoodan may suggest the name of a deserving recipient. But generally our method of distribution before an open assembly of the local population is to be preferred The donor will do well to realize that it is better to donate without any limiting conditions

Our work may be conceived as an attempt on our part to explain to the people the right view of things and securing the land-gift as a token of their understanding and accepting it

(From Hindi)

CRIME AND UNEMPLOYMENT

(By Suresh Ramabhai)

Hardly a day passes when Uttar Pradesh's leading English dailies published from Allahabad and Lucknow let apart the Hindi or Urdu ones, do not report a village dacoity or murder on their district news page At times a number of cases, often serious are brought before the public eye

The concern of the State Government for this sad situation is natural Herein is a news-item, dated Lucknow May 24 culled from the *Statesman* (Delhi) of May 26th last

> "The need for organization of village defence and welfare societies combined with rifle clubs, has been emphasized in the course of a review of the crime situation in U.P during the last fortnight of April The police could assist in training the villagers
>
> "It is felt that besides administrative and legal measures, a strong sense of self-help in villages and *mohallas* could be a sure means of effectively counter ing the goonda element '

So one may look forward to the opening up and growth of village defence bodies, rifle clubs, watch-and-ward units, arms-supply depots, ammunition establishments, and the like, in the province w[illegible] than [illegible]th of villages Further may be envisaged a multiple increase in the strength of the police force and the armed constabulary as also the army units But would all this succeed in defending the village better than today ? It could not

According to me, the real causes leading to this unhappy development in our village (as also city) life, in brief, are –

1 Deepening collapse of village industries and the consequent unemployment of the village weaver, tanner, miller, potter, carpenter, smith etc , almost every village artisan

2 Introduction of mechanized or 'improved' agricultural implements and tube-wells resulting in the unemployment of the landless or semi landless labourer

3 Eviction of peasants on a mass scale by the former zamindars who got land (tilled by the cultivator for generations) and even gardens recorded as their own *Khud kasht* (self-cultivation)

4 Lift given to goondas by disgruntled and *zamindari-nahin-ja-sakti-wallah* (zamindari-must-remain-wallah) zamindars , and last but not the least

5 Behind the curtain encouragement by police officers who enjoy share in the booty

There are other factors also which have indirectly led to this unfortunate crime wave, viz , a levy of fresh taxes in irrigation new charges or taxes increasingly imposed by the District Board authorities in the form of octroi toll-tax, camel-tax etc etc the biased behaviour of the *gaon-sabha* chief or *sarpanch adalat* and the group rivalry on party lines, specially Congressmen and ex Congressmen or new Praja-socialists

Now the raising of village defence societies does not touch either of the issues mentioned above On the contrary it will give rise to a new terrorization perpetrated by the richer section of the population or the vocal ones who command influence with the revenue and police authorities The poorer or the dumb and resourceless villager has thereby nothing to gain he would rather lose the little what he happens to have for he cannot easily approach courts or authorities

The real remedy of the disease which is eating into the life of our villages consists in progressively making our villages self-sufficient on a decentralized basis That would wipe out village unemployment, stop the British-founded process of exporting village raw materials to cities or mills and importing barest necessities of life — like clothing Vanaspati or oils shoe-wears utensils etc — from cities as also the exodus of educated men to cities. But that is possible only when the Government is prepared to bring about a radical change in its economic financial industrial, educational and allied policies , in fact to change its very outlook and

approach [illegible] is a crying need for decentralization in every sphere of national life. Let us not forget the immortal truth. That Government is the best which governs the least.

Allahabad 12-6-'53

COLIN CLARK vs. MALTHUS

III

Can I not accept some cloven hoof in our reasoning? There is a narrow and greedy type of businessman who supports Malthusian propaganda simply because he hates the idea of Indians and Japanese competing with him for export markets. There is also the imperialist who thinks that Britain has some sort of natural right whereby food [illegible] produced anywhere in the world should be reserved for sale to us at low prices. Can I see the [illegible] socialist objectively minded but not very well informed [illegible] economic and geographical facts unwittingly [illegible] reaction? Some people are subconsciously [illegible] the rest of the world because it will not [illegible] going back to the conditions of the late [illegible] when Britain was indubitably 'Top Dog'. [illegible] may make use of that invaluable slang [illegible] British exports sold with little serious competition [illegible] and [illegible] take our pick of available world [illegible]?

[illegible] disinterested scientists who have [illegible] Malthusian movement should stop and consider [illegible] unsavoury nature of their imperialistic bed [illegible] ask themselves what sort of reputation our [illegible] no other country as a people who cannot reproduce [illegible] and other country to do so [illegible] and fatuous propaganda? Can [illegible] a country of large [illegible] vigour to start new industries [illegible] of the world, to emigrate once [illegible] large vacant lands which the [illegible] possesses to have a future [illegible]?

[illegible] is raised by Malthusians [illegible] and purpose of man [illegible] and of the means? Is the [illegible] there for the purpose of [illegible] entitled to ignore the natural [illegible] can thereby, as we think, [illegible] better? Was economics [illegible] for economics? I do not [illegible] about the answer. No [illegible] and no economist, however [illegible] right to interfere with the birth [illegible] the other way round. It is parents [illegible] of Prime Ministers and [illegible] organize the world that [illegible] enough to eat.

'God will Provide'

[illegible] conversation which once took place [illegible] administrator—a very good man, [illegible] an Indian peasant woman. [illegible] will be asked her: do you think a [illegible]

[illegible] Earth is not satisfied with the [illegible] is the mother woman with the [illegible] A barren field and a barren [illegible] think?

[illegible] too many children?

[illegible] have men and without [illegible] creatures and who will dig [illegible] water to drink?

[illegible] children will they not be [illegible] rich and the poor are [illegible] who will cut the grass [illegible]?

[illegible] to this. Her work [illegible] been [illegible]. Other things God will provide.

'Can a woman then not have too many children?

'No number is too great. In four days the disease [illegible] *khattak* (the influenza epidemic) took away three men from my family.

'In Europe people would have few children for fear have anxiety how they shall live and what they shall eat.

'They are fools to think like this. God has given them to rule over other countries, and we have lost this country because we killed our daughters'.

This uneducated Indian woman in her wisdom has clearly placed God at the centre of her universe and many of us have placed economics at the centre of ours.

(Concluded)

GHANI AND THE OIL-MILL

At a meeting of the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board held recently in Bombay, it was resolved to recommend the Union Government to adopt the policy of reserving for the Village Oil Industry a portion of the edible oil-seeds available in the country. To achieve this object a portion of the edible oil-seeds crushed by the oil mills should be diverted for use by Ghanis. Another line of action that is proposed is that the Government should restrict the number and capacity of the oil mills to their present strength.

The Union and State Governments have delegated powers under the Essential Supplies Act (Temporary Powers) 1946 to check the indiscriminate establishment of oil mills. In view of the powers assumed by the Government under the amended Industrial Development and Regulation Act, it is competent for the Union Government to ensure that there is no addition to the total crushing capacity of (edible oil-seeds in) the oil mills. For the purpose of enforcing a common production programme for the large-scale and small-scale industries the Government should assume powers even by resorting to further legislation.

The specific proposal of the Board is that sesamum oil-seeds which are at present crushed in small quantities in the oil mills should be completely reserved for the Ghanis. The oil from sesamum oil-seeds being sweet is in demand all over the country for domestic consumption. Because it is in short supply there are chances of adulteration which can be practised easily where there is mass production as in the case of all mill-oils. Restriction of use in the manner proposed will check adulteration.

The common Production Programme Committee of the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board has gone into the details of the reorganisation of the Village Oil Industry and has suggested the allocation of quantities of different oil-seeds to mills and to Ghanis. The increase in consumption of oil-seeds by Ghanis is to be secured by diverting a part of the certain edible varieties of oil seeds from mills to Ghanis as well as by an increase in the production of the edible oil seeds.

All this will require an organization which the Board is expected to assist in building up. Hence the mere fixing of ceiling of mill-oil is only a part of the programme. An organization for supply of raw materials, capital required for stocking oil seeds, supply of improved implements and methods of oil seed crushing and provision for the sale of the Ghani-oil are necessary. These plans have already been drawn up by the Board and steps have been taken to bring them into operation in various parts of the country.

(From a bulletin issued by the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board)

[We would like to know what the Central and State Governments do about these very helpful recommendations of the A I K V I Board.

13-7-'53 M. P.]

AN URBAN ILLUSION

By Vaganbhai P. Desai

A correspondent from Bombay writes to us as follows:

> Mahatma Gandhi in his time recommended Khadi as an instrument in India at that time used to import cloth from abroad worth crores of rupees while itself produced less than even half of our requirements. Times have now changed. India is in a position to export surplus of her stocks of cloth as well as so many other finished articles in piece of exports of raw materials. This position mostly has been due to her industrial advancement and Hand made cloth has naturally receded in the background chiefly because of its high price.
>
> The arguments that so many thousands of looms have been put out of work does not sound well as recently so many new industries have taken up and further will take up a good number of those workers who have been or are being turned out from one or the other centres.
>
> In the present age of machine we simply cannot put the hands of the clock back. There is no sense in suggesting to bring back the bullock cart in place of motor cars railways and aeroplanes as being used nowadays!

It is unfortunate that such naivete on the part of some of our urban people in regard to our real problem still persists. Have the times really or fundamentally changed? Have we solved our problems of poverty and unemployment, our food and cloth need? Do we not find people without cloth in the very heart of our textile mill areas, in spite of all their produce? Was Khadi suggested by Gandhiji merely to oust British cloth? Was it not a fundamental change suggested by him for rebuilding our national economy shattered to pieces under alien rule of foreign trade and commerce? Does not the challenge of Khadi still stand that it alone has the message of Sarvodaya and full employment for India and not the mechanized industries or even the Five-Year Plan?

The argument that Khadi puts back the hands of the clock of progress is puerile and begs the question what is progress! As such it needs no discussion, as it has been answered by Gandhiji himself so often before. The correspondent does not seem to realize the great and baffling problem of economic reconstruction in India and its unique nature. He will be a very bold man indeed who can come out today with saying that the machine will solve our economic problem. The very land which gave the frankenstein of the machine to the world is groaning under that — its own terrible creation. Let our ultra-urbanized people not draw conclusions from what little they see around them in our few isolated cities, but be humble enough to revise their ideas in the true background of our people. The great majority of the Indian humanity live in villages, they are mostly without sufficient work and are consequently reduced to intolerable wretchedness and utter frustration. The order under which they are required to live is more a want of order if not total disorder, and it is for them that we are required to think out an order and [illegible]

NOTES

Rising Prices and Falling Employment

This is perhaps the worst economic [illegible] that can befall a people, and we are today in [illegible]. However, it is a good sign that inspite of [illegible] compelling need for official attention to the immediate requirements of piloting the Five Year Plan Government has noted this distress and turned to amend the Five Year Plan, so as to meet the new and unexpected challenge.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh has tried to argue that the position is one of dwindling purchasing power and employment. That may be so. However price structure also is closely connected with it because what purchasing power we might have will be further reduced by soaring prices. Therefore it will mean a distinct gain to the poor purchaser if prices are not only stabilized but brought down by a wise financial and price policy which should be in the interests of the consumer and not the export import trader or the excise duties.

Increasing employment also may be another helpful remedy. It can be tapped only by encouraging small scale village industries on a large scale, which requires diverting the attention and also the too-forthcoming resources of the nation to these rather than to centralized and large-scale industrial schemes. Will Government realize this before it is too late?

14-7-'53 M. P.

Is it not Improper Expenditure?

We learn from a PTI message New Delhi July 11, that —

> A Committee of seven members has been appointed by the Government of India to undertake preliminary work in connection with the establishment of the National Research Development Corporation.
>
> The functions of the Committee include the drawing up of the memorandum and articles of association of the proposed Corporation and its registration. The Committee will also appoint staff and undertake preliminary examination of projects awaiting development and decide the order of priorities.
>
> The Corporation will be constituted as a Government-sponsored private company under the provisions of the Indian Companies Act and will be financed by a long-dated loan by the Government.
>
> The initial cost of the Corporation is expected to be over Rs 25 lakhs.
>
> The Corporation is intended to fill the gap between research and development and its functions will begin where the functions of the country's research laboratories end. The Corporation will arrange practical trials of innovations in existing Government or private industrial plants where necessary by reimbursing the organizations concerned with the cost of such trials.

[illegible] labo- [illegible] and [illegible] up by [illegible] who are [illegible] development [illegible] industri[illegible] Obviously the will give [illegible] ers that may be helpful to [illegible] Government utilize publi[illegible] which will obviously profit [illegible] Rich and resourceful is [illegible] people not be expected to undert[illegible] work themselves? The [illegible] mes specially pertinent as Gove[illegible] present requires money and as much o[illegible] have to combat unemployment and p[illegible] e and illiteracy etc in the land The [illegible] of these is the topmost national pri[illegible] All the money that we can find must first go [illegible] st project and not wo as that will benefit o[illegible] few who themselves are in a position to un[illegible] them themselves Let this not be misunderstood as opposition to scientific research There is much to be done in that field, that will benefit the poor Unfortunately our eyes are off from it, and the powers that be today only see the claims of the upper fe to the neglect of those of the poor, for whose amelioration we are pledged to pool all our resources Should not diverting of public funds in secondary projects like the one under discussion be considered unjustified and improper?

17-7-'53 M P

The Unhappy Continent

Africa is groaning under the white man's burden But that is not the whole story For Arab slave-raiders are still at their nefarious job in Central Africa. Human beings are sold for prices from Rs 200 to Rs 700 in the slave markets of Arabia, where the slave population is estimated at about three millions The prices vary according to age and sex. Young girls bought for harems sell at the top price Strong men, useful for manual labour, fetch as much as Rs 500 Each month 2 000 prospective slaves are smuggled from the African to the Arabian shore for sale

Unprotected native villages are the favourite hunting grounds of the raiders who operate at night The villages are surrounded, the inhabitants are rounded up and tied together in small groups. They are then driven far into the desert where no European soldiers are likely to interfere

Then for weeks, the men women and children are driven relentlessly through desert and forest to the Red Sea Coast to be shipped to Arabia in *dhows* carefully camouflaged to look like vessels carrying cotton bales and other merchandise

[illegible] the [illegible] planted slav[illegible] surv[illegible] journey is still said to be tru[illegible] (*The National Standard* June 29 1953 p 6)

V G D

'Gandhi Has Shown the Way'

The newsletter of the Society for Social Responsibility in Science (U S A) publishes the following statement by Albert Einstein

To kill in wartime is in no way better than common murder As long, however, as nations are not ready to abolish war by common action and to solve their conflicts in a peaceful way on a legal basis, they feel compelled to prepare for war They feel moreover compelled to prepare the most abominable means in order not to be left behind in the general armaments race Such procedure leads inevitably to war, which in turn, under today's conditions spells universal destruction

Therefore there is no hope in combating the production of specific weapons or means of destruction (such as the atom bomb)

Only radical abolition of war and of danger of war can help

'Towards this goal one should strive, in fact nobody should allow himself to be forced into action contrary to this goal.

Gandhi, the greatest political genius of our time has shown the way and has demonstrated what sacrifices man is willing to bring if only he has found the right way His work for the liberation of India is a living example that man's will, sustained by an indomitable conviction, is stronger then apparently invincible material power'

V G D

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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SOME IMPORTANT QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(By Vinoba)

[Some time ago at a meeting of young Bhoodan workers at Gaya, Shri Vinoba answered various questions regarding Bhoodan which are reproduced below.—Ed.]

Q Do you want us to leave our colleges for Bhoodan work?

A I said you might leave them even if you had no intention to take up Bhoodan work. I did the same. I left it in 1916. I hope you will outgrow the attraction for the college after a year of work outside. Those who do not may rejoin. For those who do not want the old type of college education but who desire to continue their studies suitable arrangements for their education through Nai Talim methods may be made by the Sarva Seva Sangh. One or more such institutions may be started in every province. The students volunteering to take part in the Bhoodan work will be of three types: 1. Those who will work only during the vacation, 2. Those who will leave the college for a year only for devoting themselves to this work, and 3. Those who will leave their colleges for good.

Tilak Maharaj, when he was in the college, was very weak physically. He therefore decided to leave it for a year. He devoted this period for improving his health. Thus instead of four years he completed his college course in five years. But, as he used to say, he did not lose anything by it; on the other hand it enabled him to brave all the sufferings which he was required to go through in his later life. And you know he had to suffer a lot.

Q It is said that Bhoodan Yajna can successfully stop communism from spreading in India. Has the Communist Party in Telangana lost its previous hold over the people?

A Bhoodan work in Telangana was not practised on any extensive scale. What we did was only a beginning and then it was not pursued beyond where we left it. Besides, those who worked with us did not stand for the election. It was Congressmen who contested the elections against the Communists. The Communists were released from the jails just then following their change of policy. They had been in jails for two years, in some cases even three years and naturally they were received as heroes. Therefore they won. Congressmen could not win by capitalizing our work and prestige, unless they had something of their own to show.

Then stopping communism is not our concern. Ours is a positive ideology. It is not an expedient useful for certain temporary ends. There is no disputing the fact that there is acute poverty in India, and we need to eradicate it. Now if this can be achieved by fair means, there is no reason why anyone should still think of employing foul means. A thirsty man if he can get good clean water, will not touch dirty water. If we are able to resolve our problem of poverty through good means, we may be sure that communism will be automatically stopped. We collected twelve thousand acres of land in two months during our tour through Telangana. This was only a beginning. It should have been continued and carried forward. If they do it earnestly and vigorously even now, they can surely bring the people to have faith in this method as a better solvent of their miserable conditions.

Q What do you think of the Indian Communists?

A It is a complete misnomer to call them Communists. I do not see in what they have done in India anything even remotely resembling communism. Whatever little they have done was done in Telangana, and there continuously for two or three years murder, pillage and banditry were the order of the day. And the result was that peasants did not get anything at all. That is why I hold that the Communists in India are mere propagandists, and that they do no constructive work at all. They are no doubt very enthusiastic about propaganda. The Communists in India are not only materialists, they have also developed what we may call a material intelligence—their intelligence is as dense as matter. Materialism is after all a plausible philosophical view. Hence it would not matter much, if they were merely materialists. But then they do not use their intelligence and plan their action according to what goes on in Russia. If Russia changes its line of action, they do likewise. They have no independent intelligence of their own. How can we have any opinion, good or bad about a person who is merely copying others?

[illegible] he C[illegible] 3 living [illegible] have turned it into a dogma based on a book. Like the Arya Samajists they pin their faith in that book and take leave of both the existing conditions in a given place and their intelligence. Actually there should be a proper synthesis between the book the conditions and man's own reasoning. But they regard the book as their *Veda*. Had Marx been living today in India he would have certainly changed his ideas. I tell the Communists that you may be Marxists but Marx was not a Marxist. He was simply Marx and therefore he could change. The Communists have no knowledge of the ten thousand years of the development of Indian thought. Even assuming that this ancient Indian thought is defective in certain respects. Its knowledge would still be necessary if only to know those defects. I therefore find that the Communists have two very serious defects. One, they are book-worshippers, and two, they are ignorant of the development of Indian thought.

Q: Do you think that Bhoodan work on such an extensive scale can be carried on efficiently without an organization to regulate and guide it?

A: We are not against setting up an organization as such. You can form local organizations. But setting up an organization on an all-India scale involves enforcement of discipline and then, as we know from experience everything becomes bogus. We want to keep clear of this great pitfall. A big organization, while it becomes useless so far as work is concerned, engenders a feeling of vanity in its followers. It then serves as label which people use for selfish ends. People tend to speak of themselves as Congressites or Socialists and so on. Everybody seeks to build up his party and in effect isolates himself from the people in general. Instead of shaping the society after what they believe to be true and desirable, they just cut themselves away from it. Had we set up an independent organization of our own, we would not have received the co-operation that we are doing.

Q: The People's Government of China has taken tremendous strides in the past three years. Foreign visitors have felt simply amazed to see the progress achieved and they have praised it in glowing terms. Why cannot India adopt the Chinese way for bringing happiness to her people?

A: People do praise China a great deal. But the change in China has been brought about through a political revolution. A political revolution has its own way of doing things. This revolution in China, we have to remember, was preceded by a long civil war extending over 30 years. Those who praise China ignore this aspect and confine themselves merely to the 2 or 3 years of constructive work following the revolution. Besides, the Government which takes over after a successful revolution has almost an absolute power put into its hands which the Government in India has not. The India Government has not enough army to go the Chinese way. Even at present they have to spend 60 per cent of their budget over the military. So there can be no question of expanding it. You will thus see that the Chinese example is not applicable to our country. But we do think that our Government can and should quicken its present pace of progress. But the Congress has now become the ruling party and therefore capitalists have also entered into its fold. The Government have not the courage to go against them. And what is most important, they are not yet clear in their ideas and policies.

Q: Why does the India Government not nationalize big industries?

A: One reason why they do not is that they do not believe in it. There is a strain of capitalism in their economic outlook. Moreover, it is not true that nationalization is bound to solve problems. Railways have been nationalized but that has not brought any remarkable advantage to the people. If the Government cannot use their present powers to the best account what is the use of investing it with more power? We cannot do much until people develop character. For example there is a good deal of bribery going on in the administrative offices. If now we put more power into the hands of the officers, things may deteriorate still further. What we need therefore as a condition precedent to our success in our efforts is the mental and moral purification of the people so that their conduct may improve.

Q: How will capitalism be ended?

A: Capitalism cannot be ended either by love or conflict, but by right thought. Conflict leads to ever more conflict which can only weaken both, while love also cannot bring about a change of things. Love brings forth enthusiasm, but only right thought can initiate and effect a revolution. That is why we do not beg for gifts but demand a share to which the poor are rightfully entitled. We want the people to understand and accept the idea that in a just and equitable order of society land must belong to all. We rely more than anything else on the force of this thought for furthering our cause. And yet if the conflict becomes necessary, we will not avoid it. Conflict is also one of the factors of progress, but essentially it is propagation of right thought which alone is qualified to bring about a revolution.

Q: The Bhoodan work does not seem to create new leadership. It is rather giving a fresh lease of life to the old leaders.

A: Supposing that this is true, where is the harm in it? If they approve of this thought and adopt it in their life, they will certainly get the

leadership But there is no harm in it. If it is only a pretence which they are putting up for ulterior motives, that would not help them There is a proverb in Sanskrit which says 'the advent of the Spring distinguishes the cuckoo from the crow' In the same way this work will put the sincerity of the workers to severe test and unmask the pretenders before long But it is not correct to say that the Bhoodan movement is not creating new leadership It is a movement inspiring the spirit of sacrifice in society; naturally therefore it is attracting new workers and throwing up a new leadership

Q You insist on good means, — why do you allow bad persons then in Bhoodan work?

A A bad man is not so for all time It was believed of old that one born in a Brahmin family remained a Brahmin all his life, he cannot change The question betrays such an idea. Change always goes on in man Therefore we do not hold him either good or bad, we only look to the means he employs If a bad man gets into this movement and extorts land from people, land would not be forthcoming If however anybody acts so, people will tell him this is not what Shri Vinoba says The fellow will thus be nonplussed. Some say that any form of fear or favour might well be resorted to in the work However people will say for such persons that they do not honour the band of Bhoodan workers Thus, there is always going on in this movement a sifting of good and bad.

(Translated from Hindi)

THE PLIGHT OF OUR PEOPLE

(By J C Kumarappa)

In the last few months I have travelled far and wide within our country meeting thousands of villagers There is one ubiquitous complaint — food and water scarcity Wherever one goes, one hears the same tale of woe

This has been the cry not of recent times, but for a few years past. The remedies that have been tried have not brought the relief that was sought We were objecting to all kinds of gifts of nature being converted into commercial commodities Today water is being bought and sold in many places

It is usual to debit all these to the vagaries of nature But man is nothing if he is not capable of wrestling with nature These conditions are not of recent creation They have been there always and our forefathers have wrestled with them in the past With all the present day talk of modern methods we seem to be aghast at the phenomenon before us

In the past water was conserved by creating forests building tanks, sinking wells, and directing water channels to places of low rainfall We see evidences of their intensive work along our ancient sites of population along river beds like Kaveri, Ganga etc

Today many of these places are silted up. In one of the villages I was visiting a few days ago, the tank covers a very wide area, and it was a decade or two ago full of margosa trees. Hundreds of them to the last tree have been mowed down for war purposes The tank bed is now about 4 or 5 feet higher than what it used to be, being filled up with silt and rubbish This is only one of the hundreds of cases of man's depredations on nature Is it any wonder if we are where we are?

As things are, the persons who would have been rural leaders have run away to cities to seek their fortunes, as circumstances were not conducive to eke out a living in the village under modern economic competitive order introduced from elsewhere Men of lesser build have not been strong enough to co-operate together to work out their own salvation The spectacle we witness is the result

If we can solve the water problem the food problem will largely solve itself, if it is accompanied by a proper plan of cropping, not giving right of way to commercial crops, as they do under the community projects schemes

In some parts of India it is said that about 95% of the water deposited during the rains finds its way into the ocean And of the small portion remaining, a great deal of the water collected in these silted tanks, which are extremely shallow, evaporates in a short time Therefore our loss is deplorable The remedy lies in conserving rain water by a planned programme of afforestation, collecting in tanks etc, and deepening the existing tanks

This programme will give not only work during off-season regularly, but also it will help the villagers to help themselves

The silt that is taken out of these tanks could well be spread over dry barren lands to bring them under cultivation. At the present time every village has tank beds which hardly hold water for more than a few weeks in the year This is wasteful utilization of our land. They are neither water reservoirs nor cultivable land They should be one of these two and properly utilized as such for twelve months of the year. Instead of our huge reservoirs built for generating electricity we could well marshal all the energy that is available in the form of bulldozers to bringing tanks back into use Merely deepening wells or putting up electric pumps is not going to help us far, if the quantity of water available is not also increased at the same time

(Adapted from the *Gram Udyog Patrika*, July, 1953)

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HARIJAN

Aug 1 1953

SARVODAYA AND TAXATION

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, in a memorandum to the Taxation Enquiry Commission of the Government of India, has said that the tax structure should be so evolved that it does not hamper capital formation by individuals as also by corporate institutions

This is necessary because, in the view of the Federation 'India's economic problems are all ultimately traceable to one single factor — that the 360 million people in this country have very limited capital equipment to work with As a result there is a scarcity of one of the co-operating factors in production, viz capital, which makes difficult if not impossible, productive employment of another equally important factor, viz labour If the vicious circle of poverty perpetuating poverty is to be broken it is imperative that the rate at which capital comes to be accumulated must be stepped up" (*The Hindu* 6-6-'53)

Consequently, the Federation argues to say that incomes must not be taxed too much for capital formation — that ' the aim of economic policy should be not one of impoverishing those above the minimum level but to create conditions which would foster energetic action and provide opportunity for all to secure a higher standard of living"

All this in simple language, means that those above the minimum level must not be taxed further, rather they might be given relief in some way so that they might save a little and be induced to invest in new ventures And the Federation does not forget to point out that the question of such incentives to new and pioneering industries is important and deserves to be investigated in all its aspects

It is well known that taxation is a potent instrument in the hands of the State for reducing inequalities of income and wealth among the people Obviously this use can never be disputed nor resented at least in the modern world The Federation agrees to it, however it feels that the pursuit of equality as such can be overdone and hence the process of reducing inequalities of income should not be carried out in such a manner as to bring about a general lowering of the standard of living and increase in unemployment

The Federation does not mention whose standard of living it refers to here but it is obvious that it refers to that of those classes only who have something worthy to be called standard of living And they are the upper few and some sections of the middle classes only — a very small percentage of the community To talk of *lowering* their standards or impoverishing them, as the Federation does, would not be right nor proper And it is misleading to say that they are impoverished or that their standard is lowered

But the Federation pleads for these higher classes and says that in 'assessing the burden of taxation on these groups it is important to consider taxes in their cumulative incidence, these classes bear the larger proportion of indirect taxes like excise and import duties, licensing fees of all kinds, State and municipal taxes and cost of social services. It would have been at least just and fair if the Federation had also added that in India at present it is these classes only that make some income worth taxing, others — a great majority — live on marginal starvation if not actual

And surely a State can tax only those that can bear it and it should use the money so collected in the general welfare of those that are below any reasonable standard of life and income This is the fundamental maxim of public finance which the Federation in its memorandum forgets to note at all and bases its thesis on the doubtful plea that capital formation is the crux of the situation and to help it is the business of the Taxation Inquiry Committee To say the least, this would be taking a very selfish position by our moneyed classes, because it would mean that the State should divert some burden of taxation from them and distribute it on those that cannot and should not bear it That means that the mass of the people who are admittedly too poor for it, must also be taxed in some manner It follows that the Federation would welcome such a proposal. We know to our cost that the mercantile and industrial community does not like prohibition, as it throws the burden of the loss of excise duty from the poor on them. And we also know that there are some people who suggest that salt duty should be reimposed and further, that some form of taxation on agriculture must better be sought out It is high time that the people begin to be frank about all this and say to Government as well as the haves of the community that any sort of such a move will be a clear disservice to the people and will only tend to concentration of wealth and means of production in the hands of the few and to the common detriment of the masses, which the State is directed by the Constitution to avoid and guard against

The only sure and certain way to avert this danger is never to forget to place first the cause of the poor in all our schemes and planning The Indian National Congress in the course of its chequered career, grew to be what it is because it assiduously strove to serve the last first, so that all can be served The Federation's whole

case be [illegible] amounts [illegible] interests [illegible] minimum [illegible] step will [illegible] mation [illegible] taxation [illegible] the poor [illegible] ing class [illegible] people [illegible] organized [illegible]

[illegible] look at the [illegible] itself on [illegible] this is for the [illegible] proceed [illegible] ship of the [illegible] self [illegible] capital [illegible] whatever [illegible] that our [illegible] immediately [illegible] themselves [illegible] having [illegible] remembered [illegible] which is our [illegible] of sound and healthy state craft

वरिज्ञान मर कौन्तेय, या प्रयच्छन्दरे धनम् ।

(Oh Kaunteya see that the poor are rehabilitated and aggrandized by the State exchequer [illegible] it be spent after the mighty and the rich who do not need it.)

From those that have to those that have not, is the eternal maxim of public finance. Without such levelling down of wealth and income there can be no democracy nor social freedom of opportunity. This is not leveling wealth or impoverishing anybody. It is rather creating such conditions as would lead to a sure foundation for stable and equitable progress and prosperity. The Federation forgets that we are in the midst of a revolutionary change in the economic and social structure of our society. It at best argues for a tax structure which will not disturb the *status quo* of the old order. This is its fundamental mistake. We are in the process of the Gandhian revolution that has set in now in our land which lays down that we have to be true and faithful unto the last and only so will all other things be added unto us.

23-7 '53

GANDHIAN TECHNIQUES IN THE MODERN WORLD

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REORGANIZATION OF ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES

(By S N Agarwal)

The alien rulers have given us a 'steel frame' which served their own purposes very well but which is ill-fitted to undertake new and [illegible] tasks under a free and democratic government. It has, therefore, to be re-oriented and overhauled to serve effectively the pressing [illegible] and requirements of a Welfare State.

In order to achieve the above objective, it is [illegible] to revise radically the existing rules of [illegible] and procedure of work in various [illegible] departments. The Britishers [illegible] rules with a specific purpose in view [illegible] to maintain and prop up the [illegible] their officials by laying down rules [illegible] in such a manner that the [illegible] land could not touch even the [illegible] bureaucracy. If the officers [illegible] to become the real servants of the [illegible] these rules of service will have to be [illegible] thoroughly by the Union as well as State [illegible]. The Indian Constitution provides [illegible] on by the Parliament or the State [illegible]

[illegible] rules should *inter alia* provide for [illegible] departmental enquiries by competent [illegible] that the corrupt and the inefficient [illegible] may be rooted out quickly and effi[illegible] rules should also be framed in [illegible] that the honest and efficient officials [illegible] opportunities of proving their worth and merit.

Everybody in the Government from the highest to the lowest should be, like Caesar's wife above all suspicions and must be ever ready to vindicate his integrity by submitting to enquiries and cross examinations.

The dishonest and the guilty should be given exemplary punishments, they should not only be dismissed from service but also heavily fined and speedily prosecuted. Corruption and dishonesty should be regarded as the worst crimes under the new laws of the land. Without adopting drastic measures in this regard, it will be impossible to rid the existing administrative machinery of its numerous faults and shortcomings.

Corruption is not the sole monopoly of any particular section of society. It is hydra-headed monster which has to be fought on many fronts. The public servant, the businessman, and the public in general have to be tackled simultaneously in uprooting dishonesty from the public society. Let all of us read the signs of the times. Let us understand once and for all that the masses can tolerate many economic hardships and difficulties but they cannot and should not tolerate corruption and inefficiency in the

[illegible] forge ahead on the economic front she must succeed in liquidating hunger, poverty and unemployment within a few years. Anybody who comes in the way of her progress will have to go!

(Adapted from *A I C C Economic Review* July 1 53)

GROWING UNEMPLOYMENT

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

In spite of all planning and huge expenditure by the Government therefor, unemployment is asserting itself as a dire and dreadsome reality challenging us all And it is good that public opinion is focussing itself on it. And not that only, but it is slowly but surely growing upon the public mind that this is a major problem and it cannot be solved for us by the machine but only men can solve it with the help of the cottage industries and their simple instruments The following two opinions culled from the daily press *(The Hindustan Times*, July 10, 1953) are worth reproducing

I

Shri Chunilal B Mehta writing on the problem says at the end

> Unemployment in India has become a major economic and social problem Immediate and effective steps are therefore necessary to remedy the situation
>
> "India is abounding with manpower and the first step towards the solution of unemployment is to reduce mechanization as much as possible in all directions and to carry on the work with the manpower available even at a little higher cost than otherwise. That seems at least under the present circumstances a real remedy for the pressing problem of unemployment." (p 7)

II

> Bombay, July 8 —Mr Shantilal Shah Bombay's Labour Minister said yesterday that in a country like India where the density of population was very great and manpower was abundant, the burning problem of unemployment could be solved only through increasing the country's natural resources and by utilizing more manpower in productive activities
>
> 'Over-industrialization, which reduced need of human labour would throw more and more people out of employment and only increase the incidence of unemployment which was already grave
>
> "Mr Shah who was addressing workers of the Walkeshwar-Mahalakshmi group for Social Welfare Committees said the density of population in India was six times greater than that of the U S A and 12 times greater than that of Soviet Russia
>
> "It followed that in those countries manpower was scarcer than in India and the need for industrialization was greater Hence it would be wrong for India to try to keep pace with the industrial progress of those countries.
>
> 'Mr Shah instanced the recent invention of a machine to manufacture *bidis* and said there was enough manpower to meet all the needs of the cottage industry The *bidi* making machine was unnecessary
>
> Mr Shah said another sure way to help solve the unemployment problem was to insist upon using goods made in India. (p 10)

13 7 53

NOTES

I am Sorry

A reader of the *Harijan* from Quetta thinking he might have missed to see it, writes to me asking whether I had mentioned in the *Harijan* about 'the death of our beloved Asaf Ali who died in Switzerland" And if I have not, he rightly rebukes me with saying why I did not, if I wrote recently about Dr Mookerjee I plead guilty that I forgot to note it, for which readers and all who loved the late patriot Shri Asaf Ali will forgive me However, I may assure the reader this much that it was not due to any communal bias that I forgot it I believe, and I hope and pray I am not wrong, that I have been an humble lover of communal unity and that I have religiously tried to eschew myself from any irrational prejudice of a communal nature. I hereby tender my sincere tribute to the departed patriot who was one of that noble band who stood and fought and keenly suffered for the truth of communal unity in India and her freedom based on that principle

21-7 '53 M P

Outlaw the Atom-Bomb

A correspondent in the *Peacemaker* (May 11 1953) writes that a member of the West German Women's Peace Movement went to Rome and was received at the Vatican She brought a petition that the Pope would outlaw the atom-bomb and all chemical and bacteriological means of destruction She got a reply that "the Holy See would seriously consider this proposal *if millions of people would agree to it*" (Italics in the original) The correspondent, therefore, asks that all workers for peace co-operate in gathering as many signatures as possible to be sent to the Pope She says that blanks to be circulated for signatures should be headed, "I petition that the atom-bomb and all chemical and bacterial weapons be outlawed"

Would humanity must with one voice demand from all the secular as well as clerical authorities, a declaration of outlawing these satanic weapons of war

14-7- 53 M. P

"Collective Security's" Toll

Korea has sounded the death knell of the collective security "idea for all thinking people.

The Chinese and North Koreans have driven back the "American aggressors", and the United Nations forces have driven back the "Communist aggressors' Korea is in ruins

An Associated Press survey puts the total casualties for both sides in the Korean war as 23,03,542

South Korea:

1 83 727 killed and wounded

North Korea:

5,12,000 killed and wounded in battle

1,67,000 killed and wounded other than in battle

1 23,000 prisoners

United States

[illegible] 90 665 w[illegible]

China

[illegible] and wounded [illegible]

[illegible] and wounded [illegible]

[illegible] ners

Britain.

585 killed 1 921 wounded 1 2[illegible] captured

Other U.N. Countries

1,985 killed 7 135 wounded 649 missing or captured

Figures for civilians killed since the war began, given by Mr Palmer Bovis, director of a U S relief organization on his return from Korea on April 6, 1953, are more than two millions

Over 1,00 000 children had been orphaned

(From the *Peace News* 12-6-'53)

The Price of "Liberation"

The results of the Korean war cannot satisfy anybody True, aggression has been stopped and both sides of the 'cold war" have been chastened and sobered into a better awareness of the limitations of their physical power. But what a price has been paid in order merely, at the end, to arrive at the same division of Korea which existed before the war! Something like a million dead uncounted millions homeless and displaced, the cities and industries of Korea in ruin And no problem solved, no bitterness assuaged, all the original causes of war still present and virulent as before It is a tragedy without a catharsis

(From the *Peace News*, June 12, '53)

[However, thank God, the Korean armistice has been signed and the massacre of the belligerent as well as the innocent is at least stopped from its further ravages. May God in His mercy give peace time in United Korea now!

24-7 53 M P I

In Aid of a Noble Purpose

To

The Editor of *Harijan*

Sir,

London *Daily Sketch* reports that an Englishman aged 67 years "sees again after 45 years of blindness" 'I am so happy, so very happy' said he thanking God for curing his blindness 45 years after he became blind. He can now see clearly. For that he had to thank eye surgeons at the London Royal Hospital and a woman The cornea of one of this woman's eyes was with her consent skilfully removed alive' by the eye surgeon and grafted on the blind man's left eye Then followed weeks of waiting Then one day the bandages were removed And the Englishman blind for 45 years saw the doctors and nurses It was strangely thrilling There is in this hope for thousands of blind persons in India who can be made to see from an operation like that above described At King Edward Memorial Hospital, Parel, Bombay, eye surgeons perform the operation of removing cornea from healthy e[illegible] p[illegible]fting the cornea in blind eyes There [illegible] doubt many eye hospitals in various cities of India where blind persons can have their lost sight restored again in this way Men and women of good healthy eyes should insert in their will a clause that when they die their relatives should immediately call an eye surgeon and have their eyes removed from their dead body for the above noble purpose of giving sight to the blind in the manner described above

54, Wodehouse Road, Colaba, Bombay-5 SORABJI R MISTRI

Village Oil Industry

(Scheme for 1953-54)

I Present Position

About 30 lakh tons of oilseeds are pressed in India of which 25 lakh tons are pressed by registered mills, 5 lakh tons by small factories, and 10 lakh tons by bullock *ghanis* numbering about 3 lakhs. It follows that on an average a *ghani* crushes about 3 1/3 tons per year, although it is believed its capacity is about double this In addition to the employment that the *ghanis* can provide in the rural areas a great need to develop the village oil industry seems to arise from the general demand for fresh and unadulterated oil produced by *ghanis*

II Problem

1 About 50 per cent of the capacity of the *ghani* lies unutilized chiefly because adequate quantities of oil seeds are not available to them.

2 The existing *ghanis* are inefficient compared to improved ones which can press ten tons of seeds annually per *ghani*

3 *Ghani* oil has to face the competition of mill oil and as such experiences marketing difficulties.

III Programme

Although the existing *ghanis* are inefficient, their replacement by improved ones is bound to be a somewhat slow process and hence, under the programme, it is proposed to serve in the coming year existing *ghanis* also to a limited extent and gradually to introduce improved ones. A group of 40 to 50 villages will have a centre which will organize 50 *ghanis* old and new

The programme is to introduce 2,000 improved *ghanis* during 1953-54 in areas taken up for intensive work At the same time, financial assistance will be given to existing *ghanis* working in these areas.

Assistance may take the form of payment of interest charges on capital invested in stocking seeds, and if necessary subsidies may be allowed, dependent on the quantity of seeds pressed. On the basis of ten tons of seeds pressed by an improved *ghani* per year, this may work out to a maximum subsidy of Rs 600/-

The scheme thus provides for manufacture and supply of improved *ghanis* training and research, and financial assistance by way of grants to cover interest charges and subsidy as production.

(From the Bulletin issued by the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board)

Shocking

1. 'A poor weaver of Benares was driven by hunger to kill his two children and attempt to murder his wife The Sessions Judge sentenced him to death, but the High Court commuted the sentence to transportation for life as there was nothing to show the accused had borne ill-will against his family He had acted in sheer desperation when his earnings as weaver were not enough to support the family

2. 'Unable to find means to feed his children, a man in Kathmangalam near Alwaye threw his five children

[illegible]

[illegible] of Pupe[illegible]

But [illegible] imports [illegible] made clo[illegible] [illegible] from abro[illegible] [illegible] month of th[illegible] [illegible] mith An[illegible] to bring [illegible] from Swi[illegible] Holland an[illegible]

The Ensuing Hindustani Examinations

The ensuing Hindustani Examinati[illegible] from Hindustani *Likhavat* to *Tisri* will be [illegible] on the 20th September 1953 The applicat[illegible] gether with the fees should reach the Wardh[illegible] office before the 13th August 1953

For details write on the address given below

Hindustani Prachar Sabha AMRITLAL NANAVATI
Wardha Secretary

HINDI OF THE CONSTITUTION

[Shri Morarji Desai Chief Minister of Bombay speaking at the Surat Hindi Prachar Mandal Convocation, touched the question of the form of the national language and is reported to have said as follows (*The Hindu* of 17 53)]

There is no meaning in quarreling about the form of the national language Quarrel has not helped progress While we should eschew discussion in this matter, it did not mean that we should give up a principle What is agreed in the Constitution is that Hindi will be the national language, that is 'Hindi-Hindustani" that Gandhiji used To avoid any difficulty the name has been accepted as Hindi, while the idea of a single script has also been agreed to

This was not just to appease the Muslims In large parts of Northern India, literature is in both Urdu and Devnagari scripts By learning both scripts we stand to gain Mr Desai said the scope and the utility of a language could improve if we could learn both the scripts, and that words from various languages of the country should be added to the Hindi vocabulary so that Hindi could become more useful as a common language

[illegible] AND [illegible]

[illegible] use the [illegible] fall out [illegible] use the [illegible] produc[illegible] [illegible] others [illegible] lost [illegible] produc[illegible] [illegible] and falls [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

We Are All One

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor MAGANBHAI P DESAI

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1624

THE HINDI-URDU QUESTION

(By Gandhiji)

I have been connected with the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan since 1918 when I was invited to preside at its session of that year I acquainted the audience with my views on the all-India language Hindi When I presided again at its session in 1935 I was able to persuade the Sammelan to define Hindi as the language spoken by Hindus and Muslims of the North of India and written either in Devanagari or Persian script The natural consequence should have been for the members of the Sammelan to expand their knowledge of Hindi by living up to the definition and producing literature that could be read by both Hindus and Muslims This should have meant the members learning the Persian script They seem to have denied themselves this proud privilege But better late than never Will they bestir themselves now? They need not wait for the Anjuman e-taraqqui-e-Urdu to respond It will be a great thing if the Anjuman does Each association can, if it will work in harmony with the other But I have suggested unitary action independent of the other party That association which will adopt my plan will enrich the language it stands for and will ultimately be responsible for producing a blend which will serve the whole nation

It is unfortunate that the Hindi-Urdu question has assumed a communal shape It is possible for either party to undo the mischief by recognizing the other and incorporating the acceptable part in a generous spirit A language that borrows unstintingly from the others without harming its special characteristic will be enriched even as the English language has become enriched by free borrowings

(*Harijan* 1 2-42)

But is Urdu a language distinct from Hindi as say Bengali is from Marathi? Is not Urdu a direct descendant of Hindi written in the Persian character with a tendency to borrow new words from Persian and Arabic rather than Sanskrit? If there was no estrangement between the two communities such a phenomenon would have been welcomed And when the animosities have died out as they will one day, our descendants will laugh at our quarrels and will be proud of the common Hindustani speech which will be a mixture of words indifferently borrowed from many languages according to the tastes and equipment of its multitude of writers and speakers

(*Harijan* 8-2-42)

USELESS EDUCATION

(By Vinoba)

In the Chandil Sammelan Shri Jayaprakash Narayan had advised students to leave their colleges for a year or so and join the Bhoodan work The students then asked me as to what I thought about the matter I told them that they could leave the college even if they had no intention to take up the Bhoodan work The students enjoyed the reply

It is now 37 years since I left the college and set out in search of knowledge in the world outside One could find many other things in the college but not knowledge The gates of knowledge were however thrown open as soon as I slipped out of the closed walls of the college

And my search for knowledge continues unabated even now I have always believed that there is nothing more sacred than knowledge And this was why I could not bear the waste of time at the college I have always lived in close touch with the students and have kept myself in the know of what is taught in the schools and colleges Almost the same kind of mental food which was served in the name of education 37 years ago continues to be served even today Then the country was under the subjection of an alien rule, now it is free and independent Even so big a change as this has not made any notable change in the matter and in the methods of teaching in our schools

On one side we find crores of men doing labour which is lifeless because it is unrelated to knowledge on the other there are lakhs of students who are receiving an education which is totally insipid, because it is unrelated to work The society has become divided into two classes Those who announce the orders, and those who carry out the orders Despair, poverty and misery are a-galore in the country

[illegible] one place, complain[illegible] cities They said The m[illegible] in a miserable plight. The hi[illegible] money and those of the lov[illegible] their labour to depend upo[illegible] money nor labour Mostly [illegible] member in the family [illegible] money to be maintained The st[illegible] of living we are used to does not accord w[illegible] the income We find it difficult to reduce [illegible] standard of living and there is absolutely no [illegible] for raising the income to meet its requirements Will you consider to give lands to us as you have been giving them to the poor? I said "I do not see any difficulty in giving lands to you The difficulty is entirely yours You cannot work on the farm, how can you ask for land then? So long as the existing system of education does not change there can be no end to the plight of the middle class"

If one does not learn to stand the inclemencies of weather — the cold the sun the winds and the rains in one's young age when the body is growing how can he work on the farm even though he may wish to?

(From Hindi)

KHADI AND RURAL UNEMPLOYMENT

"Revival of Khadi offers the only solution to unemployment in rural areas" says Mr Vaikunthlal L Mehta, former Finance Minister of Bombay and Chairman of the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board in a statement on the question of unemployment

Mr Mehta says "In many countries there are schemes of social security which protect all citizens against unemployment In India when schemes of social security are devised, we think mostly in terms of industrial labour employed in large-scale industries or other large-scale enterprises But the number of such industrial workers is relatively small the large mass of our manual workers being engaged in the agricultural industry for whom and for whose families under-employment and partial employment are not a residual problem but a constant nightmare To devise schemes of social security for one section of workers and not for others would be unjustifiable discrimination and would obviously be against the interests of national solidarity To provide against unemployment in rural areas is however a tremendous financial undertaking practically beyond the capacity of the Central and State Governments to undertake

"To permit millions to remain without work, some from year's end to year's end, and some others for long periods is wrong from the economic point of view as also from other points of view which, however, have been excluded from consideration for our present purpose To allow these large numbers to subsist on doles, even if that were feasible — which is far from being the case — would be anti-social. The revival of Khadi offers as Mahatma Gandhi claimed, the only solution

Handloom Cloth

Although the bulk of the employment that will be provided through the extension of Khadi production will be for hand spinners most of whom may be part time workers, the fact should not be overlooked that in addition there is quite a large number of other artisans who are full-time workers such for instance as carders and weavers

"The handloom weaving industry suffers from a chronic shortage of supply of yarn and the capacity for production that is available lies idle Weavers seldom get a full month's work The effect of increased production of hand-spun yarn will be to provide additional full time employment to handloom weavers and other artisans as well"

Pleading for State protection to Khadi Mr Mehta says "It may be that the wide disparity in price levels that exists today may get lessened and the industry may get reorganized on a basis that enables it efficiently to perform the economic function assigned to it in the national plan The lasting quality of Khadi of standard varieties is not inferior to that of corresponding mill-made cloth nevertheless, attempts will be made by the Khadi and Village Industries Board to raise the standard of production Increase of production may help in lowering costs and some reduction may also be brought about through improvements effected in purchasing cotton and in organizing facilities for marketing But the main factor leading to lower costs will be the use of improved techniques the introduction of more efficient tools and implements and the pursuit of better methods of production It is to this aspect of the work that Mahatma Gandhi wished the All India Spinners' Association to devote itself almost exclusively and it is this aspect again which will engage the attention of the Board even in the early stages of its career

"The main economic justification that needs to be emphasized is the one which has led the Planning Commission, at various places in its report, to recognize the indispensability of village industries in the national economy It accords to these a central place in the programme of rural development the same as for the reorganization of agricultural production The various village industries are deemed by the Commission to be an essential feature of rural reconstruction first because they provide for the production of consumers' goods without the outlay of capital expenditure on a considerable scale and secondly, because they provide employment in a rural setting to surplus or partially employed labour on the land

"Governments, Central and State and individuals can render aid by extending patronage to the products of these cottage industries even at some sacrifice"

(From *The Hindu*, 21 7 53)

WHAT OF INDIA'S HOME POLICY?

(By Wilfred Wellock)

It may interest Indian readers to learn how a Westerner views India today and the part she is playing in world affairs, also the part which she could and may play in the future

What most Indians may not realize is the [illegible] her statesmen are playing in world politics, how strangeness of their ideas against the background of Western power politics, and the challenge these ideas are offering

A few days ago Mr Nehru, replying to a question on Korea at a Press Conference, gave the simple answer that every problem was capable of a peaceful solution. In that answer we have the resurgence of Gandhi in Nehru, and it is [illegible] happening But it cuts across the [illegible] of the official mind of the U S A. e.g., [illegible] belief is strong that there can be no [illegible] between the American and the [illegible] of life and thus that there is [illegible] to a war policy, cold or hot until [illegible] is wiped out or Russia is subdued

The utmost the U S A hopes for is a successful cold war, yet that cold war is already [illegible] many Western Powers with bankruptcy and complete dependence upon the U.S A

And now your Vice-President, Dr Radhakrishnan who is touring America is pouring out [illegible] Indian philosophy in generous doses on [illegible] occasions His farewell broadcast talk to the Canadian people the other day contained some sound but unfamiliar doctrine Here are some excerpts

> Wise and patient political action directed towards the minds of men is what we should aim at and not military victory is another war ..
>
> We have no faith in power politics. War solves no problems, but creates more problems. We believe in peace politics and in peace based on justice. War is not an evil means to a good end It is evil by itself It kills both victors and vanquished. The proper aim of political action is not to destroy our enemies but to [illegible] them, to influence their attitudes and [illegible]
>
> What we want today is not the American way, [illegible] the Russian way, but the human way. Science has given us the possibility of removing hunger and poverty from the face of the earth. If we establish prosperity effectively in the non-communist world, the [illegible] of peace will improve
>
> There is a world revolution in progress and it is utterly independent of communism. Hungry, diseased and despised inhabitants who form the bulk of the non-communist world demand economic progress and [illegible]
>
> Having been ourselves victims of political and economic exploitation, we sympathise with people who are struggling to emancipate themselves from [illegible]
>
> [illegible] we find that the great Powers who have [illegible] in the United Nations compromise with the [illegible] of the Charter confuse stability with the maintenance of present conditions and have a vested interest in the status quo we feel unhappy Power corrupts, but conscience redeems We must crusade for the divine [illegible] rather than against the demon in others

There are thousands in the West who would endorse all the above statements What makes them so striking is that they were uttered by a highly official of a State that is looming large on the world's political horizon No responsible Western statesman would have spoken thus. Yet they point the way, and the only way out of the impasse of power in which the United Nations now flounder Much more of this emphasis from India may yet pave the way to salvation from the threat of the third world war

But what of India's home policy? In India's present crisis it is important to remember that in the long run a nation's foreign policy is determined by its home policy The power politics of the West sprang from their aggressive economic policy, their desire to monopolize the world's markets and the earth's resources Today, the upsurge now manifest throughout the East and the entire coloured world is striking the death-blow to Western aggressive, economic policies and demanding the evolution of a human economy

As I see India today she is halting between two courses, two economic systems, and, make no mistake, two entirely different ways of life — the Western economy and way of life, and the Gandhian economy and way of life If she takes the Western way she will end as the Western Powers are now doing in the impasse of a devastating militarism and fear of a major economic breakdown ideological conflict and a continent-shattering war

What is to be her choice?

If India takes whole-heartedly the Gandhian way, then I believe that in due course she will become the spiritual leader of the nations and also the economic leader .

Both our Western civilization and your Eastern civilization are sick, and bogged in their different ways, and we now discover that the cure of both is much the same Our common need is a human, not an aggressive or power economy, a system which develops the whole man and co-operative, neighbourly communities, which seeks to make not wealth only, but men and women, whole men and women Life is more than bread, and prosperity more than the achievement of abundance It is creative self-expression, neighbourliness, material sufficiency but without the luxury which kills both body and spirit. The Western economy repudiates all these fine values in the interest of profit and abundance It creates mountains of soulless commodities and repudiates the human soul in the mechanization of man by which he is transformed into a robot. Ours is thus a great common cause, and mankind will either espouse it or perish

(Adapted from the *Sarvodaya*, Tirupur, July, '53)

HARIJAN

Aug. 8 1953

WE ARE ALL ONE

(By Mayanbhai P Desai)

Dr Babu Ram Saxena, President of the U P Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, has issued a statement against recognizing Urdu in U P (*vide The Leader*, 26-7-'53), in which he refers to me in words I reproduce hereafter below That is because according to him I committed the mistake of writing about Hindi-Urdu controversy which is at present going on in U P, in the way I did in my article 'A Deplorable Decision', in the issue of 18 7 53 of the *Harijan* Really speaking what I said in it is no way a new thing to the readers of the *Harijan* Gandhiji always said that thing in its essence in this paper I only told it as it applied to the present situation It may be I may err therein, if so, I might be corrected. But Dr Saxena does nothing of the kind.

It is apparent that Dr Saxena did not like my article He will excuse me if I say that it does not surprise me Because, the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan has not liked what Gandhiji said regarding Hindi and Urdu vis-a-vis the national language It was therefore that he had to leave that institution and start a new organization for putting before the country and propagating the true Idea about the language problem

However, it was hoped that the Sammelan would accept the happy formula that the Constitution of India evolved about the language question But that was not to be and the Sammelan stuck to its old policy and continued to propagate it through its Wardha Samiti The Government of Bombay took note of this and did not recognize it If at all any more proof is necessary to vindicate the truth of this step of the Bombay Government the statement of Dr Saxena amply gives it.

He refers to me in his statement as follows

> 'People who do not belong to Northern India and have not suffered from the consequences of this controversy, have a very different appreciation of the actual state of affairs Shri Maganbhai P Desai editor of the *Harijan* weekliss belongs to this class Workers like Shri Desai never suffered from summonses from law courts or from reports from the Police Stations written in a script and couched in a vocabulary which were unintelligible to the people at large'

It is true I am not a Northerner But I know that a summons or a police report in any language or script for the matter of that cannot be read by more than 80 per cent of our people and of the remaining, those in U P who know Nagari cannot read Urdu and vice versa And hence lakhs of them in U P learn both the scripts and Gandhiji told us that this was good for our people

And it is not right to say that only the North suffered from the Urdu-Hindi controversy This burning communal question of the U. P (of which the language controversy is a part) has affected the whole country To solve it Gandhiji tried his very best even in the field of language since 1918 I have played my humble little part in it therefore I know what suffering it involves It is a great misfortune for our country that the question is not laid at rest in U P still

And do we not know what the country had to suffer for not realizing betimes the truth of those efforts of Gandhiji? Are we to continue to have communal tensions still? The right thing for us is to relieve them and see that the old trouble does not occur again I appeal to the lovers of Hindi like Dr Saxena to ponder over this

And what a thing it is for Dr Saxena to remind me on the question of the national language that I do not belong to North India? If he has read the resolution which was passed by the Indian Languages Development Conference Poona (*Harijan* 27 6 '53) he must have seen that it said

> The development of the Official Language of the Union in accordance with the Directives of the Constitution is the *common concern of the speakers of all Indian languages* These efforts will conform to the genius of the parent stock

If Shri Saxena so desires, he might well have the U P style of Hindi as its regional language But then in a similar manner Shri Saxena should admit that the other style of Hindi viz Urdu has also that right And as this involves the good of the development of the national language people outside North India also are interested in it

And why is Urdu enumerated as distinct from Hindi in the 8th Schedule of the Constitution? What is it due to? We should understand its meaning and significance also

Again if script and vocabulary constitute the only distinction between Hindi and Urdu how does this constitute such a big thing, as to warrant any one to say that Urdu imposes a foreign culture? We know from the development of English that for the enrichment of a language words may well be taken from the whole world None may say that Hindi should not enrich itself similarly Rather, Hindi has this catholicity not merely for the vocabulary but also for the whole of our life and culture It teaches us

> कोऊ नहीं है गैर बाबा ।
> कोऊ नहीं है गैर ॥
>
> (None on earth is an alien to us oh brother)
>
> ना कोऊ बैरी नाहि बिगाना ।
> सकल संगि हमको बनि आवी ॥
>
> (None is an enemy nor an alien all are one with us)

How can North India forget this message of our great culture and its heritage? I appeal to friends like Dr Saxena to remember this great culture we are all its children with that great heritage to conserve and cherish.

3-8-'53

(From the original in Gujarati)

BONUS OR PARTNERSHIP ?

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

The following is quoted from the letter of a friend who has made a deep study of the [illegible] connected with labour and industry [illegible] he is also been working in this field [illegible] long period

In some factories specially in oil and petrol [illegible] the workers receive very good wages [illegible] they are also paid bonus which may [illegible] is high as the equivalent of six months [illegible] companies which pay comparatively good [illegible] profits make very good profits That [illegible] able to pay six months wages as bonus [illegible] both the employers and employees well [illegible] because they are earning [illegible] workers because they receive quite a [illegible] eventually the burden of both the profits [illegible] borne by the consumer [illegible] that the companies making [illegible] asked to bring down the prices of [illegible]

[illegible] happened in regard to the wages [illegible] to be paid to the workers [illegible] calculating the profit of [illegible] back from the purchasing power [illegible] employers and the employees [illegible] people

[illegible] examples of this injustice to be [illegible] be pointed out It is clear that [illegible] of the factory owners and [illegible] this way and promote their [illegible] expense of the general public and [illegible] in bring down the prices of the [illegible]

[illegible] urged this consideration on [illegible] appeared in each [illegible] I have of [illegible] in [illegible] bonus to the [illegible] in the interests [illegible] they be asked to bring down [illegible]

[illegible] I am serious about [illegible] of thinking [illegible] in India [illegible] labour [illegible] can accept [illegible] proposition [illegible] it into [illegible]

[illegible] will see that the correspondent [illegible] very important and in some respects [illegible] question I do not know what the [illegible] Law will say about it but to [illegible] that bonus is essentially a gratuity [illegible] willingly and voluntarily by [illegible] they balance their account at [illegible] It is obvious that such pay [illegible] upon the profit made by the in [illegible] there must be a limit to the profit [illegible] so big as to enable the employ [illegible] months wages as bonus It might [illegible] that the workers get ex [illegible] and bonus does no more than [illegible] to a certain extent Why should [illegible] be paid in the form of bonus as though [illegible] a generous gift by the employers to their [illegible] It had better be included in the wages [illegible] Labour Unions in that case should ask the [illegible] to accept the amount in the form of [illegible] increment in their wages instead [illegible] bonus

[illegible] that the payment of [illegible] profits, i e if it is [illegible] profits after deduc [illegible] due expenses [illegible] known the prices [illegible] suggests ? Because [illegible] consumers are also [illegible] If the owners and [illegible] interests of the con [illegible] employees engaged [illegible] America they [illegible] are they are ex [illegible] experiment [illegible] the industries The prof [illegible] shared with the workers [illegible] that the same should be [illegible] needless to say [illegible] consumers

In [illegible] the payment of bonus [illegible] fundamentally wrong [illegible] the interest of the [illegible] instead of bonus a [illegible] article (*Harijan* July 11 [illegible] Holding') the workers [illegible] what eventually there will be [illegible] tablets and all the shares will [illegible] transferred to the workers [illegible] one earning dividends [illegible] sort of active work in the [illegible] unskilled managerial [illegible] ness will certainly take time [illegible] means ousting of the [illegible] do not take any active part in the [illegible] except earning dividends and the [illegible] at once However there is [illegible] beginning in this direction should not [illegible] at once — for which either new shares [illegible] issued or those who hold a very large [illegible] them may be asked to part with [illegible] of the workers

This will [illegible] during the ownership of the industry [illegible] workers and induce the workers to [illegible] peratively It will cut at the root of [illegible] as resort to strikes, dawdling fall of interest etc The industry will then work on the basis of willing and co-operative [illegible] all concerned It will create the necessary conditions for operating our industry on the 'no loss no profit' principle which is accepted as the ideal of a just and equitable society This [illegible] is clear that the warning in regard to the policy of grant of bonus is worthy of attention and the labour unions as well as the State and the society should give immediate and serious consideration to the issue it raises

The letter quoted above expresses the fear that the labour unions are not likely to take kindly to the advice tendered here It is really difficult to forgo what appears to be a concrete gain and to stand up for truth and justice Let us hope however that the labour unions and their leaders will take up the challenge and prove that the misgivings are unfounded

23 7-'53

(From the original in Gujarati)

THE U P LANGUAGE CONTROVERSY

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

Last month Pandit Nehru spent about a couple of days in his home province. In the course of his stay there he spoke on various aspects of the day The language controversy was [illegible] them He spoke twice on the matter The report of what he said about it is reproduced [illegible] from the issue of 19 7 53 of the *National* [illegible] Lucknow

[illegible] a public meeting at the Kayastha [illegible] Allahabad on July 18, Pandit [illegible] there were many people who [illegible] and the real implications of free- [illegible] would like to take the country back to [illegible] in the past In this connection he [illegible] the language problem and said it was [illegible] to suppress the culture and [illegible] any group of people Urdu, he said [illegible] language of Pakistan and any attempt [illegible] would not redound to their credit

[illegible] language of a country, Pandit Nehru [illegible] within itself the cultural heri- [illegible] land In India, they had decided to [illegible] strong language as befitting the [illegible] national language But they should [illegible] equal opportunities of growth to other State [illegible] which, like the Bengali, were rich in [illegible] The growth of a language, he remark- [illegible] not be regulated by legislation but [illegible] constant fostering as that of an infant [illegible]

Addressing the Congress workers at Anand Bhavan Allahabad, on the same day, he said

"There is a vast country with numerous States different languages, and different ways and means of living Unless we have forbearance and tolerance for one another, we will totter We must not try to impose on others our will in [illegible] matters or in matters of languages."

He added "There is no question of Urdu competing with Hindi All the same there can be no question either of suppressing Urdu or its growth in any matter As a matter of fact, we have to enrich every language along with Hindi, and every encouragement should be given, so that Urdu may flourish."

The *National Herald* took note of this in its editorial columns and remarked as follows

> An important matter on which the Congress President spoke at some length was the position of Urdu a mild controversy over which has been raging fitfully in this part of the country Before the controversy takes forms which are not desirable, it would be wise on the part of both those who love Hindi and those who love Urdu to study the question keeping in mind the points which the Congress President stressed
>
> The first point is that there should be no question of any other language disputing the position of Hindi as the national language in the sense that it will be the language of the Union and will command country wide allegiance The content of this Hindi need not be discussed here for there is not enough output yet to discuss It [illegible] the chief [illegible] editorial remarks is that [illegible] language is unique [illegible] no question of Urdu or any [illegible] meeting with it But [illegible] mentioned in [illegible] tion of India [illegible] merated there [illegible] mentioned the [illegible] in the official language of the [illegible] is named Hindi in Article 343 Not [illegible] scheduled Indian languages compete [illegible] themselves While they should all prospe[illegible] progress in their own right, they should also [illegible] and contribute to secure the develop[illegible] and enrichment of Hindi, the official language [illegible] Union But it must not be forgotten that the part cannot assume to be the whole [illegible] appears to be the cause of much confusion and misunderstanding in the U P language [illegible] I have noted that my last article A Deplorable Decision' (*Harijan*, 18-7-'53) [illegible] occasioned some severe comments in one quarter which is not surprising I do not want here to consider them and only suggest that much of that is also due to improper assessment of the position of Hindi the official language of the Union vis-a vis the fourteen scheduled Indian languages in general and Hindi and Urdu in particular

29-7-'53

BHOODAN YAJNA

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THE WHITE MAU MAU

[The following is from the pen of Shri Reginald Reynolds *Peace News* Correspondent in Africa, appearing in the *Peace News* the International Pacific Weekly of London June 26 1953 We in India know him as the young Englishman who loved human freedom and peace and who went to deliver Gandhiji a famous letter to the Viceroy in 1930

25-7 53 —M P]

Official figures can sometimes be interesting I invite your attention to the following statistics from the *Tanganyika Standard* (April 26) and the *Central African Post of Lusaka* (June 12) Both are European papers. They give the casualties in the Kenya disturbances from the declaration of the State of Emergency " in October '52

	Killed by Mau Mau	
	Up to April 23 according to official records	Up to June 8 'Latest official figures
Africans	450	411
Europeans	10	17
Asians	4	4
	Killed by forces in anti Mau Mau operations	
Africans	536	848

While the number of Asians killed by Mau Mau has remained static, seven more Europeans were killed between April 23 and June 8, but in that same period 39 Africans were, apparently brought to life again so that the total killed in Mau Mau during those five weeks must have been a minus quantity of 32

From such incredible statistics it is difficult to draw conclusions but both murder budgets indicate the same general and agreed conclusions

1 The number of Africans said to have been killed by Mau Mau vastly exceeds the number of European victims

2 The number of Africans killed by the forces of law and order (whatever it exceeds—apparently on an increasing scale—the number of African casualties ascribed to Mau Mau

It is a little important among Europeans in Africa that the African has at best only a veneer of civilisation under that lurks the savage I am not in a position to argue about this but I think it is probably true I can believe it because I know it is true of us all What else is modern war but the savagery that lurks beneath our veneer of civilisation and breaks through?

It is not a question of blaming and accusing It is a question of understanding and learning something

To understand Mau Mau you have to know something of the history of the country you have to be able to feel what it is like to be an African treated as an inferior in your own country, confined to the smallest of inadequate reserves, while one European is granted thousands of acres

I am not concerned here with the arguments advanced to justify this state of affairs I am only concerned at the moment with the way you or I would look at it—or an African

Now turn to the European settler He firmly believes in his superiority His great interests too are at stake. Both are challenged It is war—ruthless like all wars today sparing none

He feels as some people felt in Britain— and in Germany—when they looked at the murder done by bombs He feels hard pressed to remain a reasonable person If you read the letter which many Europeans write to Kenya papers or listen to casual conversations Hatred fear self interest and the desire for revenge are the most obvious emotions of reason

Some months ago old Colonel Grogan said in the Legislative Council that the Government should take a hundred of the Mau Mau hang some of them in front of the other prisons and send the survivors home to their villages It was an open declaration of a counter-terror policy

"Make no mistake" said one European to me, "Grogan says what others think but don't say in Legco Don't think Grogan is just a joke."

And the evidence is piling up that Grogan's policy is being unofficially implemented especially by the Kenya Police Reserve (KPR) European settlers and settlers' sons with arms and a very free hand to use them they are the object of more terror today than the Mau Mau itself The terror is called "The White Mau Mau" by many Africans.

Under the shadow of this double terror it is hard to get the truth about anything in the Kikuyu country I was frequently warned of the danger I could bring to Kikuyus by meeting them openly When through the help of friends I eventually did meet them I heard innumerable stories of police brutality

The local police superintendent of "regular" is generally (but not always) exonerated. But he cannot be everywhere at once Patrols of KPR men go and come They regard as an enemy any Kikuyu known to be a supporter of the Kenya African Union—now banned after the failure to kill it by arresting its leaders

For an African even to be educated is to be suspect Why" asked one Kikuyu pointedly is it nearly always the educated Africans who fall to bolt when challenged by a patrol and are shot dead?" *Shot dead* notice the marksmanship of the KPR is suspiciously accurate

There are lawyers who have details of many unpleasant cases—alleged murders and beatings on the Black and Tan model. The massive file are impressive but nobody imagines they represent more than a small fraction of the total.

A man who has been illegally flogged by the representatives of law and order will think twice before he risks a repetition (or something worse) by complaining A dead man will tell no tales and his relatives may fear to share his fate If only one-tenth of the allegations should turn out to be true the case against the Government would be a heavy one—and from my reading of the affidavits I should say there is more fire than that in the smoke

(Adapted from the *Peace News* June 26 '53)

NOTES

Was It Unavoidable?

The U S Congress is expected to give quick approval to a plan proposed by President Eisenhower to begin post-armistice rehabilitation of Korea with part of the funds appropriated earlier for combat needs there He suggested that an initial sum of $ 200 million be made available from the 1,200 million it would cost the United States to participate in the war for another year

The situation confronting the people of Korea was described by him in these words in his message to the American Congress

> The extent of devastation suffered by the people and the economy of Korea is staggering Since the outbreak of war in 1950 one million South Koreans have been killed More than two and one half million have become homeless refugees Five million depend in whole or in part upon relief to stay alive Property destruction exceeds $ 1,000 million This colossal economic disaster

A United Nations official in New York described the Korean situation in greater detail and said

> The fields and paddies the mines and factories which were once the source of livelihood for the people, have suffered substantial damage and destruction. The entire economy is threatened by inflation and the average Korean is reduced to dire poverty

[illegible] aged [illegible] in the [illegible] million [illegible]

[illegible] to [illegible] and [illegible] ly [illegible]

30 7 53

A Simple Question

Major John Eisen[illegible] President Eisenhower has been [illegible] Korea since July 1952 Like any [illegible] was serving in the fight in Korea [illegible] shower was greatly relieved — [illegible] official word of the armistice [illegible] he said The truce has been signed [illegible] son is going to come home soon

Surely every father [illegible] and [illegible] will feel [illegible] home of this beloved relative [illegible] why all should not rejoice [illegible] mother's [illegible] husband [illegible] sensible affair [illegible] President Eisenhower and others like him who rule [illegible] sentimes of millions of fellow-men that have to answer this simple question [illegible] aggrieved humanity

30-7-53 M. P.

The Noxious Weed

The following is taken from a letter to the [illegible] the *New Statesman and Nation* of May 16 [illegible] from Horace Joules of Central Middlesex Hospital

I smoked 35 cigarettes daily until evidence accumulated that this was an extremely harmful habit

As Professor Bradford Hill and Dr Richard Doll have stated the risk of acquiring cancer of the lung is proportionate to the number of cigarettes smoked All scientific evidence confirms this view It is one of the most important facts which have come to light concerning cancer during this century

The situation in relation to tobacco is complicated by many factors, but two main items are the huge profits made by the manufacturers associated with advertising revenue of the press and the £420 000,000 annual revenue collected by the treasury

All young people should know that heavy smoking over a minimum of 25 years has resulted in men and women dying in increasing numbers Last year over 14,000 people died from this disease In the area around this hospital [illegible] more people are now dying from cancer of the lung as from tuberculosis

Nobody has claimed that all cases of cancer of the lung are due to smoking However well over 80 per cent of all lung cancer is related to nothing other than heavy smoking By 1960 approximately 2 000 people will die from this untreatable condition

V G D

Khadi Board Declares Subsidies

The All India Khadi and Village Industries Board has declared subsidies on sales of Khadi implements for Khadi production weaving charges of *Vastrasvavalamban* Khadi and management expenses to recognized institutions in the following manner

1 Subsidy of 3 annas in the rupee for sales of Khadi

2. Five annas per square yard or fifty per cent (whichever is less) of weaving charges per square yard of *Vastrasvavalamban* Khadi

3 Two annas subsidy per square yard of Khadi woven by recognized institutions for management of *Vastrasvavalamban* Scheme

4 [illegible] per cent subsidy will be given to recognized institutions on production and also retail sales up to a limit of Rs 2000/ each,

5 Concession of Rs 15/ per Dhunai Morha (a new type of carding machine costing about Rs 35/ to Rs 40/) of the improved type

6 Two rupees and eight annas subsidy on each handloom of [illegible] pattern (excepting that of Bamboo)

7 Subsidy of Rs 50/ per loom complete with [illegible]

Subsidies referred to 6 and 7 will be allowed on those handlooms which are manufactured by certified work[illegible] Recognized Centres and *Bhandars* are authorized [illegible] to customers the implements after allowing for the concession which will be reimbursed to them after scrutiny [illegible] duplicate bills and fortnightly sales reports

Financial help [illegible] be given forthwith

V P SABNIS
Office Secretary A I K V I B

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The August Week

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor MAGANBHAI P DESAI

VOL XVII No 34 AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY AUGUST 19 1950 TWO ANNAS

A LIFE OF DEDICATION

(By Rajendra Prasad)

Shri Mahadev Desai's life was a life of dedication. He died as he died literally in harness. His death is enviable as his death to every person who devotes himself to a particular ideal and lives for it. It should inspire many young [illegible] many years to live and [illegible]

[illegible] 1 8

DEAR MAHADEV

(By C Rajagopalachari)

The death anniversary of dear Mahadev falls on 15th August. It looks like yesterday. I first met him forty-four years ago and how much we [illegible] shared with one another since then! — [illegible] joy, fun and philosophy — all that has just [illegible] in a dream. Truly 'life is but a [illegible] shadow'.

[illegible] 1 8

BHOODAN YAJNA

[By Vinoba Bhave Pub Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad-9 Price Re 1-8-0 Postage etc As 6.]

It was more than two years ago that Shri Vinoba got the idea of Bhoodan — land-gift — to provide the landless with land and so put them on their way to rehabilitate themselves in our decadent economy. He wor then to tring Hyderabad. Since then he has till now covered a fairly large part of North India by his walking tour delivering his message and it has been very well received by our people all over India. And more it has caught the eye of the outside world also. People outside are wondering at seeing that in India land could be had for mere asking for it, that here in India Shri Vinoba has thought of a non violent way of resolving the land question peacefully and without State intervention or legislation. Constructive workers and political parties in India have also been deeply impressed by this silent revolution slowly taking shape and gathering pitch and volume as also meaning and significance under the unique leadership of Shri Vinoba. It has created a common platform for all those who would like to work among the people and for them in a silent and non partisan manner.

The story of this work is continuously being reported in our daily and weekly Press. The *Harijan* weeklies have been its avowed organs. It was thought, it is high time now to put in the hands of the reading public an authoritative statement about this great movement. Hence this book. It is a selection of articles of Shri Vinoba, that appeared in the *Harijan*. It is hoped the book will present to the reader the case for the Bhoodan movement in the words of its author.

6-8-50 JIVANJI D DESAI

IN MEMORIAM

(By Morarji Desai)

If man in the daily rush of things, would not care to remember his life's ideal, he would be lost like a rudderless ship which will be carried away by winds or be wrecked on a rock. Fifteenth August is a memorable day for us in two ways. Firstly it is our Independence Day we remember it for being free by having broken the bonds of slavery. Secondly it was on that day that Shri Mahadevbhai suddenly went away from our midst. For 25 years he became one with the life and work of his Guru our Father of the Nation such a dedicated life will inspire us for long time to come. He so merged himself in the great life of his illustrious Guru, that we could hardly know his own personality fully well.

The deep intensity and fervour with which Shri Mahadevbhai gave 25 years of his life to the fight for Swaraj are worthy of our imitation at present when we have Swaraj. I am sure specially if students young men and social workers study his life and learn from it it will greatly help us in rebuilding our country. Gujarat raised a fund in his memory. It is at prescot being used to conduct the M D Social Service Mahavidyalaya under the aegis of the Gujarat Vidyapith Ahmedabad, over and above maintaining some social workers. This institution aims to train workers with a high ideal like that of Mahadevbhai before them.

Mahadevbhai would have made a world wide name for himself if he had taken to any one field of activity. He was a man with great capacities. He chose to dedicate them at the feet of his master and gave his all in a silent and unassuming way. I believe none who knew him will have forgotten his calm and sedate figure working incessantly even in the thick of the Satyagraha fights, Gandhiji's fasts unto death, and his long all India tours full of crowded programmes. Those who might have seen him at the spinning wheel will have surely heard the silent note of the deep music of the Charkha that Gandhiji wanted us to heed to. We know how marvellously he wielded the pen. The clock like regularity of the *Harijan* papers and their sure effect on the reader were due to his labours. Gandhiji

[illegible] for these [illegible] even if [illegible] [illegible] that [illegible] even in [illegible] hour [illegible]

This is not the [illegible] him. Let us learn from [illegible] immense contribution of love and [illegible] gave to the cause of our country. That [illegible] can we pay our debt of humil[illegible]

(From the original in Gujarati)

URDU NOT ANTI-HINDI NOR ANTI-NATIONAL

Dr Zakir Hussain President of the Anjuman Tarraqi Urdu (Hind) and Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh Muslim University today (Lucknow Sunday July 28) declared that the struggle for official recognition of Urdu in U P was in essence a step for the redress of a wrong done to the total concept of a secular and democratic order in India "This struggle he added should not be regarded as anti Hindi or anti national but an assertion of the right to live and let live of free existence for multi lingual benefit"

Dr Zakir Hussain was presiding over the opening session of the U P Urdu Conference held here this morning The Conference was held at the successful culmination of the campaign launched to secure two million signatures on a petition praying the President of the Indian Union to recognize Urdu as the regional language of U P according to the provision of the Indian Constitution

Dr Zakir Hussain said that Urdu was an all India language with U P as its home The supporters of Urdu did not desire that a separate zone or region be demarcated for Urdu nor they aimed at parity with Hindi

Proceeding further he said

It is distressing to note that the simple and essentially democratic demand for securing a proper place for Urdu in this State is deemed communal and separatist. This issue was no doubt confused and coloured by politicians as well as religious fanatics in the past But let bygones be bygones. Harping on old jealousies can benefit only those who are enemies of our secular State and unfaithful to our Constitution It is nothing short of calumny to call Urdu communal or to style it as foreign, imposed or artificial It is the fruit of common endeavour in our struggle for existence It has been blessed by our sufis and saints and moulded and perfected by trade, commerce the market place and the meeting hall. It is the language of those who were not tied to any one tradition but were prepared to change and develop and readjust themselves It embodies the intellectual and emotional urge of the Hindus the Muslims and the Sikhs of the State to come together The names of non Muslim writers is legion and even today they make a formidable list. All religions of India all our political struggles our history and culture and destiny are recorded here To deny it due to ignorance or dishonestly is a disservice to our common heritage

"Urdu is neither a foreign language nor the language of foreigners Linguistically all its verbs, prepositions and nouns of every day use are Hindi Phonetically it has no relation with Arabia or Iran Majority of its sounds is Indian and even in its script which is so loudly proclaimed as foreign there is considerable number of purely Indian sounds

Some people have called our move disruptive in Indian unity Ever since Hindi has been accepted as the language of the Union we have never opposed it and have always urged on the speakers of Urdu to learn it although Gandhiji's suggestion that those who know Hindi should also learn Urdu has been completely ignored. Urdu had claims as one of the languages of the country and the [illegible] one of the official languages [illegible] imagination be called dis[illegible] unity has such diversity [illegible] for languages in the country [illegible] language in U P is not likely [illegible] endeavour Switzerland is a small country [illegible] official languages so far, now it has recognized [illegible] which is spoken by only 50 000 people. [illegible] does not suffer by a variety of languages National unity is strengthened by magnanimously towards all languages not by the imposition of one language

It is loudly claimed that Urdu is not a separate language but only a style of Hindi On the one hand it is regarded as a weapon of communalism and separatism and on the other it is called a style of Hindi This is bad logic and worse linguistics Urdu and Hindi have a common source but they brished out into different literatures They are now two currents which greatly differ from one another It is not honest to ignore Urdu by merely dubbing it as a style of Hindi

People ask if there is a separate region for Urdu Urdu has no separate region in the sense in which Bengali Marathi and Tamil have regions of their own It is an all India language with U P as its home We do not desire that a separate zone or region be demarcated for Urdu nor do we aim at parity with Hindi at every step It is a fact that from 25 to 30 per cent of the literate population of this State uses Urdu for all its requirements and few of them knew Hindi. Hence the present attitude of the U P Government about the exclusive use of Hindi is causing great handicap and hardship to the Urdu speaking people They have been rendered illiterate There is no question of a rivalry between Urdu and Hindi Both can flourish side by side Naturally Hindi will be used all over the State for all official and non-official purposes but the State should also look to the convenience of that section of the population which speaks Urdu so that it is not debarred from participating in the life of the State

Now a word to writers of Hindi I feel that most of you have misunderstood our demand The Urdu Hindi controversy has for a long time been given a Hindu Muslim angle. It is not easy to forget this history But we are now a free people and we should try to bury the past otherwise we will fail to discharge our duty towards the building up of new India. This freedom beckons us to new endeavours We want to shape our new life in a particular mould, a glimpse of which can be seen in our Constitution. This life is based on tolerance, common endeavour and absence of exploitation of one section of the people by the other Might is not right but right is might. Hindi is the language of the Union and the language of the State If other languages flourish Hindi will also be enriched The campaign for the recognition of Urdu has been very much maligned. I have never said a word against anybody This is not my way But I feel I have a complaint to make. You are the defenders of national values You illumine the darkness of our life You create a sense of dissatisfaction with the baser elements in our life and raise our vision sky-high. You are not confined to the present but look to the future and through your dreams in songs poems and writings you are busy shaping the India of tomorrow It has really pained me that you regard our demand as disruptive and separatist. Try to see the justice of the demand and if you feel that it is wholly or partly correct insist on its acceptance. Your co-operation will lend weight to our demand If you insist on justice being given to Urdu nobody will call you communal or separatist and your sympathy will create similar trends amongst the Urdu writers. No language can be imposed on anybody It has to be accepted and loved and taken to heart. With the joyful contribution of the writers of Urdu both Hindi and India will gain"

(From the *National Herald*, July 27 '53)

LET US PROBE DEEP

(By Vinoba)

When Gandhiji introduced the spinning wheel in the year 1920 people had very little idea of its potentiality But as time went on, the Charkha movement gained momentum and eventually brought us freedom It took us 27 years which might seem to be a long period But if we come to see the history of freedom struggles of other nations we shall have to admit that we attained independence in a comparatively shorter period Thus Khadi developed extensively and in the form of Swaraj we even realized a partial manifestation of its potentiality Little effort was made during that period for its intensive development As a result we see today that we are still far from the economic revolution which Khadi was expected to bring about It secured us political power , and though it had in it the potentiality of creating an economic revolution also, we failed to bring it out because we did not dive deep and catch at its core There are several reasons why we could not do so

I always kept these deeper aspects of Khadi in my view Therefore programmes for extensive production and propagation of Khadi had little attraction for me. My main concern was how Khadi should be made to enter and find a lasting place in every home and how our people adopt spinning as a form of sacrifice to be performed daily My suggestion for donating a yarn hank every year in memory of Gandhiji has at its root the same deeper cause These deeper implications of Khadi still remain to be worked out and achieved

The study of the working of Bhoodan movement during the last two years reveals its satisfactory progress It has spread well in the country It has brought life and hope in the constructive workers Taking into account the gloom and dismay that pervaded the atmosphere two years ago the results of Bhoodan Yajna have certainly surpassed expectations And I hope it will spread still further But if we ignore to dive deep and understand its fundamentals Bhoodan Yajna will also meet with the same fate as that of Khadi I therefore emphasize the need of deep and profound thinking

People sometimes ask me to use a motor car instead of walking on foot from place to place for Bhoodan For they think it will help the extensive propaganda of Bhoodan In ancient times the only known method of propaganda was walking on foot from place to place But now motor cars are easily available and so people think of using them for propaganda. Granting that it helps propaganda at a quick pace it cannot compare favourably with walking in many other respects The latter affords a close contact with the masses and occasions for exchanging views and sentiments thus helping one to dive deep and do right reflection It is close contact with the masses followed by calm reflection that has yielded the idea of Sampattidan as also Shramdan — labour donation I have recently suggested

We have fixed 1957 as the date before which five crore acres of land should be collected and made over to the landless But the basic aim of Bhoodan Yajna is propagation of *dharma vichar* — right thinking Supposing a donor donates land not out of pressure but out of faith, but if a corresponding change does not take place in his principles of life, that donation will be said to be a good deed only of temporary value Though it is useful in a way as it brings self-satisfaction to the donor and creates good sentiments in him it will have little use in our mission

As I said the other day in Palkot if real conversion took place in the process of donation, it will have a lasting effect only if the donor changes his ways of life in the wake of his donation We came across some such persons They are however only a handful. But they alone are our true earnings of the Bhoodan Yajna Such conversions are possible only if we purify our hearts and bring more and more purity in our word, deed and thought Then only can we hope to see a permanent change of heart of the donor And the act of his donation can be expected to transform his course of life

In this light my programme of taking a hoe in hand for digging should be considered and pondered over For years together I have done the work of digging in the manner of devotion My faith in it is so firm that I have no doubt about it that it will help forge the power of the people by inspiring in them the spirit of self-help and self-confidence Though after walking a distance of about ten miles a day we feel fatigued and a little energy is left for further exertion, we do digging work as part of daily programme at least for a few minutes We should however see that it does not become a mechanical ritual though it should be performed daily Without restoring the dignity of labour — productive labour, neither will Bhoodan succeed nor will the poor be raised, nor the difference of the rich and the poor abolished nor Sarvodaya established We have to bear all these deeper implications in our mind in carrying out this programme of digging and dressing the earth so as to make it cultivable

We have taken up another programme — the boycott of mechanized industries in respect of food and clothing There too we should not get caught in its surface aspects. The boycott of the mechanized industries has got to be integrated with the Bhoodan work and to be realized in due course as Bhoodan work progresses

The Bhoodan is a vast revolutionary programme including many and varied items of work and I hope that through this programme we will succeed in achieving all that we could not in the Khadi movement

(From Hindi)

HARIJAN

Aug. 15 1953

THE AUGUST WEEK

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

Ninth to Fifteenth of August is a memorable week for our people More than a full generation ago on August 1, 1920, the Great Lokamanya Father of Indian Nationalism, gave the reins of national forces into the noble hands of Gandhiji and went away The Mahatma with his wisdom and strength of truth and non-violence, mobilized the forces of our whole people within a period of two decades As a result, it was on August 9 1942, that we launched the Quit India' movement under his unbreakable leadership Six days after that day, five years later we got our freedom and the last English ruler left our land

This was undoubtedly a great achievement for our people, history has not seen such a thing before As the events of consequent few years even have shown, India made history thereby and none will grudge us legitimate pride for it On this day when we are celebrating its sixth anniversary, may we remember Him Who only is great and glorious and Who was gracious enough to give us His glory, and we pay our homage to all those patriots, great and small, who worked and died for it. It is also meet that we specially remember one of them Shri Mahadevbhai, even for the simple reason that he fell on this glorious field of non-violent fight on the same day that saw its victory five years after

Late Shri M D gave his whole working life to the noble cause and in utter personal devotion to and service of its magnificent leader The nation owes much to this unique self-immolation and his rare abilities of head and heart, all of which he unstintingly offered away at the altar of the nation

It is also well to remember on this day the great exodus of a band of our Mussalman countrymen under the leadership of late Quaid-e Azam Shri Jinnah who inaugurated and constituted Pakistan, an independent new State on our eastern and western borders Six years of its aftermath unfortunately none too pleasant for both of us, are over, and we have the first good fortune of entering into a new era of Indo-Pakistan relations Rays of inescapable neighbourly friendship are piercing through the thick veil of misty clouds of bitterness and misunderstandings May the new year that dawns today August 15th see the rising of the Sun of good neighbourliness amity and friendship between the two countries, to the greater glory of both and the world as well.

Our home front is also slowly but surely turning the corner From tall talks of big things we are being dragged down to the brass tacks of [illegible] by the sheer force [illegible] poor people we [illegible] we want honest wo[illegible] villages and far off from the [illegible] modern technology how [illegible] it might be to deliver the [illegible] fore a problem that the Father [illegible] understood in its full im[illegible] its Thank God Government [illegible] gun to feel the truth of this [illegible]

On this day we are called upon to remember Khadi and Bhoomidan which together typify and symbolize the urge of our people in a constructive and active manner Let us hope the Government proceeds further on these lines and devises our home policy also as original and far-sighted as our foreign policy of promoting peace and security for the whole world As Shri Jawaharlalji so beautifully put it, "the idea is to make the man in the street feel that he is a partner in the whole game We have to make the masses feel they are all partners in a great enterprise It is only then that they become interested in the stability of the country But, as it is, today the unemployed is not a partner in your scheme By its very nature unemployment is a disruptive trend The great task is to make them partners through work and through intellectual appeal" (A.I.C.C *Economic Review* August 1 1953)

During the seventh year of our freedom which we enter now let us harness all our energies to this great task forgetting foreign slogans and shibboleths that often seem to confuse and befog our minds and beguile us by their easy appeal of the beaten track of the Western Way

8-8-53

AN EXAMPLE FOR INDIA'S YOUTH

(By Jaramdas Doulatram)

My first contact with Mahadevbhai was at the Elphinstone College in 1910 where I was studying for my Arts course and he, two years my senior, was studying for Law His tall springy active bright figure drew my attention as we crossed each other in the verandahs of the College His intelligent and honest face was an index of the qualities of head and heart which developed so magnificently under Bapu's loving care When we were at the College, it never struck me that he would grow so wonderfully and play such a vital part in the life and work of the greatest personality of modern times A strong sense of duty, an ever present smile on his face, complete self-abnegation attention to details affectionate approach to everybody were some of the qualities which attracted me so much to him when I came into contact with him after a lapse of 8 or 10 years His life was interwoven with Gandhiji's and he daily grew in his company His industry was a matter of envy for us all. It was extraordinary how much work he could put through in a day and attend to how

[illegible] many things [illegible] with an attach[illegible] inheritance f[illegible] continuity of his [illegible] English, Hindi [illegible] He struck me [illegible] gift He develop[illegible] English articles [illegible] of what is important and [illegible] sense of publicity marked him [illegible] journalist [illegible] pathetic I remember an occas[illegible] when myself a patient I used to [illegible] bhai's room for part of the day [illegible] him utterly restless and worried [illegible] smile dashed off his face When I [illegible] him what was troubling his mind [illegible] blood pressure has risen very [illegible] utterly overworking I [illegible] with him repeatedly this morning [illegible] would not listen and is keeping at his [illegible] work You also please go and persuade him There was no question of [illegible] Mahadevbhai had failed But Mahadevbhai was so cut up and uneasy that I was led to make the venture It was Bapu's silence [illegible] a brief reply to my appeal and simply [illegible] I am not really over working and my blood pressure has nothing to do with the [illegible] As I was reading his reply he took it [illegible] me and added another sentence [illegible] plete control over my temper [illegible] high blood pressure It was [illegible] Mahadevbhai or anybody else to [illegible] But when I went to Mahadevbhai [illegible] what had happened his mental distress had no way abated The tie between Bapu and Mahadevbhai was deeper than that between father and son Mahadevbhai gave his all to Bapu and his causes He never lived for himself, nor did he work for himself in a real sense His life was a great *yajna* and he himself an *ahuti* And this is how he lived and that is how he died Mahadevbhai's devotion industry courtesy affectionateness are a great example for India's youth

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MAHADEV DESAI'S EARLY LIFE

By N D Parikh

This booklet lets us have a peep into intimate details connected with Mahadevbhai's early life and into the forces that shaped his life and career

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MARTYR MAHADEVBHAI

(By Sushila Nayyar)

[illegible] the 9th of August I was asked by the [illegible] Congress Committee to unfurl the flag [illegible] Bazar Buraloori Chawk At 7 am eager [illegible] men women and children including [illegible] were looking up at the Tricolour as [illegible] on the high flagmast There was pride [illegible] and patriotism in their expressions [illegible] through my whole being Before [illegible] was the picture of 9th August [illegible] fateful morning there were crowds [illegible] every part of Bombay with lathi [illegible] near gassing on the part of the police [illegible] The news of Gandhiji's arrest [illegible] had spread like wild fire The [illegible] agitation had been passed on the [illegible] followed by about 2½ hours' [illegible] In that speech he had [illegible] of the Quit India' [illegible] as the negotiations he [illegible] with the British [illegible] launching on Satyagraha. [illegible] about 12 o clock on the 8th [illegible] and told him that there [illegible] rumours of his impending [illegible] not believe it " The British [illegible] should have let the [illegible] allow all the enthusiasm [illegible] me then best friend [illegible] speech narrating the steps I [illegible] carrying on the negotiations' [illegible] events proved him to be in the [illegible] about 3 a m the next morning [illegible] waiting in, 'Bapu they have [illegible] the bathroom On hearing [illegible] asked 'How long will they [illegible] " Half an hour " replied [illegible] There was a short prayer [illegible] packing of a few belongings [illegible] from Ba and the rest of [illegible] suddenly We asked [illegible] His only message was [illegible] of non violence who fell on the [illegible] found wearing a motto of [illegible] struggle for Independence [illegible] the struggle had been going on for [illegible] century and this was its final phase [illegible] have fallen on the battle-field whose [illegible] unknown and many others who were [illegible] known in their time are being fast forgotten [illegible] their closest friends and admirers A [illegible] member of the latter group was [illegible] Desai who accompanied Gandhiji to the Aga Khan Palace Detention Camp on 9th August 1942 never to come out of those gates again Mahadevbhai was 25 when he had joined Gandhiji soon after the latter's return to India from South Africa He served the master for 25 years with rare devotion so much so that Bapu had come to call him his share body In Bapu's household the duties were varied and manifold ranging from domestic chores — looking after

[illegible] senting [illegible] high [illegible] ambi [illegible] of Mahadevbhai [illegible] interpret Gandhiji to the people and he [illegible] every way possible to carry on his great work. It could not imagine a world without Gandhiji

Mahadevbhai was not an ascetic by temperament He was an artist and a poet but he sublimated those qualities and utilized them in writing beautifully in the weekly journals *Young India*, *Navajivan* and later *Harijan*. The articles were biographical sketches at times, at others there were exposition on Gandhiji's philosophy on various matters political or otherwise His hand-writing was beautiful and his mind was well balanced With every breath he served the master who had come to look upon him as a son but the relationship was better than that of a father and son There was a spiritual bond between the two men and when Mahadevbhai breathed his last on the 6th day of incarceration in the Aga Khan Palace Detention Camp Gandhiji was heart-broken He had faced many blows but perhaps this one was the hardest

Mahadev was to be my heir and complete my unfinished work Now I have to do it for him' he remarked with deep sorrow Everyday he went to the Samadhi of his disciple and placed a few flowers and held a short prayer Some people wondered whether it was idol worship ' I am restless unless I visit Mahadev's Samadhi I go there in order to imbibe the great qualities of Mahadev From being my disciple he has become my Guru "

Mahadevbhai passed away on the 15th August 1942 Five years later on August 15 1947 came the Independence Was it a coincidence ? Or was it a tacit recognition of the silent sacrifices of martyrs like Mahadevbhai who became the foundation stones for the edifice of free India ? They lived true to the message of the master — ' Do or Die " Those of us who have passed through the struggle for freedom have yet to live up to that message We must make a firm resolve to do or die in order to make our freedom full in every sense of the term There are many shortcomings in it The mere departure of the British power from India could not possibly change things overnight and result in all round prosperity All that it has done is to give us the opportunity to shape our own destiny Many of us will have to become the foundation stones for the edifice of prosperity and economic freedom in our country May we have the courage to take a lesson from martyrs like Mahadevbhai !

GANDHIAN TECHNIQUES IN THE MODERN WORLD
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CENT PER CENT SWADESHI *

(By Gandhiji)

Early in the year if not immediately after my convalescence last year, I was called upon by those who were interested in Swadeshi to frame a definition so as to answer the many difficulties that faced them I had to bear in mind the various shades of Swadeshi in textiles. I put together the definitions that were suggested I had correspondence with Shri Shivrao and Shri Jalbhai Naoroji as well as others. I failed to frame a definition that would suit all cases and found that it was impossible to frame an exhaustive definition As I was travelling far and wide I had the opportunity of observing things and of seeing how Swadeshi organizations were functioning I came to the conclusion that the existing practice was an unconscious fraud upon the public and that many workers of ability were wasting their energy in a vain effort They were practising self-deception This strong language whilst it correctly describes my mental attitude, is not intended to cast any reflection whatsoever upon the workers in Swadeshi organizations. They were doing their best without realizing that they were moving in a vicious circle and labouring under self deception

Let me explain what I mean We were holding exhibitions of things that were in no need of special help or of advertisement for their sale In their case our intervention can either stimulate the prices of their wares or set up unhealthy rivalries between flourishing but competing firms

We may profess to gratuitously help textile sugar and rice mills and respectively kill the village spinning wheel the handloom and their product Khadi the village cane-crusher and its product the vitamin laden and nourishing *gud* or molasses and the hand-pounder and its product unpolished rice whose pericarp which holds the vitamins is left intact by these pounders Our clear duty is therefore to investigate the possibility of keeping in existence the village wheel the village crusher and the village pounder and, by advertising their products discovering their qualities ascertaining the condition of the workers and the number displaced by the power-driven machinery and discovering the methods of improving them, whilst retaining their village character, to enable them to stand the competition of the mills How terribly and criminally we have neglected them ! Here there is no antagonism to the textile or the sugar or the rice mills Their products must be preferred to the corresponding foreign products If they were in danger of extinction from foreign competition they should receive the needed support But they stand in no such need They are flourishing in spite of foreign competition What is needed is protection of the village crafts and the workers behind them from the crushing

* Pub Navajivan Publishing House Price Rs 2 Postage etc A 0

competition [illegible] whether it is [illegible] in foreign lan[illegible] It may be that [illegible] and unpolished [illegible] have no intrin[illegible] that they should die But except [illegible] not the slightest effort has been [illegible] I am aware to know anything [illegible] of the tens of thousands of vill[illegible] earning their livelihood throug[illegible] and pounding [illegible] Surely there [illegible] enough for an army of patriots [illegible] say But this is very difficult wo[illegible] But it is most important and equally [illegible] I claim that this is true fruitful [illegible] Swadeshi

But I have as yet merely touched the fringe of the question I have merely sketched three big organized industries and shown how voluntary Swadeshi agencies need to concentrate their attention solely on the corresponding unorganized village industries and giving the help of voluntary and [illegible] help

There are numberless [illegible] village and [illegible] needs that need public support if they are to live and [illegible] the thousands of poor citizens depending upon them for their daily bread Every ounce of work in this direction tells Every hour given to this work means the sustenance of some [illegible] workers

It is my certain conviction that if work is done on a systematic basis in this direction, the department doing it will become self supporting, new talent will be stimulated the educated as well as the uneducated unemployed will find honourable employment without displacing anyone, and crores will be added yearly to the wealth of this country which is getting progressively impoverished.

Here is enough profitable and entertaining work and to spare, for all the Swadeshi Leagues put together The recent resolution of the Working Committee on Swadeshi * means all this and much more It provides limitless work for the creative genius in the country

Harijan, 10-8-34

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* The following resolution was passed by the Working Committee at Benares on 30th July 1934

Doubts have arisen on the Congress policy in regard to Swadeshi It has become necessary to reaffirm the Congress position on it in unequivocal terms Notwithstanding what was done during the Civil Resistance struggle no competition is permissible on Congress platforms and in Congress exhibitions between mill made cloth and hand-spun and hand-woven Khadi Congressmen are expected to use and encourage the use of only hand-spun and hand woven Khadi to the exclusion of any other cloth

In regard to articles other than cloth the Working Committee adopts the following formula for the guidance of all Congress organizations

"The Working Committee is of opinion that the activities of Congress organizations relating to Swadeshi should be restricted to useful articles manufactured in India through cottage and other small industries which are in need of popular education for their support and which will accept the guidance of the Congress organizations in regulating prices and in the matter of the wages and welfare of labour under their control"

The formula must not be interpreted to mean any modification of the unbroken policy of the Congress to promote the Swadeshi spirit in the country and to encourage the personal use of only Swadeshi articles The formula is a recognition of the fact that the large and organized industries which can or do command State aid are in no need of the services of Congress organizations or any Congress effort on their behalf

[illegible] MISSIONARY FRIENDS

Jinendra P. Desai

At the [illegible] time when there is going on long discussion about conversion foreign Christian Mission and their work, etc it is worth while knowing how one of the Nation's honoured senior servants feels about it The following letter reproduced with his permission — I need not mention his name — was written by him in response to a retired missionary friend

You wrote to me something about missionaries and their work You know I owe personally a great deal to my own college the Forman Christian College I also [illegible] and I realize what wonderful help India has [illegible] missionaries from abroad We Indians in our new Constitution have guaranteed perfect freedom of conscience and perfect liberty to propagate one's faith Being myself a devoted reader both of the Old and the New Testaments and realizing the essential unity of all religious thought I am becoming more and more convinced that the propagation of one's faith in the modern days can best be made not by preaching but by example of a life spent in the service of one's fellow beings I only welcomes the services of those who will come to this ancient land to help in a humble way just like yourself for allowing us to improve our standard of living in the field of agriculture medicine education and other spheres of human activity The light of the Gospel shines and illuminates through such action rather than by mere evangelistic effort Conditions in India are rapidly changing and freedom has brought about strong national consciousness We have all to adjust ourselves to the new surrounding

The letter speaks for itself It shows that, as some Christians foreign as well as Indian, wrongly seem to believe and allege, it is no way any ingratitude on our part when we say, as our very strong belief and opinion, that while everybody in India is at perfect liberty to preach and propagate his or her own religion, we do not need nor welcome anybody from abroad to come here to do any evangelical work Work in fields of social services like education, medicine etc is another matter and it is all welcome Done in a spirit of pure service, it is its own reward Therefore it should no way be confused with evangelical work nor should it warrant its doer to convert or proselytize its beneficiary The latter is quite a different activity, and is not necessary nor desirable in free India This is true for all religions that believe in proselytization or institutionalized conversion

And we say this because we believe that it is not a matter of *tolerance* of religions other than our own, but we recognize the basic truth of the

[illegible]

[illegible] Clear [illegible]

now [illegible]

spirit [illegible]

23

MAHADEVBHAI

[illegible] *Kaur*

[illegible] dependen[illegible] [illegible] having g[illegible] country that [illegible] pendence [illegible] she had str[illegible] long and during [illegible] years struggle [illegible] valour and hon[illegible] the incomparable leadership of one o[illegible] men the world has ever seen. In [illegible] thanks for India's independence [illegible] member with gratitude those n[illegible] laid down their lives in the cause of freedom. One such is Mahadev Desai. I had the great privilege of working in close collaboration with him for many years. He had a fine intellect and a still finer character. Mahadevbhai was incapable of thinking a mean thought much less of doing a mean deed. His whole-hearted devotion to Gandhiji, his intellectual appreciation of him, his deeply religious nature which enabled him to understand the foundations on which Gandhiji's philosophy of life rested m[illegible] him in his day one of the best interpreters of Gandhiji. Whenever he was at the helm of *Harijan* his articles in it compelled attention and their w[illegible] never any thought in his mind other than that he should be enabled to place Gandhiji's views before the Government as well as the public in as [illegible]ible and convincing a manner as possible. In other words Mahadev lived and dreamt of nothing but the propagation of Gandhiji's ideology. No wonder that if ever Mahadev was absent from Gandhiji he felt (he said so himself) as if his right hand had been cut off. But his understanding of and his devotion to Gandhiji apart Mahadev's was a very lovable character for he was very affectionate, a man to whom one could open one's heart and above all he had grasped the essence of non-violence inasmuch as he was an emblem of humility. Mahadev could have shone in any sphere of life but he preferred to devote his great talents to the cause of his master in an unobtrusive way, always [illegible] self b[illegible] he might [illegible] [illegible] of the [illegible] will [illegible]

[illegible]

8-8

Hindi [illegible] Hindustani

To [illegible] who ask me wh[illegible] I want Hindi or Hindustani or Urdu I ask a counter-question, Do you [illegible] mata * or ma[illegible] I do not feel any difference between Hindi and Urdu. Or we might say there is only as much difference between them as between growing a beard and shaving it. We may liken the beard to Urdu and its removal to Hindi because you can feel strands of hair on the chin growing up again in fifteen minutes after a clean shave. To put it in another way, the difference between Hindi and Urdu is about the same as between Milton's language and Wordsworth's. A language will never change its character by using either a little more of Urdu words or a little more of Sanskrit words.

(From Hindi) VINOBA

* Both mata and ma mean mother. Mata is Sanskrit, ma is a derivative.

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor MAGANBHAI P DESAI

1124

VOL XVII No 27 AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY, AUGUST 22 1953 TWO ANNAS

[illegible] DEMAND OF THE AGE

[illegible] Nagpheni in the [illegible] explained the pro- [illegible] *ta tan* [illegible] the maugu- [illegible] truth with a view to [illegible] high moral level and [illegible] on on the one hand and [illegible] as [illegible] heated by the external [illegible] in helping it to go [illegible]

[illegible] analysing the nature [illegible] We want to create [illegible] its independence in [illegible] Satyagraha and [illegible] moral force [illegible] which we can [illegible] moral force [illegible] to do through [illegible] everyone of us that [illegible] about the welfare [illegible] so long as those who [illegible] with hunger and [illegible] which and the wise and [illegible] temptation to enjoy [illegible] lives Their first duty [illegible] neighbours This is [illegible] of the heart

[illegible] difference in moral [illegible] heart In Bihar up- [illegible] people have given [illegible] have received land [illegible] donors because [illegible] poor But the [illegible] — even poor people, [illegible] to part with their lands is [illegible] effect upon the richer section [illegible] imperceptibly come to dominate [illegible] they can no longer shake off [illegible] that in this district the Raja [illegible] is moving about among the [illegible] Is this not an example of [illegible] But one must not suppose [illegible] it is a thing which will [illegible] emotional excitement A change [illegible] becomes a nucleus exercising [illegible] change on a number of [illegible] Tana Bhagat* who [illegible] part made thousands take to [illegible] is the working of the influence of [illegible] We may call it by any other [illegible] form of Bhakti i e a devotee, a [illegible]

name — for example we may call it *lokalajja* i e the innate sense of decency which impels a man towards right conduct for fear that otherwise people may look down upon him In any case however, it is a force which is totally different from the force of violence So even when a man acts out of *lokalajja* his sincerity is not to be doubted because it is also a form of the change of heart

"External conditions bring about the change of heart and the change of heart brings about a change in external conditions. They both act upon each other The seed gives rise to the fruit and the fruit gives rise to the seed Supposing an old man takes to renunciation following the death of his son shall we say that his renunciation is born of the old age and the death of his son and is therefore not genuine? At the most, we can say that when he was young and his son was living he lay caught in attachment But knowing, as we do that there are old men who lose their sons in old age but who do not on that account take to the life of renunciation we must understand that the one who felt compelled to adopt renunciation had a seed of it in him from before and the death of the son merely served to bring it out We must then believe in the existence of goodness in the heart of every man The very fact that we have given the right of vote to every one indicates our acceptance of the truth of goodness existing in every human heart.

"We are moving towards our goal from two directions concurrently First, we rely on the indwelling Godhead waking up sooner or later and impelling the individual to take to the right path Secondly, we are striving to create conditions to bring about such an awakening that people will feel compelled to give Thus we are trying to produce a double awakening — a moral awakening resulting in the change of heart and an awakening of the people's consciousness If there is only an awakening of the people's consciousness and no moral awakening it may create the force of violence On the other hand if there is only a moral awakening it will take a very long time to achieve our objective Just as a bird has two wings and must needs use both in order to fly, even so a righteous idea requires both the inner awakening and the outer change in objective conditions

[illegible] from [illegible] gress The [illegible] ants and [illegible] over they [illegible] from But the inauguration [illegible] *ma-chakra* consists in recognizing the need of the age and linking it up with the *dharma* Gandhiji did the same in teaching us Ahimsa Love and non-violence were not new principles But he linked them with the need of the age — with the struggle for Swaraj If he not done so he might still have attracted a few of twenty followers, but he could not have won the supreme leader of an entire nation We could not fight the British with arms because we had no arms and the British were infinitely superior to us in arms The conditions thus demanded a recourse to some other weapon than the force of arms While Gandhiji was convinced of the [illegible] efficacy of Ahimsa, his task was made [illegible] by the suitability of the conditions, and he succeeded in communicating his belief [illegible] to the entire nation and winning [illegible] Similarly, today the poor throughout [illegible] — not only India but also throughout Asia — are hungry for land. And they will not rest until this hunger is satisfied We have linked up [illegible] situation with the moral principle enjoined [illegible] *Gita* that a land holder must give land to [illegible] hungry neighbour, for land is a gift of God [illegible] must therefore be deemed as the common property of the society People could hardly have [illegible] this idea in olden times but now they [illegible] no difficulty in accepting it, since it has been linked up with the demand of the age This [illegible] of the right conditions and a moral [illegible] generates tremendous force and leads to [illegible] we have called *dharma chakra pravartan*"

(From Hindi) N D

EDIBLE OILS, GHANI AND FOREIGN EXCHANGE

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

A correspondent from Bombay who seems to be well acquainted with the trends of the current market and the way it is affected by the export-import trade makes a complaint against the Government If his facts are correct, then the complaint cannot be dismissed as lacking in some substance He writes

"The increase in the prices of edible oils during the last two months would show that the tendency of our trading class to exploit both the excess or scarcity of any goods in the market remains as strong as ever

Having overestimated the groundnut crop at the beginning of the season the Government permitted its export in very large quantities The actual output, however fell far short of the estimate And though this became evident quite early the Government did not take any measure to avert the mischief which was bound to result from their export policy The Government woke up to their duty only when the situation had gone completely out of control and the prices here had risen too high for the foreign markets The Government then set out to restrict exports by refraining from granting any more export quota. But the mischief had been done and the action had been delayed too long to be of any avail then. The stock was insufficient even for our consumption, consequently the prices rose unconscionably high. The poor to whom *ghee* had already become a forbidden thing were now unable [illegible]

[illegible] In [illegible] in [illegible] business [illegible] But the businessmen [illegible] ing his personal interest [illegible] The [illegible] government [illegible] guarding the interest [illegible] think that cunning foreign [illegible] the interests of the [illegible] culpable [illegible] lize that such [illegible] policy may [illegible] to the [illegible] occupation [illegible] great [illegible] many The export-importers [illegible] are always on the look out to promote their business [illegible] profits by somehow winning over the Government to do as they want

And why should oil seeds be exported at all? Do we not need oil and oil-cake? If there will be more of it than we use at present — well the people will have more of it. In any case, it cannot do harm to us But the difficulty is that the economists are wont to think only in terms of money — of profit and loss and prices Wrong training and long habit have warped their minds in such a way that they are always occupied with the money aspect of the situation. Let the rural population and the people in general know that real wealth does not consist in money but in useful goods Therefore the more they get out of the clutches of the money-economy, the better it would be for them

In the change from being a *ghani*-product to a mill-product the edible oils have been turned from an eatable which they are into a commercial commodity to be used as a means of making profits If, in these matters, the final decision is to rest with the people, then it should be clearly understood that oil should again be made a village industry product That will stop the oil-seeds disappearing into the vortex of greedy commerce and they will remain with the people for providing them with oil at their need But for that the nation and the Government have to adopt the Sarvodaya outlook of the Gandhian economics

(From the original in Gujarati)

ALUMINIUM — A MENACE TO HEALTH

(By [illegible] Murthy Mir Mira)

[illegible] aluminium [illegible] seen sovadays, even in the [illegible] village [illegible] country. This is due to some [illegible] in the way of being non-breakable [illegible] cheap [illegible] and looking beautiful. So *ignorant* [illegible] purchase them for they are not aware that [illegible] aluminium is harmful both hygienically and economically.

Aluminium was first used for making cooking utensils [illegible]. At that time the manufacturers were unaware [illegible] dangers to health in using these for culinary pur[illegible]. During the past thirty years the manufacture of [illegible] has developed into a great commercial organi[illegible] [illegible] an intensive publicity campaign, but grave [illegible] taken as to the suitability of aluminium for [illegible] purposes.

[illegible] per the Lancet report published in 1913 evidence [illegible] all parts of the world has accumulated proving [illegible] doubts that aluminium as used for culinary pur[illegible] injurious to health and may even play a significant [illegible] in the causation of certain diseases including cancer [illegible] of [illegible] are alkalies and acids. Aluminium [illegible] dissolved by organic acids and alkalies such as [illegible] and vegetables. It is attacked slowly [illegible] acid but the rate of attack increases marked[illegible] with [illegible] temperature.

In a monograph entitled *Aluminium and Aluminium alloys in the food industry* (1948) by Mr J. N. Bryan [illegible] following, significant admissions are made which [illegible] serve as a strong warning to housewives and [illegible] using aluminium utensils.

Alumina are dissolved to a greater extent which [illegible] definitely harmful.

Aluminium is not recommended for tomato pro[illegible] that require boiling.

There is corrosive action of vinegar when salt is [illegible] particularly at boiling temperature.

Among the pioneers in the investigation of the harm[illegible] effects of aluminium Dr Le Hunte Cooper late Captain [illegible] Army Medical Corps is best known for his writings [illegible] subject. Having suffered himself from aluminium [illegible] he has taken a keen personal interest in the [illegible] According to him aluminium in addition to [illegible] inflammatory and ulcerative effects upon the gastric and intestinal mucosa also seriously affects the [illegible] system. Dr Pohljewski's experiments have shown [illegible] fed rats in aluminium vessel are about forty [illegible] more prone to develop spontaneous cancer than [illegible] animals. Even in the face of all these well [illegible] public data aluminium utensils are being [illegible] [illegible] proved fact that aluminium [illegible] [illegible] system. The health of the country is [illegible] increased diseases. The [illegible] aluminium pots are the [illegible].

[illegible] the best. The village pottery pots and pans are [illegible] because they are not only harmless to human system but also economically help our village pot[illegible]. For [illegible] purposes glazed earthenwares are good.

2. [illegible] utensils and stainless steel. These can [illegible] we are not producing them in our [illegible] costlier compared to mud wares.

Formerly [illegible] country village potters used to supply [illegible] for [illegible]. This supply of mud wares [illegible] continued to [illegible] people have recognized [illegible] food [illegible] superior to the one [illegible]. The mud pots and pans are [illegible] village [illegible] village used [illegible] and the potters were leading [illegible] Now [illegible] some of the appa[illegible] some of the elusive [illegible] have left using [illegible] aluminium wares [illegible] vessels like [illegible] without [illegible] they are [illegible] about one million people who know [illegible] burden [illegible] this country as their [illegible] by this aluminium industry [illegible] [illegible] harmful aluminium vessels [illegible] of villagers and also importing alu[illegible] must concentrate on using our alu[illegible] for sheet metal for industrial purposes.

BACKWARD CLASSES AND THE CONSTITUTION

(By Magunbhai P. Desai)

Shri P. Kodanda Rao, Member, the Servants of India Society in his press release on the work of the Backward Classes Commission presided over by Shri Kalelkar, raises a fundamental question which is noteworthy. He says

> The Backward Classes Commission, now touring the country is concerned with determining the criteria of 'backward classes' as distinguished from advanced classes and to suggest Governmental help and preference for the former. While Part III of the Indian Constitution takes the individual as the unit for Fundamental Rights Part XVI takes the group as the unit for preferences which accrue to the individual only as a member of the group caste, race tribe or community. For instance an individual, who for no fault of his has been listed among the 'advanced' classes will not get a scholarship even if he be poor while another individual fortunate enough to be listed among the backward classes will get it even if he be well-to-do.
>
> It is very doubtful if such an approach is consistent to national solidarity particularly when classes are listed on the basis of immutable birth and not on dynamic culture. A person may choose and change his education or profession but he had no choice in electing his parents. Preferences to some means denials to others. The interposition of a group between the individual and the State in public policies weakens the loyalty of the former to the latter. If on the top of it preferences are attached to existing evils the latter [illegible] and to be perpetuated.
>
> The more rational course is to take the individual as the unit and not a caste, a tribe, etc. which are mechanic for public purposes and to secure for him equality before the law and equality of opportunity for cultural advancement unrestricted by the accident of birth. The Indian Constitution resolutely refused to recognize class, caste or community for the political franchise. It should do likewise for all public social services. In so far as groups are recognized India will be a federation of classes, castes and communities and not a union of citizens.

The fear expressed at the end might perhaps be felt a little exaggerated, however if casteism and untouchability are to go — and they should go then should they not lose the kind of statutory recognition by the Constitution which creates a blind of economically and educationally preferential status in their favour? However, this is not to suggest in any way that the State should not take care to promote educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and protect them from social injustice. The question is how should we do this duty avoiding the danger noted above.

11-8-'53

HARIJAN

Aug 22 1953

GANDHIJI AND VARIOUS ISMS

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

A correspondent in his letter to Shri Jivanji D Desai the Manager of the Navajivan, makes a suggestion which is noteworthy He says

"It is a fact that Gandhiji's writings (in his absence now) do not sell so well as the Socialist or Communist literature Both the Socialists and the Communists are Marxists and as such atheist Gandhiji had fundamental differences with them He did not accept a social order based on atheism and violence However people still adore Gandhiji, hence both the Marxist groups continuously try to win over the Gandhians to their sides The Socialists have won over Acharya Kripalani and are trying to win over Shri Vinoba Bhave On the other side, the Communists feel the satisfaction of having won over Shri Ravishankar Maharaj and Shri Kumarappa, and they are right to some extent

"At such a time the Navajivan office should organize to sell books on our ancient lore and those by our great modern Indians

Such a complaint about the sale of Gandhian literature is not a new one It was there even when Gandhiji was in our midst. Some people said to him in the same way as the correspondent writes above

I remember such an incident. It was I think during the 1935-40 days that a young collegian, who was brought up in Gandhiji's Ashram, said to Gandhiji, "Bapu, the Socialists and the Communists present their things in attractive books and pamphlets and in interesting style These spread among many youngsters like me whether in colleges or outside They are tempted to read them Similarly your ideology also should be broadcast, otherwise the new generation will be carried away by the former only"

Gandhiji answered him, "I follow what you say But my way is different. If what I say is true, it alone will survive, all else, even though made attractive and alluring to make it go, will ultimately go down And if what I say is untrue, then why should it prosper? Therefore, without being uneasy or impatient and saving myself from the botheration like that of those about whom you speak, I persist and go on doing what I hold true, and to those who wish to know about it I go on explaining by speaking and writing It is enough if we work with the faith that ultimately Truth survives and not untruth The fruit lies in the hands of God"

I have summarized the above talk in my own words

Today Gandhiji's teachings are on trial. Till now we generally repeated what he said, because then we were not specially required to do them, rather by so repeating we got some strength and energy Then we were fighting to get Swaraj, hence it was necessary to work with one mind in that [illegible] and there was no difficulty in so acting Now we have Swaraj Now begins the time when what we said before is to be implemented Therefore we all probe into those things deeper and act according to our understanding about them Therefore the old unity of pre Swaraj days is no more with us

And this is nothing to be wondered at We have now to rebuild India We have to see what shape we wish to give. It involves the question of capturing and using the power of the State to that end Now it is not a mere academic question whether this ism is true or that We have now to find out how we as a people can live as a happy, prosperous and peaceful family and to achieve it Hence, we might say, various isms are really on their trial today

Gandhiji did not give his programme by way of competing with various isms that we have come to know from Europe He never intended to give any ism of his own He devised his programme from the realities of our position and to suit our genius Accordingly he told us some fundamental home truths, such as

1 To serve *Daridranarayana* is our common end That is to be the touchstone on which every plan or programme must be tested

2 For that Sarvodaya or 'unto this last' is the true way

3 India lives in her villages Hence her true problems are village problems

4 To solve them the capital of labour and Swadeshi are the best means Without it the whole of our people cannot earn their bread happily and freely

5 Therefore we must develop the economics of Khadi, this we cannot have ready made from the West.

6 Machine is a servant of man it must not be allowed to master him, otherwise society will suffer Unfortunately it appears at present that machine is lording over man, due to which there are the evils of industrialism capitalism and imperialism we should avoid them.

The above-mentioned things are for our economic life Regarding our social and religious life he said

7 Man and woman are equal, they are the two wheels with which the caravan of society goes on Both are co-workers in the life dedicated to Dharma — social good, therefore they cannot live their life for self-indulgence and personal gratification.

8 Untouchability and casteism are the bane of Hindu society If they are not removed the Hindu society will be ruined

Similarly colour prejudice also Without removing all inequalities of this nature humanity will not be happy nor come to her own

9 There should be not mere toleration of various religions, but the realization of their

[illegible] communi[illegible] real Relig[illegible]

[illegible] wish to conve[illegible] for conve[illegible] every co[illegible] respective [illegible] sides from [illegible]

[illegible] ed [illegible]

[illegible] allow t[illegible] gave the [illegible] as the pr[illegible] methodology [illegible]

[illegible] A the me[illegible] Therefo[illegible] ends the [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Peter[illegible] of writing [illegible] *Heal Sr are*[illegible]

[illegible] annual [illegible] such [illegible] polish peace [illegible]

[illegible] pe down the [illegible] and in that [illegible] exhaustive [illegible] ns in then [illegible] example [illegible]

[illegible] like these [illegible] who will exm[illegible] of them [illegible] use then [illegible] And th[illegible] ally [illegible] all be [illegible]

[illegible] teach the [illegible] both [illegible] live [illegible] But [illegible] to G[illegible]

[illegible] communi[illegible] real Relig[illegible]

[illegible] wishes [illegible] for conve[illegible] every co[illegible] respective [illegible] sides from [illegible]

[illegible] ed [illegible]

[illegible] allow t[illegible] gave the [illegible] as the pr[illegible] methodology [illegible]

[illegible] A the me[illegible] Therefo[illegible] ends the [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Peter[illegible] of writing [illegible] *Heal Sr are*[illegible]

[illegible] annual [illegible] such [illegible] polish peace [illegible]

[illegible] pe down the [illegible] and in that [illegible] exhaustive [illegible] ns in then [illegible] example [illegible]

[illegible] like these [illegible] who will exm[illegible] of them [illegible] use then [illegible] And th[illegible] ally [illegible] all be [illegible]

[illegible] teach the [illegible] both [illegible] live [illegible] But [illegible] to G[illegible]

[illegible] owing as [illegible] and confin[illegible] dogma or an [illegible] their own [illegible] Therefore well [illegible] but to make [illegible] is in vain [illegible] ial set-up [illegible] that camp, [illegible] ld not be [illegible] a philo[illegible] to our [illegible] life both [illegible] w dogma [illegible] his auto[illegible] has [illegible]

[illegible] but let [illegible] the standard [illegible] h for judging [illegible]

[illegible] be a narrow [illegible] more and [illegible] series of [illegible]

[illegible] PLAN OF PRIMARY EDUCATION

Aims and Objects

[illegible] olutely clear to me that widespread [illegible] the abolition of the unhealthy [illegible] ten literacy and body-labour can be [illegible] ve us only through this scheme, [illegible] Rajagopalachari Chief Minister [illegible] his introduction to a guide-book [illegible] the Education Department on the [illegible] elementary education

[illegible] says All high princi[illegible] culture religion [illegible] be worked through such im[illegible] we possess or bring into [illegible] date present Many great [illegible] both the methods of educa[illegible] time to time been [illegible] the education im[illegible] improve in quality [illegible]

[illegible] tional reformer was [illegible] and the Father of [illegible] He gave us the [illegible] of Basic Education [illegible] accepted it and a Govern[illegible] confirmed it Basic edu[illegible] in practice in a certain [illegible] But this is by no means [illegible] ing all the defects of our [illegible] the teachers engaged there[illegible] to the extent to which [illegible] the principles of the scheme [illegible] ed by Gandhiji in and

[illegible] the Education [illegible] the assistance [illegible] tion, is accepted [illegible] that can be put through [illegible] our resources and limitations [illegible] firmly believe that a half-baked craft [illegible] le to order cannot be an efficient [illegible] the development of basic education [illegible] nced that we should make use of the [illegible] and craftsman who make their living [illegible] work. The present [illegible] in this conviction [illegible] basic education programme will [illegible] ly affected by the [illegible] schools [illegible] will evolve the [illegible] teacher the [illegible] have for the basic [illegible] duction

The Plan in Detail

[illegible] all the [illegible] they [illegible]

School Hours

[illegible] and classes [illegible] The school will work [illegible] hours during [illegible]

[illegible]

Subjects for Learning

[illegible] Mr. [illegible] skill in [illegible]

Out of School Hours

[illegible] nume contemplated outside the school [illegible] and the village should be treated a [illegible] valuable part of the educational process.

[illegible] school hours what is aimed at is not [illegible] participation in the occupations to [illegible] nabling children to understand and appre[illegible] ful and productive work going on [illegible] his to develop in them a healthy [illegible] labour. It is not only what are called [illegible] any kind of body work within the [illegible] concerned which may be brought into [illegible]

Productive Work Activities

[illegible] of Standards I to III the body [illegible] observation and skilled [illegible] that they observe and even in the [illegible] Standards IV and V they will [illegible] gradually steadily and increasingly [illegible] productive or useful work [illegible]

There [illegible] about timetable for the [illegible] school [illegible] degree of fluidity will necessarily prevail [illegible] The younger children are not obliged to [illegible] particular place for any fixed number of hours [illegible] the older children, they may be encouraged [illegible] longer at selected places. But even for these [illegible] may be kept fairly flexible.

During agricultural [illegible] many of the older children may be encouraged to observe, understand and participate in the various lighter agricultural operations going on in and around the village. The need for providing a programme of other activities will largely arise [illegible] the non agricultural [illegible]

Work Centres

While [illegible] need of any school it is not possible [illegible] in the locality to absorb children in such activities [illegible] school may organize either in the school or outside, [illegible] work centre [illegible] even in such cases it is [illegible] who like by that work and have real and effective skill in the work who are brought in as instructors [illegible] agricultural work in general and kitchen gardening in particular as also home school and village sanitation [illegible] be included in the activity programme schools need [illegible] craftsmen from outside will be very few.

In the case of girls it is expected that generally they will find enough scope for activities in their own homes [illegible] which girls to learn any craft or [illegible] in the village along with boys or separately [illegible] allowed the opportunity.

Since the position has been raised by several people [illegible] necessary to state that helping in the management [illegible] may also be considered as an occupation wherein [illegible] handling of goods and other practical activities [illegible]

No Compulsion

[illegible] be emphasized that all activities in the [illegible] are not compulsorily thrust upon parents [illegible] What is aimed at is that the atmosphere [illegible] be created in which the growing up [illegible] children will come to [illegible] high in the programme under [illegible]

The [illegible] particu[illegible] clame [illegible] school hours is that p[illegible] belong to [illegible] groups and wish to [illegible] children w[illegible] during the out-of-school hours will be allowed to do so [illegible] there is no compulsion that all children belonging [illegible] particular occupational group should necessarily be [illegible] in that occupation. Freedom [illegible] fully allowed to [illegible] in selecting the work

Assistance in Homes

The first step is to allow parents and others to have [illegible] children back during the out-of-school hours for such [illegible] as the children can give in the homes This will [illegible] good percentage of children The second step is [illegible] the children into small groups and direct them to [illegible] centres in the village where some craftsmen are at [illegible] This will absorb some percentage of the remaining [illegible] children The third step [illegible] to arrange that children go [illegible] and simpler activities associated with agri[illegible] This will absorb many more children The next [illegible] easy projects of kitchen gardening [illegible] village sanitation etc And finally where [illegible] and if any suitable programme of bodily [illegible] can be arranged [illegible] in the school or its grounds [illegible] there can be any considerable num[illegible] will be left out after all the above [illegible] to absorb them in some useful work or [illegible]

The Village School Council

The village school council will guide the various activities contemplated in the out-of-school programme In regard to the out-of-school programme of activities there will neither be any quantitative or other standards of or any manner of examination held for promotion of pupils from standard to standard. The success of the programme will be judged by children being kept happy and usefully engaged

Further Education

At the end of the course the pupil will be eligible for admission in the higher elementary course or in the first form of the secondary school as hitherto without any hindrance whatsoever on account of deficiency in the out of school programme

(From *The Hindu* 28-7-5[illegible])

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BHOODAN MOVEMENT AND CHRISTIANS

[A joint statement by heads of Kerala Churches]

It is the duty of all Christians to co operate with and promote movements that aim at the progress and wellbeing of the nation The application of the standard of Christian love in the acquiring and distribution of land is an essential requisite in the achievement of a just social and economic order The tradition of the Christian Church in pioneering for the liberation of the disinherited is doubtless to express itself in this cause as well The influence of the Christian Church in Free India would depend to a considerable extent on the efforts in seeking a Christian answer to the social and economic problems of the people of this country Efforts of the Christian Church in working for individual change of heart should go hand in hand with a passion for righteousness and a concern for transforming the social order which vitally impinges on the lives of such individuals

In this part of our country land is so scarce compared to the population that there are thousands of agricultural peasants who have no land to cultivate and many thousands who are struggling hard without even a piece of land for putting up a hut to live in It is the responsibility of every person who loves the country to find a solution to this desperately urgent problem

It is with a view to finding a solution to this problem on non violent lines that Acharya Vinoba Bhave has started the Bhoodan Yajna movement He says that the peace and prosperity of this country depends on the peaceful solution of the land problem He points out as the objective of this movement, a " change in heart among the people a change in their way of life, and a change in the social and economic order " Just as the Christian Church longs to have each parish transformed into a living working brotherhood after the pattern of the early Christian Koenonia we have also to work towards the ideal of each village becoming a sharing family

The purpose of the Bhoodan movement is to receive gifts of land from those who have for distribution to agricultural peasants who have no land for a homestead or for cultivation The effort is to receive a sixth of the cultivable land of India, viz 50 million acres for such distribution About one million and four lakhs of acres of land have already been so received The quota for Kerala for the current year is 25,000 acres of which only 6 000 have been so far contributed There is no other area in the whole of India where Christians are so numerous as in Kerala. There are many who are in a position to help this movement actively We consider it the duty not only of each Christian but of the Church as a whole to co-operate in this movement which is in keeping with Christian principles, and to make it a success We therefore urge every one according to his ability to contribute gifts of land, money and time for the Bhoodan Yajna movement

NOTES

Bombay's Unique Opportunity

Bombay St[illegible] and honour [illegible] dependent of the [illegible] opportunity if only the [illegible] the occasion and seizes it [illegible] *Harijan* [illegible] 53) the dra[illegible] system that [illegible] at pr[illegible] mov[illegible] and I [illegible] noted the [illegible]

The practical delay [illegible] use of for[illegible] language in administering justi[illegible] The last A I C C Session at Agra has suggeste[illegible] that the judicial system should be revised an[illegible] made simpler less costly and more expeditio[illegible] so as also to serve the purpose and object [illegible] a Welfare State This is not possible to do unle[illegible] the bar, the [illegible] and the judicial service co-operate heartily in the reform If it is felt that such a be[illegible] should be made in Grea Brit[illegible] tain to give them necessary confidence and con[illegible] viction as also an example to go by, we l arn th[illegible] a special committee on this matter has now re[illegible] ported to the British Government and we must profit thereby If necessary, Government of Bombay in consultation with the High Court should appoint a special committee for it The question should better be considered as urgent and immediate as it affects the public in a very vital way

6-8-'53 M P

Capital is a Social Trust

The special correspondent of *The Hindustan Times* in the course of the report of his talk with an industrialist says (*vide* its issue of July 7 1953)

> A prominent industrialist who is in a position [illegible] invest large sum[illegible] and whom I asked why he wa[illegible] investing money in new industries asked me pl[illegible] what incentive there was for it He elaborated [illegible] answer by saying that an investment of Rs 1 crore today would take at least three years to start paying dividends Thereafter if it yields a gross income of say Rs 25 lakhs about Rs 13 lakhs would go in the form of depreciation because of earlier capital outlay today Of the remaining, after payment of taxes, there may be hardly Rs 3 lakhs and out of this, if super-tax is deducted from the industrialist concerned, he would be left with hardly Rs 2 lakhs which [illegible] has to wait patiently for 50 years to recover his outlay

So, on his own calculation, the investor will get at least 2 per cent net on his outlay, over and above his agency and such other charges But he is not satisfied, as he thinks he should also get back his outlay as well. It is not enough that he uses it to his liking and realizes due interest on it; he must create more capital also, again for his private profit and aggrandizement.

This is, in a nutshell, the nature of capitalism. It would not acknowledge that the outlay that society put into the investor's hands is not his private property but is social trust given unto

[illegible] f trust [illegible] a pene[illegible] order [illegible] ple in [illegible] ization [illegible]

[illegible] I Board

[illegible] the princ[illegible] Village Ind[illegible] 75th and 76th J[illegible] [illegible] Khadi and Village Ind[illegible] time at the end of [illegible] also taken to open [illegible] of Khadi and other [illegible] Delhi

[illegible] industry in villages [illegible] for [illegible] in the technique of [illegible] outlay of [illegible] production centres [illegible] pilot projects [illegible] programme for bringing [illegible] improvement [illegible] of corn-grinding through the introduction [illegible] improved two types of [illegible]

In the light of the attention that the Government of India [illegible] well as the Congress and other political organizations have recently devoted to the question of unemployment in the country the Board has represented to the Government of India its view that the promotion of Khadi and other village industries is one of the most effective ways of combating this evil The Board has expressed the hope that the Government of India would enable it to organize necessary steps for meeting the situation caused by the prevailing rural unemployment by increasing the volume of production in places where work is already in progress and by extending it to areas not reached so far by the promotion of Khadi and other village industries In the opinion of the Board this should be looked upon as an integral and essential part of the national programme

V. P. SABNIS
Office Secretary
A.I.K.V.I. Board

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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1629

THE CHOICE BEFORE US

(By Gandhiji)

Prof J C Kumarappa has a grouse against [illegible] that although I am the author and guide of [illegible] I seem to treat it as a step-child [illegible] retorted that the grouse is due to super-[illegible] reasoning He will not take a defeat lying [illegible] He has returned to the charge again and [illegible] refuses to be satisfied till I proclaim [illegible] that the other village industries [illegible] the same footing with Khadi

[illegible] the proposition was so self-evident [illegible] need any enunciation But Prof Kuma-[illegible] right so far as practical application is [illegible] people are not governed by theory [illegible] people have recently complained to [illegible] know men who use Khadi but use [illegible] articles They suggest that many [illegible] Khadi because it is required [illegible] constitution But having no [illegible] ever think of anything but their [illegible] as other articles of use are [illegible] this I call fulfilling the letter and [illegible] And where the spirit is killed [illegible] much use as a body from which [illegible] was

[illegible] that Khadi is the central [illegible] the other village industries re-[illegible] planets They have no inde-[illegible] Nor will Khadi exist without [illegible] industries They are absolutely inter-[illegible] The fact is that we have to make a [illegible] India of the villages that are as [illegible] herself and India of the cities which [illegible] of foreign domination Today the [illegible] and drain the villages so that [illegible] crumbling to ruin My Khadi menta-[illegible] tells me that cities must subserve villages [illegible] that domination goes. Exploiting of villa-[illegible] is itself organized violence If we want [illegible] to be built on non violence we shall have [illegible] the villages their proper place This we [illegible] never do unless we revive village industries by using the products thereof in place of things produced in city factories, foreign or indigenous

Perhaps it is now clear why I identify Khadi with non violence. Khadi is the chief village handicraft Kill Khadi and you must kill the villages and with them non violence I cannot prove this by statistics The proof is before our eyes

(Harijan 29-7-40)

PROTECTION OF THE COW *

My mind is occupied at the moment with the thought of a friend — a man of religion, as he seems to me — who has been fasting here for the past many days in connection with cow-protection And I think I should speak a few words to you about how I feel about this matter Now I should say to you that the aim for which he has accepted to undergo this type of extreme suffering has my full sympathy I hold that Indian culture does enjoin cow-protection in India If we fail to achieve cow-protection in India, our Independence loses its meaning I had placed this view quite frankly before the Planning Commission also But looking to the situation which confronts us and having regard to the fact that all the State Governments are actively thinking about this matter I do not consider recourse to fast to be right

During these five years after Gandhiji's death there have been several cases of fasts, but there was hardly any which could fulfil the test of Satyagraha as I understand it. In some of these cases, I was able to persuade the persons concerned to break them but there were many which continued Now I should like to appeal to those who feel like taking to this extreme course for the redress of their real or supposed grievances to consult me about it before they enter on it, for I think I have reflected a great deal about this form of Satyagraha and know something about its science and application People in India are, I know, dissatisfied over many things today But we have to remember there is only one remedy for all these ills, — we must build up strong public opinion in favour of what we want and be patient We have numerous questions to face and with the best will in the world nobody can attend to all of them simultaneously

Some people are under serious misapprehension in regard to the secular character of our

* Shri Vinoba's speech at Hazaribag on 18-7-53

[illegible] kind of incom- [illegible] n and a secular [illegible] it is desirable [illegible] of our civiliza- [illegible] lings and their [illegible] to give equal [illegible] Ashoka was a [illegible] into Hindus, [illegible] three religions [illegible] equal pro- [illegible] memory and [illegible] State There is [illegible] character [illegible] No reli- [illegible] to kill a [illegible] ity of the [illegible] could have [illegible] thing about this [illegible] only [illegible] fect But there [illegible] could [illegible] the Koran [illegible] the Bible [illegible] pathetically as [illegible] speak as a [illegible] and the [illegible] claim nothing [illegible] killing of the [illegible] animals — [illegible] es that — [illegible] the cow Be- [illegible] ings of one's [illegible] there is no- [illegible] om striving [illegible] do it

[illegible] hesitant [illegible] is wrong [illegible] to be a [illegible] and a [illegible] give rise [illegible] and a Lal [illegible] pping the [illegible] attributes [illegible] city, why [illegible] ways of [illegible] efore follow [illegible] Lord Thus will [illegible] Hindus better [illegible] but also better [illegible] ch social and [illegible] love nd perfect [illegible] efore feel ashamed [illegible] allow them reli-

[illegible] ernment has [illegible] people for [illegible] that this is [illegible] ments In [illegible] they have [illegible] though I [illegible] far it is [illegible] in Bihar [illegible] producing [illegible] bill and I must say [illegible] for the protection [illegible] surprised to [illegible] ween the cow [illegible] But [illegible] that the [illegible] tion does the protection of [illegible] of prohibiting the slaughter [illegible] not say anything [illegible] protection to the bullock I am not qualified to speak about what the Constitution means or does not mean, that must be left to the experts of Constitutional Law But I do say that I do not agree with this view and I disapprove of it The question is whether our State has accepted the responsibility from an economic point of view or from the point of the Indian culture If the motive is purely economic then they need not accept the responsibility of protecting even the cow because economics cannot support the protection of weak, old and disabled cows Economics is one-eyed it advocates killing of weak cows and bullocks as necessary for protecting the strong ones And yet if the Government feel it its duty to protect all the cows the decision must be deemed to have been prompted by the demand of the Indian culture in this regard Why then should it shrink from undertaking the responsibility of protecting the bullocks as well?

The Sanskrit word 'go' (गो) for the cow covers both the cows and bullocks There is no difference between them In the Vedas the cow has been called 'aghnyaa' (अघ्न्या) and the bullock 'aghnya' (अघ्न्य), that is, one which should not be killed Thus it is clear that our culture has accepted to protect both the cows as well as the bullocks I, therefore, request my friends in the legislature to suitably amend the bill so as to extend the protection to the bullocks also They must do it if they have due regard for our culture. Otherwise they must be bold enough to disown the responsibility of protecting even the cows

Protection of the cow and the bullock is a characteristic of the Indian social philosophy We are in this respect a step ahead of the Western socialism Western socialism asks for full and equal protection being given to all men but there it stops We in India have gone a step further We have included the cow as a member in the family True we have not followed this principle in practice fully We merely pay respect to the cow but we do not look after it as well as they do in Western countries Nevertheless we have deep regard for it and consider it worthy of our care and protection in the same way as the human members of the family We do not drive out the latter when they grow old In the same way though we make full use of the cow and the bullock — take milk, get our fields ploughed, use the dung for manure, and use even their hides after they are dead — but we do not

kill them This is a principle which Indian socialism adopted long ago and for which people cherish deep regard But now we must link up this regard with a scientific attitude. Superstitious respect will not do We must open good dairy farms (गोसदन) and the rich amongst us should come forward to provide for the upkeep of decrepit cattle

The Bhoodan work which we are doing includes cow protection also But I prefer to concentrate on the root — on the most fundamental things — that all others may improve automatically The Bhoodan aims at revolutionizing the entire society, and this will naturally bring about the protection of the cows People from other countries may ask us why we should specially choose the cow for protection Why not protect other animals also ? To this, I would say we have no desire to take the place of God who alone can provide protection to all the living beings We have set a limit to our efforts consistent with our capacity We make use of the services of cows and bullocks and therefore we have accepted the responsibility to protect them. I do not like the present craze for tractors being introduced in our agriculture The use of tractors goes against the protection of the cow We may use tractors for bringing under cultivation lands lying fallow but its use in normal agriculture will be in its effect as bad as the deliberate killing of the cows

Our dear sister, Shri Mirabehn, has warned us that while we go about solving the problem of land we should not forget the trees, otherwise we will do harm Her warning has given me great pleasure I had not forgotten it, but I was glad to be reminded of it Bhoodan Yajna aims at developing into an all-embracing movement fulfilling all that is necessary for our progress

May God give us the will and the power to protect those animals to whose protection our culture has committed us

(From Hindi)

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UNEMPLOYMENT AND CAPITAL INVESTMENT

[It is being alleged by some as explanation for the present unemployment that we have not enough capital to tackle with the problem

There is another, rather fantastic explanation that every year there are a million and more added to the number of the unemployed Presumably it refers to the annual increase in our population. If so is it suggested that the new-born are displacing their elders from employment ?

All this only goes to prove that it is all begging the question The simple truth of the matter is that we have some capital to spare and we have innumerable hands ready to be put to some useful work. A plan to be useful in such context and such a situation must find out something for the idle hands to do capital can justifiably be used in that way only But unfortunately Government schemes under the Five-Year Plan do not take this as their basis This is very well brought out by the reality of the situation now as *The Hindu* of July 10 53 in its editorial on unemployment so aptly says The following is reproduced from it.

17 7 53 — M P]

Difficulties in the way of increasing employment by stepping up the rate of investment do not imply that the total volume of employment cannot be increased by changing the character of investment of the available resources It is possible, for instance, to invest a lakh of rupees in ways which would give employment to ten persons or to a hundred It cannot be said that the choice of development schemes in the Five-Year Plan had any relevance to the amount of employment they could provide The Plan has primarily sought to fit into a pattern and schedule various schemes of the Central and State Governments which had been adopted for different reasons It is thus in a way something that has been imposed from above. And it needs to be corrected by drawing up plans which in small locality and area would seek to relate local needs to local resources in manpower and material. The scope for employment must be exploited, not only in national terms, but in terms of the most urgent needs of each village or town When such local schemes are prepared — for building a road, or erecting a bund or raising a new school house or planting trees — on the basis of maximum utilization of local manpower and material, the external help that may be needed will be marginal Central and State and given for such schemes would bring in the maximum return in terms of employment This applies also to the development of local small-scale industries It is through the exercise of local initiative and mutual self-help, with the State affording encouragement by way of advice and marginal assistance, that the ubiquitous problem of unemployment can be tackled There are no heroic short cuts to full employment and the Welfare State

(From *The Hindu*, Madras)

HARIJAN

Aug. 29 1953

SAVINGS AND SOCIAL SECURITY

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

The small middle class is no doubt an important link in our body politic as a whole It is chiefly this class which constitutes what in socialist terminology is called the petty bourgeoisie or the intelligentsia In the social and economic dynamics of the community it has a unique position — almost pivotal. In a capitalist order which we have today, a person of this class, by his petty savings, provides an important source for capital formation And as such an order naturally depends upon capital first and even last to make itself a going concern a sort of political importance also accrues to him. Again he gets his money not as profit from big business but as savings from the income that he gets by serving the big business or government in petty jobs, clerical or managerial In him, therefore, big business has its strongest ally and useful agent, he is almost indispensable to it He not only serves it but also supplies it with necessary know-how, organizing ability and intelligence and also considerable capital through savings

The Government also has a very good helping hand in this class It is this class that mans most of the services of Government And by helping big business, this class produces money which renders income to Government in various ways Government depends for much of its income on big business Thus there comes about a kind of tacit alliance between the middle class, big business, and the Government in a capitalist order as if to the neglect of the masses if not in actual opposition to them.

There is another aspect of middle class savings which may well be noted in passing By investing them as insurance premium or in shares and stock the class has security capital to fall upon in times of need and difficulties Thereby it secures to itself a kind of social security Though this is called social, it is really a class or individual security only It is a kind of family insurance against unforeseen calamities There is thus a very great incentive to save and a strong cause to side with and work for that order

All this is not objected to so far as it goes However the question remains, what about the big rest — the toiling masses of our people? Unhappily for us, the upper few who constitute big business and the middle class are only a small percentage of the community In the economic science that rules our minds today, their labour is rated second to capital and managerial skill and is considered really secondary also in importance and emoluments Capital takes a lion's share and feels secure with it the masses live on marginal sustenance if not in constant want and fear of unemployment and thus they have no social security worth the name

Is this just and proper is the chief quest on In the name of capital formation to remove unemployment (which is again chiefly of the middle classes) or what is called educated unemployment both the Government as well as the industrial and commercial interests of the country cry hoarse to provide incentives for small savings If these are possible on the basis of a poor and socially insecure proletariat or the labourer and the peasant of our country can it be any way a right and justified incentive? In whose welfare will it be? Is it Sarvodaya?

Obviously it is not And therefore to build our new economy in that way would be building not on foundations of rock but on the sliding sands of unhappy and socially insecure masses It would be to deny them the essential needs of a free and happy people It is therefore neither wise nor should it be held expedient as well to adopt that way, in blind imitation of the economy of industrialized and commercially imperializing West We must find out our own new way on the lines of Sarvodaya which is the new way shown to the world by Gandhiji the basis of which is the revolutionary doctrine that the human being and his labour are the first and primary agent of a sound, human and non-exploiting economic world order, and all else follows them and is secondary and as aids to these two primary agents

25-8-'53

SYNTHETIC GHEE

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

The following is from a press correspondent's account of what the Government of India is doing about adulteration of Ghee with Vanaspati

> The Government of India, it is learnt have accepted the recommendations of the Ghee Adulteration Committee to enrich Vanaspati.
>
> The product is now to be vitaminised to a potency of 300 international units of synthetic vitamin A per ounce
>
> Discussing this move Mr S H Turner Technical Director of the Hindustan Vanaspati Manufacturing Company Ltd., in a special interview with this correspondent hoped that the new Vanaspati which will be put on the market around October 1 will remove all rational objections to this important food. Vanaspati added Mr Turner will now be every bit as nutritious as buffalo Ghee and, of course, much cheaper
>
> Vitamin A was obtained from whale shark and cod liver oils that militated against the religious susceptibilities of a vast number of people in this country On the other hand synthetic vitamin A which has recently been developed on a commercial scale is derived purely from vegetable materials
>
> The Ghee Adulteration Committee considered among other things, the possibility of giving a distinct colour to Vanaspati so that the consumer would spot any

AND A WARNING

ed Weltw

[illegible]

[illegible] cost will not [illegible] tional processing. This [illegible] ce will not be immediately [illegible] the new product might [illegible] into the kitchen of the people.

All [illegible] and sidetrack the [illegible] the common man [illegible] an article of food, [illegible] processed devitamin[illegible] commercialized and [illegible] is of a few? Why is an adulterant for [illegible] manufactured at all? And what [illegible] in Vanaspati manufacture [illegible] good bad or indifferent [illegible]? The [illegible] *ala* cares for his profit and the Government for its income therefrom. [illegible] why the Government should [illegible] so [illegible] about an industry that [illegible] people of their good oil which must be [illegible] ought to be made available by encouraging [illegible] village industry of *ghani*, [illegible] will help removal of unemployment also. But all this carries no weight with the powers that be.

However it must be clearly mentioned that such intrusion of centralized industrialism in the food of our people, that is blessed by the Government is a very bad and dangerous thing and the Government is slowly being drawn into capitalist meshes thereby.

14-7-53

[illegible]

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Bro[illegible] of the prim[illegible] and finance[illegible] lowers but it [illegible] labour which [illegible] pl[illegible] econom[illegible] unified with [illegible] intrusion of [illegible] of the vindicat[illegible]

No[illegible] volu[illegible] the [illegible] United States [illegible] the U S A is [illegible] not so Britain [illegible] all the big industr[illegible] which renders her exceedin[illegible] time when the

[illegible] ng so [illegible]

[illegible] n fade [illegible] ats [illegible] ar ter- [illegible] that there [illegible] changes, and [illegible] t collapses Stable food prices [illegible] upon favourable weather condition [illegible] ole human race is today living from [illegible] uth It also depends upon a more con [illegible] titude to the fundamentals of fa [illegible] urbing of profit-seeking by what [illegible] ligious concern for the fertility of th [illegible] who these days, can count on that [illegible] is out of our control, and conscience [illegible] d stount'

In regard to markets the one change which seems certain is that fairly soon there will be a falling off of world demand for a wide variety of consumer goods arising out of the conditions I have described It must also be borne in mind that any such tendency would be immediately followed by increased competition for such markets as remained especially between Britain and the United States, although many European countries including Germany, the British Dominions, especially Australia, India and Canada, and also Japan, are preparing to capture a goodly share of whatever markets there be

It is probable that the world demand for capital goods, machinery of all kinds, will remain high for many years to come, but then every machine exported indicates a fall in the demand for consumer goods at a later date Many economists argue that a rise in world prosperity as a result of industrial expansion will lead to a corresponding rise in world trade, but the history of the last fifty years has proved conclusively that once the stage has been reached in any new period, as after a major war, that the world's markets have been saturated, thereafter the world's problems, tensions, crises, wars and ideological conflicts grow in number and intensity with the growth of its productive power Temporary improvements here and there may occur, but they cannot endure for two main reasons First, that a nation which enters the industrial road never halts, but sets up one industry after another as rapidly as its savings and its spending power expand, and secondly, that as soon as the home production exceeds the home demand, the surplus is put on the world market. When that process begins to operate in ten or fifteen countries, as is likely to be the case during the next ten or fifteen years, it needs no prophet to forecast the consequences

It is equally futile to rely on the argument that the superior machine skill of the West will always be able to command markets in quality productions In India, China, and Japan, which contain almost half the world's population, are large numbers of craftsmen of the very highest order while Japan has proved that if need be, then skill can be diverted into mechanistic channels Even the Negroes of Africa greatly astonished our war leaders by their aptitude in handling machinery

To sum up we must expect a falling away of markets from now on, slowly at first, but more rapidly later at a time when new markets will be required to absorb the products of the machinery that is now being put down in every part of the world, when the American home market has been well supplied, and when the Marshall aid comes to an end in Europe. Then will come the post-war crisis of the Marxist analysis, out-of which may arise new ideological conflicts and possibly the third world war For such a situation Britain is wholly unprepared Wishful thinking prevents her from facing its possibility Politicians of all parties take refuge in phrases, in the claim that we are approaching an era of expanding world production world trade, and world prosperity They overlook the vital fact that in a world run on money values an expansion of world productive power leads to a world slump and a world catastrophe proportionate to that expansion In the next crisis Britain and the United States will be among the greatest sufferers

In an interview reported in *The Observer* (9-1-'49) Paul Reynaud said

"There is one other lesson that we have to learn We are all of us assuming as natural and right a system of world trade that may be, cannot be restored and certainly will not be restored in the old form It was very nice for us all to be the workshop of the world, to take other people's raw materials and send them our manufactured goods instead In my opinion that day is over'

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PERPETUATING WAR MENTALITY

[The National Service Act, 1948-1953 of England ends this year. It is a question before the English people at present whether the Act should be renewed or not. Peace-lovers of England are agitating to see that it is not renewed. We in India do not agree to conscription, we as a people choose to be active peace-makers and peace-lovers. War and conscription therefore, we cannot and should not choose. I hope the following from the *Peace News* will therefore be read by us with sympathy and joyful understanding.

23-7-53 M. P.]

An appeal for active measures to bring the evil of the call-up to an end has been made by British Quakers.

> We are called again to continue in faithful opposition to conscription which the Government is seeking to extend for a further period of five years beyond the end of 1953. In our approach to our fellow-citizens let us reach out in the power of love speaking in terms that will be understood.
>
> We must be positive in our witness, stressing opportunities for service in the community that will be for the good of mankind and will help towards removing the evils which lie behind conscription."

A Moral Issue

Quakers believe that military conscription is perhaps the worst facet of the whole evil of war-preparation and that the call-up perpetuates a war mentality and overrides conscience.

On this point Philip Seed writes:

> "Surely it is wrong to *compel* young men to take part in war when they are not as a rule old enough to have considered this moral issue. A conscience clause, though a benefit, is no answer to this evil."

Philip Seed makes this formidable indictment of conscription on moral grounds:

1. It denies the right of the individual to choose his own form of service to the community;
2. It subordinates him to the State;
3. It represses individuality;
4. It calls for unquestioning obedience;
5. It teaches discipline only as a formal authoritarianism, and not as self-discipline;
6. It is based on power and force in physical and material terms.

Effect on Foreign Policy

Conscription, with its perpetuation of the war mentality, has an important corollary in foreign policy and Philip Seed writes:

> "Because conscription teaches young men to accept training for war as natural and inevitable, the Government is encouraged to take advantage of this attitude, and eventually relies upon it.
>
> Today the conscript may be called upon to fight in Korea, Malaya, the Middle East or in Africa in support of a normal peacetime foreign policy which could not now do without him.
>
> Thus if conscription were to end, there would have to be a revolutionary change in foreign policy. A policy of negotiation would have to take the place of a policy of force through strength."

He concludes:

> "The Government's proposals to extend military conscription for a further five years from the end of 1953 have yet to be passed into a new Conscription Act.
>
> "Let us see to it that this does not come about — that public opinion is roused to reject this evil proposal."

(Adapted from the *Peace News*, June 5, 53)

MODERN BUSINESS

(*By M. P. T. Acharya*)

The Indian soap manufacturers complained that the foreign firms in their line compete severely with their products and so they asked Government to prevent it. Shri Karmarkar advised them to work their factories more efficiently to produce good soap at a cheap price.

Shri Karmarkar's advice can be given effect to only if the Indian soap manufacturers use as good and labour-saving machinery at great cost as the foreign manufacturers in India do and also press down the price of labour as they do. Of course the Indian manufacturers may not also have such good sales organization as their foreign colleagues have, and also they may not be able to supply the shopkeepers as much as these want. Indian manufacturers do not invest so much capital per unit as the foreign manufacturers do to produce more soap in less time. Moreover the foreign firms are united among themselves, while the Indian firms are not united at all. Hence the only way Indian manufacturers with less capital and organization can produce cheaper soap than at present or even than foreign soap is to reduce the cost of labour.

Is this in the interests of Indian consumers and labour? If competition is the soul of business, manufacturers have no right to demand protection against foreign firms inland and abroad. It will be asking for monopoly to fleece labour and consumers. If the Indian handloom industry demands protection, the mill owners complain against any protection that may be given to it, but when they face foreign competition inland and abroad they ask for protection! What is sauce for the goose must be sauce for the gander.

There are industries, however, in which all competition is eliminated. They work on the principle enunciated by Rockefeller, the father of the trusts in U. S. No competition but union to plunder the consumer and labourer. One such example in India is the Vanaspati industry. It is organized in the Vanaspati Manufacturers' Association, organized by the International Trust, Level Bros. and they do not want any outsiders. I have had experience when a certain Vanaspati factory with a capacity of 10 tons a day was opened. The factory got an ultimatum to come to terms with the Vanaspati Manufacturers' Association. Otherwise the Vanaspati Manufacturers would have undersold the factory's Vanaspati, so that it would have to close. Hurriedly the owner had to run to Bombay to make terms with the Vanaspati Manufacturers' Association and become its member and limit his market and sell at an agreed price. In fact he had to become one with the Vanaspati monopolists' association in order not to face ruin. That is modern business. The union is strength. The union of a few against the rest!

NOTES

A New [illegible] Story

[illegible] Shame [illegible] in *Pe*[illegible] of Jul[illegible] officers [illegible] with the [illegible] Railway [illegible] remarks follows

The [illegible] has compel[illegible] India of [illegible] forward to [illegible] — Go[illegible] [illegible] The [illegible] exhibi[illegible]

[illegible] amount of [illegible] in the office [illegible] less work and [illegible] not be necessary [illegible] courage [illegible] the note [illegible] tion remains [illegible] ight require [illegible] place the [illegible] in order to [illegible] can we not [illegible] that will [illegible] but also [illegible] ction [illegible] can do the [illegible]

M P

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[illegible] months ago [illegible] the [illegible] I praise [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible] was not [illegible] fertilizer [illegible] *Harijan* [illegible] cultivation [illegible] Pusa [illegible] way hitherto [illegible] that [illegible] can do the [illegible]

M P

[illegible] Fertilizers

[illegible] months ago [illegible] the [illegible] I praise [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible] was not [illegible] fertilizer [illegible] *Harijan* [illegible] cultivation [illegible] Pusa [illegible] way hitherto [illegible] that [illegible] can do the [illegible]

[illegible] of the Agricultural [illegible] Government of [illegible] hod of paddy [illegible] rice-growing [illegible] the Japanese method, [illegible] quantities of ammonium [illegible] ed to Indian conditions, [illegible] therefore being modified [illegible] ntage of ammonium [illegible] or nitro[illegible] ing of compost and green manure

"The new m[illegible] monstrated in about 100 villages in the [illegible] of Godavari [illegible] and Cuttack [illegible] thing will be made [illegible] yielding [illegible]

From *The Times of India*

Not being an expert I can say nothing on [illegible] particular matter But I note one thing and [illegible] the use of artificial fertilizers in general [illegible] the Japanese method requires them as a [illegible] part of it, then it is a serious drawback [illegible] against which we must be careful [illegible] regarding the evil effects of artificial [illegible] there is now coming forth enough [illegible] to show that it is not an un[illegible] and modern civilization is being warned [illegible] by soil scientists

M P

The Annals of the Poor

[illegible] tragedy reported by a news agen[illegible] from Kerala

[illegible] three year-old son starve, an[illegible] in Cochin State is reported to [illegible] with a knife His wife left [illegible] his job leaving him to look [illegible] The boy was reported to have been [illegible] by the police"

But as some Sanskrit poet has said,

परदुःखेन दुःखिता विरला ।

'Rare indeed are noblemen whose heart melts with pity at the distress of others'

V G D

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[Land gifts Mission]

By Vinoba Bhave

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor MAGANBHAI P DESAI

1829

VOL XVII. No. 27 AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY SEPTEMBER 5 1953 TWO ANNAS

THE PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT

(By Vinoba)

It is the duty of citizens to go to the root of every problem that confronts the country If they discharge it well, they will certainly add to the nation's strength and security Cities as also villages have each their place and legitimate role to play in the economy of the country Their co-operation is, therefore essential Cities should regard themselves as guardians of the villages and should always strive to serve them

Recently Rajaji thought of reforming primary education in Madras He evolved a plan, whereby the schools will work for three hours a day During the out-of-school hours children will learn carpentry, weaving agriculture etc so that the child develops to the maximum his capacities of both head and heart But some people opposed the scheme Their objection was that while it gave full opportunities to town-dwellers to develop their intellect the villagers were asked to work as beasts of burden and grind flour and plough fields As a protest against the plan they resorted to stopping trains and indulged in acts of violence Similar acts of hooliganism are reported in Bengal too This is quite a serious matter and we should find out the underlying reasons of this sad state of affairs

Though we have attained independence our basic problems still remain unsolved The Government have made a Five Year Plan After its working for two and a half years, they have now realized that in spite of the Plan unemployment is growing This shows that our brains are dull and do not think in a right manner The recent meeting of the A I C C at Agra has by a resolution taken note of the question of unemployment and asked the Government to suitably amend the Plan in view of growing unemployment.

A little modification of the Plan will not help us much. For there is a fundamental error in the Plan The planners have committed a serious mistake in their approach to the subject. They are all great patriots They no doubt aim at serving the country But if they do not go deep and catch at the core of the problems, their efforts are foredoomed to failure I told the Planning Commission in clear terms that it is a postulate of the national planning to provide full employment to all and as their Plan did not give full employment it was a partial planning and not national planning The postulates of Euclid do not require to be proved Therefore those who think that they cannot shoulder the responsibility of providing employment to all prove themselves incompetent for national planning No head of the family, howsoever poor he may be, can ever think of providing food to some members only allowing others to starve He would always insist that the earnings of the family will be shared by all the members The national Government has a right to demand from the people one-sixth of their property for *Daridranarayana* as I am doing And it is the duty of the people to fulfil this demand It will help banish hunger from the land If the *charkha* or the *takli* will give full employment to all we should not feel hesitant to adopt them We should shed off the vain craze for machinery

Machines are of three categories time-saving, destructive and productive I am not against time-saving machines such as trains, aeroplanes etc Though they do not add to the production of the country they save time

Destructive machines such as gun, bomb etc have no place in non-violence We are therefore opposed to it.

Productive machines are again of two categories those that are helpful and those that are harmful to men Machines that reduce employment are harmful to human beings Whether a particular machine is harmful or helpful depends upon time place and circumstances in which it is used A machine which might be harmful to one country might be helpful to another A machine which might be helpful at one time might become harmful at another time So also with the change in circumstances No set formula can be laid down to judge whether a machine is harmful or helpful We therefore have neither blind infatuation for machinery nor irrational opposition against it Service of man will be the sole test for acceptance or rejection of a machine

To say that village industries cannot be adopted as they cannot compete with mills in point of efficiency discloses a wrong approach to the question The way the West went should not be copied blindly by us Gandhiji has already warned us that that way lies a disaster for us When we advocate equality, the opponents cannot of course argue for inequality, but they speak of inefficiency We surely want efficiency But in the name of efficiency millions of mouths cannot be starved. I desire to give full employment to all If village industries help us achieve this, we will adopt them It does not deserve the name of efficiency which makes millions starve for want of employment I am glad that the recent session of the A I C C at Agra has emphasized the importance of village industries

Today reports of discontent and restlessness are pouring in from all parts of the country The mental uneasiness seeks any opportunity to give vent to itself in any form. Hence the acts of violence and hooliganism are on the increase The present linguistic or communal quarrels have at their root much low production and growing unemployment in the country It is quite a serious matter and deserves immediate attention Every effort should be made to mitigate the miseries and dispel discontent of the people

The way Gandhiji set out to solve such problems was that he would serve the last first The most needy and distressed was to be attended first But at present there is the reverse order He would therefore devise a means which would bring relief to the lowliest and the lost who needed the help most This brought him to the idea of the *charkha* It reveals his great prophetic talents of a *krantdarsha* i e a seer endowed with a vision into the future He long ago said that it was village industries which suited Indian conditions So also did he long back express his clear views on Nai Talim, National Language and redistribution of land

What a great seer he was and what a large heart he had !

(Adapted from the original in Hindi)

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BHOODAN YAJNA AND SARVODAYA

(By Dhirendra Mazumdar)

The Bhoodan Yajna is a revolutionary movement It cannot be understood in terms of current theories written in books a revolutionary always talks beyond books

When Gandhiji first put forth his idea of a self-sufficient society the learned did not understand him They as is their wont looked into their books which failed to enlighten them They said 'All this is idle thought.' But in the course of time, as things began to unfold themselves, and truth began to be known, attraction gathered round Gandhiji and he started getting followers But still there were people who did not, probably, could not, in view of their education and habits of thinking and reacting understand Gandhiji as he wanted them to understand him For their own convenience they reduced Gandhiji's ideas into a language familiar to them and also current in learned society, both here and abroad It was thus that what Gandhiji insisted on calling self-sufficiency came to be known as decentralization and so on

Bhoodan not Mere Redistribution

What happened with Gandhiji is happening with Vinoba too In the beginning few had any faith in Bhoodan Yajna The doubters tried to dismiss it lightly But as acres received in gift rose into hundreds and from hundreds into thousands, and now from thousands into lakhs, people paused to see and understand what was happening all round And they said, "This is but another name of redistribution of land, and nothing more" But is Bhoomidan Yajna really only that much ?

Let it be clearly understood that Bhoodan Yajna is not mere redistribution of land In fact the two are far different from each other Decentralization is consistent with class dictatorship whereas self-sufficiency is not. Self-sufficiency can go with nothing else except democracy There is distribution of land in Japan They say it is so in China also In Japan there is considerable decentralization of industry too Our own Government talks of ceiling on land But do Japan and China have genuine democracy ? Do they not have class-rule and party dictatorship? Let us not, therefore, delude ourselves into the easy belief that if land is distributed and some industries decentralized on the Japanese model, we are going to have real democracy, much less the state of society which Gandhiji worked for Sarvodaya can come only with self-sufficiency Let us remember that a movement is but a means The end always is the establishment of a fully democratic society Self-sufficiency or Bhoodan Yajna is a step in the direction of Sarvodaya

What is Revolution ?

It is almost fashionable nowadays to talk of revolution. But this word is as much abused as it is used It is little understood The result is that we often confuse conflict (*sangharsha*) with

revolution (*kranti*) [illegible] although in a revolution their [illegible] actually are one or a series of conflicts Revolution stands for a basic change in people's ideas, for a truly new mode and method of life, for a reformulation of values (*mulya*) Where there is no change of values there is no revolution There is nothing revolutionary about one set of persons in government yielding place to a new set of persons

We know that in the economic sphere capital and labour are the two principal factors of production James Wyatt's steam engine brought about a revolutionary change in the mode of production Prior to him production was the result primarily of labour, but now the importance shifted to capital This process has continued till today, we find that the whole economic structure of society is capital-centred The inevitable result of this capital-centred economy has been the exploitation of the people

To end this exploitation the Russians devised a new system They nationalized the means of production and centralized all economic and political power But this double centralization only succeeded in making the people servants of the will of an omnipotent State, actually run by a ruthless party headed by a ruthless leader Whatever the original ideas of Marx about establishing a Stateless co-operative society, this is where centralization has led Russians to That indeed, is the logical end of centralization

The Modern State

People, both critical and friendly, suggest 'Why don't you make use of law for your Bhoomidan work?' They forget that Bhoomidan Yajna aims ultimately at the establishment of a society free from violence, whether of individuals or of the State Why is it that people think that a revolution of the kind the Bhoomidan Yajna contemplates can be accomplished through the instrumentality of the State whose very existence is based on force and coercion? The reason is not far to seek It is that the State today has started claiming to be a welfare agency, and simple people are easily beguiled by its professions The outer facade of the State deceives people But we should know that whatever the language the State may speak, it does conceal within itself the mailed fist Those who talk of nationalization of industries, compulsory co-operative farming, and distribution of land little realize that they are, knowingly or unknowingly, abetting the cause of the authoritarian State Our workers must be aware, and give up this suicidal belief in a paternal State (*sarkar mai-bap*)

Sarvodaya, the Third Force

Sarvodaya must take notice of this development A true Sarvodaya worker has to stand by the people He must develop popular resistance. But people can develop the power of resistance only when [illegible] the daily [illegible] The present day economic structure is based on capital Now capital must yield place to labour, which means that the basic means of production have to be transferred to the people Things have come to such a pass that a classless society is now the only remedy left for humanity Class-distinction and the consequent class-conflict must go But for that a double revolution is necessary Politically, the authoritarian State must end and real democracy must take its place and economically, a self-sufficient order, in which the producer is the master of his produce and its means, must be established

The Bhoodan Yajna, through people's goodwill and not legislation, takes us far in that direction Our slogan should be self-sufficiency and not mere decentralization A self-sufficient village is our goal We must, therefore, infuse this consciousness in the villages and inspire local leadership and prepare it to shoulder local responsibilities

(From a summary of speeches to a workers' camp in Bihar)

THE NON-VIOLENT MAU MAU VOW

(*By Maurice Frydman*)

Since time immemorial the African Continent was a mine for slaves Formerly they were caught and exported to work on plantations, for planters who had to maintain them, and who would incur monetary loss if something would happen to them Nowadays things have been streamlined, the plantations and the planters have moved to the mine, and the slaves are given instead of food, clothing and shelter, a pittance. When they do not come to beg for slave work, their little farms are taken away from them, taxes are imposed, and movements are restricted so as to leave no choice between slaving and dying

The white does not want an all white Africa it will cease to be a profitable proposition. He wants cheap African labour because without it all his financial calculations will collapse.

Therefore the only thing that can set the African free, is his absolute refusal to hire himself out for work The only vow that will put an end to racial unequality in Africa, and will set every African man, woman and child free, is the vow I will Serve No Master" This does not mean starvation It means self-employment, working one's own farm, one's own workshop, with family or in small co-operative groups

There is no doubt that this is a hard vow to follow Every form of pressure will be exerted to cajole or to bully, to bribe or to frighten him into paid service, but there is an inherent dignity in this view, a quiet confidence in one's own resources It needs no coercion, it is completely free from violence One man can show the way, a small trickle can grow into a mighty river These are the right means which will inevitably bring forth the choicest fruit

HARIJAN

Sept 5 1953

BHOOMI YAJNA JAYANTI

(By K G Mashruwala)

[September 11 is Shri Vinoba's birth-date A year ago late Shri K. G M reminded us of that good day and wrote the lines reproduced below A few days after he passed away on 9-9-1952 Thus the coming week contains both those days which we should remember with love and gratitude for the two high-souled persons, dedicated to the service of Truth and God

Shri Kishorislhkal's last wish was to see that Vinoba's great mission prospered and succeeded by 1957 To him the mission was unique in the post-Gandhian era In that it contained all the ennobling attributes of Gandhiji's own way of working among the people It was to him not merely a land-gift mission but was also a mission to show us the true Gandhian way In the encircling darkness that many feel after Gandhiji's departure Vinoba's movement was to him a small little light that showed the way And so it is to many and diverse people as we see it present Therefore let us remember him also by joining with him in the few lines that he wrote to commemorate Vinoba's birth-date Let us all pray to God that He give long and healthy life to Shri Vinoba even to fulfil the great mission which he has undertaken in His name and for the good of our whole people and the world.

28-8 53 M K]

Vinoba commenced from Paunar his North Indian tour for *Bhoodan Yajna* and the 57th year of his life on 11th September, 1951 A PTI message from Jabalpur says that elaborate arrangements are being made at Karell (about 60 miles from Jabalpur in M P) to celebrate the Bhoomi-Yajna Jayanti on 11th September next. The Jayanti is being organized to give an impetus to his *Prajasuya-Yajna*

I believe that this is a good idea and workers all over the country may make use of this day to spread the message of *bhoodan* far and wide, and exhort owners of lands to share their lands with those who have none

I implore every owner of land to ponder deeply over the undeniable truth that like air and water, earth must belong to all. It should be shared by all and worked upon for the benefit of all Since this fundamental principle has not been respected, and a free gift of nature has been in the possession of a few though coveted by many, the Earth has been incessantly torn by wars and murders

Sons have killed fathers, and brothers have murdered brothers for getting exclusive ownership of a small plot of land Kingdoms have arisen and fallen for the sake of land We cannot have peace and amity and the welfare of all, as long as we persistently stick to the idea of private ownership of land

A time will come, and I hope it will not take long to come, when the land of the whole world will be possessed in common by all the peoples of the world and every man who is willing to work upon it, will be allowed to do so, irrespective even of his race or nationality This will lead to an equal spread-over of humanity on the Earth.

Let us begin this process by methods peculiar to our philosophy and culture ; i.e by *tapas yajna* and *dana* , or by voluntary action

The landless have patiently carried on their *tapas* for centuries and centuries If they have become exhausted and impatient now, they cannot be found fault with Let the *tapas* be continued on their behalf by workers now The *yajna* has been already started by Vinoba and his committees May the owners of land bring their *dana* in abundance for the completion of the process.

Vinoba is exhausting himself in his 'Do or Die' mission. He does not move on, on the physical strength of his frail limbs It is the Spirit that sustains him Let us all pray for him, work for him, and respond generously to his appeal.

Harijan, 6-9-'52

KRITAYUGI VINOBA

(By A V Barve)

कलिः सर्वानो भवति सर्विहानस्तु द्वापरः ।
उत्तिष्ठंस्त्रेता भवति कृतं संपद्यते चरन् ॥
(ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण)

Acharya Vinoba Bhave whose birth anniversary falls on the 11th of September was lovingly called *Kritayugi* Vinoba by Gandhiji because of his love of walking He even jocularly chid Vinobaji that in Sardar Patel he had another *Kritayugi* who loved to walk The allusion is to the verse from the Aitareya Brahmana quoted above So far back as 1932, Vinobaji expressed his faith in a walking tour of villages for rural propaganda work.

But *Kritayuga* connotes many more things than mere love of walking *Kritayuga* means the 'golden' age, and Vinoba is the harbinger of this golden age The present Kali or iron age, with its doctrine of hate its stark materialism, and its over mechanization is about to disappear After it will come the *Kritayuga* with its doctrine of love in place of hatred and with the restoration of the dignity of manual labour in the place of redundant machinery Shri Vinoba sees on the horizon the signs of this rising sun of spiritualism and the disappearing darkness of stark materialism.

Some of Vinobaji's ideas are strikingly original and deserve careful study and attention His ideas of काञ्चनमुक्ति or freedom from the power of money and return to the barter system is an instance in point His other ideas have become current coin, like the idea of भूदान-यज्ञ or land-gift sacrifice

It is nothing short of a miracle that in an old land-hungry country like India, he could induce tens of thousands of donors, both big and

small, to donate about two [illegible] acres of [illegible] land Like the Vaman of Hindu mythology, asking for three feet of land from King Bali, Vinoba is asking for three simple gifts from the Indian [illegible]demos , the first gift is that of land for the landless.

Secondly, he is asking also for cash donations from those who have no land to give, but who have got liquid assets to spare These donations are to remain with the donors and to be applied by themselves as and when directed, for helping the newly ' landed ' people This abundant trust in human honesty shows that Vinoba really belongs to the golden age

The third idea, which, in my view, has got tremendous potentialities for the good of the nation, is the idea of श्रमदान-यज्ञ or labour-gift sacrifice In this case there is no question of haves and have-nots For all have got a pair of hands Even the poorest can come forward and offer their labour free for the nation If the Indian masses can once be fired with the idea of offering their free labour in the cause of the nation, they can by their very numbers work wonders. They have begun to come forward rather shyly to help as we can see from instances of roads or school buildings being built with the free labour of the village people, assisted of course by Government machinery They are slowly realizing that self-help is the best help Once the idea of श्रमदान-यज्ञ or labour-gift sacrifice takes firm root, the labour can be organized for various beneficent activities and the whole face of India can and will be transformed.

A GREAT APOSTLE *

(By Swami Anand)

Shri Kishorlalbhai did not approve of raising memorials or writing accounts of a persons life to perpetuate his memory after he was dead Only a few years before his death he had discussed his views on this question at some length in an article (in Gujarati) entitled Maran vidhi which made a great impression on the reading public Naturally there was some hesitation among his friends about taking up the writing of this biography But all such misgivings were laid at rest when an elder on whom we look with veneration remarked, If we do not write about distinguished personalities who influence their age and mould contemporary society by their bold thoughts ceaseless work in the manner of Karma-yoga and the purity of their character if we do not write about such *vibhutis*—high souled persons are we than to write about evil-doers the sinning lot who just seek pleasure or power or money ?'

This clinched the issue for us Shri Narhari bhai his closest friend and life-long co-worker, took up the task of writing this biography and Shri Nathji blessed the decision.

I first met Shri Kishorlalbhai sometime in 1918 at the Sabarmati Ashram Even then he suffered from asthma and consequent ill health and so he continued to be till the end of his life, but his sharp logic and bold thinking [illegible] He [illegible] ting [illegible] d his [illegible] ompl al [illegible] tern [illegible] fol ces [illegible] ll not but [illegible] ether they [illegible] life itself [illegible] did not [illegible] t nothing [illegible] ntinuously [illegible] con [illegible] pro- [illegible] ilg ilt [illegible] nal u [illegible] and [illegible] ical [illegible] la [illegible] nung [illegible] of [illegible] of [illegible] recog- [illegible] nize [illegible] the most [illegible] hujia [illegible] ll their [illegible] ing [illegible] and was thus [illegible] the people of their [illegible] lf [illegible] gave him due credit [illegible] on [illegible] thoughts and [illegible] he result of his own th [illegible] ruth [illegible] le did not tra [illegible] al ti Sahajanand G [illegible] fluences on his life [illegible] ol deal from them but he [illegible] make his own and give to th [illegible] fully [illegible] knowledging his [illegible] was dictated as much b [illegible] xity not to be injustice to [illegible] gi

All his thinking and [illegible] ing reconstructing and [illegible] has a message for the whole [illegible] iv He never wrote [illegible] manner of life intellec [illegible] between the cultu [illegible] s but another name for [illegible] ern for true [illegible] The former [illegible] Sant Sa [illegible] ur

He was [illegible] Gandhian institution [illegible] onist and [illegible] experienced guide [illegible] depended [illegible] lor correct [illegible] ed in the [illegible] fugal [illegible] for [illegible] nelos

[illegible] and a [illegible] every point [illegible] ould [illegible] use-plan ure [illegible] Obscure [illegible] he sexes had for him the [illegible] He held [illegible] that he [illegible] de [illegible] that [illegible] be harmful [illegible] sons concerned [illegible] quent [illegible]

Imitation [illegible] Christian saint [illegible] ent [illegible] turies about the same [illegible] as the *Bible* [illegible] ghful [illegible]

[illegible] in Gujarati & [illegible] Navjivan Publishing House [illegible] 0-0-0 and postage etc Re 1-0

* From the introduction to *Shreyarthi-ni Sadhana*, a Gujarati biography of Shri K. G M. by Shri Narhari Parikh, published by the Navajivan Publishing House Ahmedabad, price Re 3-8-0 postage etc Re 1-0-0

[illegible] and specially to religious and [illegible]ty a strong rationalism But his [illegible] was full of love and kindness. [illegible] almost a cripple and totally [illegible] exertion yet he would always [illegible] seat to receive a guest or even a [illegible] the highest of leaders to the lightest [illegible] critic he gave to all an equally [illegible] hearing or wrote equally patient [illegible] these rare qualities which made him [illegible] all

[illegible] geelness and goodness of Prophet [illegible] never was an occasion in his long [illegible] and did not raise his hand first to gr[illegible] less man will bear witness to the same quality of [illegible]ness in overflowing measure in Shri Kishorlalbhai

It was because of these qualities that people chose him to be the head of such a country wide organization as the Gandhi Seva Sangh which commended the highest respect in the affairs of the nation leaders of the eminence of the Sardar Rajendrababu and Rajaji were glad to serve the cause of the country under his guidance. It was these qualities again which won him the place of a respected elder in the families of countless constructive workers He was singularly free from any trace of provincialism He was equally unique in regard to the practice of equal respect for all religions Nonbreders Muslims in India and outside and Christian Missionaries and social workers of all types looked to him as to a close friend and well wisher

And he was no mere idle intellectual a speculative thinker without any relation to action and practice Despite the handicap of a crippling ill health and acute physical suffering he joined every freedom struggle launched by Gandhiji and courted long periods of imprisonment several times In the 1942 Do or Die' movement, the police as was usual for it in these days came to arrest him at Sevagram at the dead of night He took up his *chaukha* and cotton slivers and was ready to accompany them in no time with just the ordinary clothing on his person There was no knowing where they would take him — to Nagpur or Jabalpur or anywhere else Lest the cold in the early morning hours might effect him and aggravate his cough Shri Gomalbehn proceeded to put some cloves into the pocket of his jacket But he would not take them. He said, 'No I will not take anything The care and responsibility for my health now rests with the Government In jail he was always ready to help others to get their justice from the Government and to go on fasts unto death to the attempt if it became necessary During these periods of incarceration he came in contact with numerous politicians and workers These contacts naturally deepened into love and friendship which relations he maintained perfectly all through his busy life And despite his ill-health he made good use of this period of forced inactivity in putting forth a literary output of an incomparably high order Himself a thinker and writer of great originality and depth he yet had no hesitation in translating good books from other languages into his own

After Gandhiji's death when he took up the editing of the suspended *Harijan* Weekly with trust in God', as he said writing in the first issue under his editorship there were many who were sincerely doubtful about his capacity to shoulder the responsibility on account of his ill health. But they were amazed beyond their wits when with his devotion to duty and capacity for unfiring work he not only fulfilled all reasonable expectations but added to them a distinction of his own. His initials 'K G M' became a synonym for 'M K G' the initials of Gandhiji As in Gandhiji's time the *Harijan* papers again became a forum for all — Congressmen constructive workers, leaders and ministers and heads of institutions and oppo-

[illegible] he was [illegible] Yajna [illegible] to achieve [illegible] social spheres [illegible] key to the solution of [illegible] the of all our just [illegible] and continued to suppo[illegible] moment of his life

[illegible] ion One would actually [illegible] physical suffering which he underw[illegible] the day He had to battle hard against his [illegible] ping for breath every second of the time. At [illegible] exertion would be too great to bear and he wa[illegible] feeble and drop down utterly tired But no s[illegible] the attack passed off he would all up and begin e[illegible] spin And this went on throughout his [illegible] breath Indeed he had seen so much illness [illegible] that he had come to know a great [illegible] about it than the doctors themselves

It was cue [illegible] he had to undergo such extreme suffering [illegible] and an inexhaustible sense of humour which contrasted strangely with the former Perhaps God meant it to serve as a relief from constant physical agony to him and from care and worry to others. He had a habit of [illegible] at his own expense and delighting [illegible] around him This would lighten the atmosphere [illegible] on account of his agony and put everyone at ease This habit did not leave him even in moments [illegible] acute pain which seemed to be all but [illegible] of his body He would continue to indulge [illegible] and amuse the visitors if there were any [illegible] Shri Gomatibehn. His letters to his friends were [illegible] full of wit and humour

Only a fe[illegible] before he died Shri Narharibhai fell seriously ill at Bardoli and was required to undergo an operation for appendicitis The operation was to be performed at a hospital in Bombay Shri Kishorlalbhai specially came to Bombay in spite of his own failing health On the day of the operation he remained by his side till he had regained consciousness

He was equally interested in all the constructive institutions established in Gandhiji and in all the forms of constructive work such as uplift of women *Go-seva* (i.e service of the cows) service of the lepers uplift of Harijans etc He was not only interested in the work but also in the persons doing such work all of whom he loved in equal measure They also loved and respected him equally dearly Even those who cursed the Congress and were its committed opponents wept when they heard the news of his death Hundreds of letters and wires received from all the corners of our country and from foreign friends and admirers — all spoke of their shock at the loss of a dear kin and a near friend.

Gandhiji at times said to the inmates of the Ashram that they might not be noticed while he was living but the world was bound to know them with a bright light after him Shri Kishorlalbhai and Seth Jamnalal have amply fulfilled this prophecy

(From the original in Gujarati)

THE PROFIT MOTIVE

(By M P T Acharya)

[illegible]dit Nehru and others want integration — [illegible]ing" — of industry and agriculture of [illegible] and private sectors as well as 'co-[illegible] sector of production and also of [illegible]nd hand production It is all a beauti[illegible] *should be* but the conditions for [illegible] are not there and they do not want [illegible] and don't know it and least of all to [illegible] S[illegible] they go on repeating their wishes [illegible] It is supposed that they are all [illegible] working for a common purpose even [illegible] social purpose But they are all working fo[illegible] purposes as all units of production are independent each with separate profit and loss account Each unit must maintain its establishment by earning (money) from all others None of them wants to share losses with others None of them wants to take risks with others Hence they cannot not only integrate and dovetail into one another but also co-ordinate their efforts with one another Each has separate interests to attend to There is no use in telling they must co ordinate their efforts in the interests of the nation They cannot afford to heed such an advice so long as the present economic arrangement and set up persists and is maintained Before we want to make all integrate their efforts we must create conditions for doing so But that is not the object of economics these economics Hence it all remains a beautiful dream — dope Don t change anything but ask all to work together Don't even discuss necessary changes — it will upset minds

Even in Russia where all things are supposed to be driven centrally and all things belong to the State there is no co-ordination, for each unit is independent with separate profit and loss account The State tried to run all things integrally but when loss ensued in some units, and the State could not bear all the losses, each unit was made responsible for its own losses — was therefore made independent But there seems to be a common fund raised by them all to meet possible losses Of course by Stakhanovite and slave labour system, they try to reduce losses Moreover they introduced so-called rationalization by the piece work (of Taylor System) — each worker being responsible to produce a certain minimum per day if he wants to keep the job And this minimum can only be achieved by a more than average (capable) worker But the fund to meet losses is raised by charging heavily on the goods Each unit demands from others a higher rate to ensure against losses There seems to be even a kind of stock-exchange among them The Government only commands that so much of each kind of goods must be produced within a certain time, leaving the units to do what they can to deliver the goods There is only planning of demands but not the running of plants by the Government Government only sees that they deliver the goods on pain of severe penalties

It shows no Government can co-ordinate all units without taking risk of and bearing losses It means even in Russia there is no voluntary co-operation of the units except by making workers sweat and slave for a pittance — all because of separate units keeping profit and loss account and trying to earn from one another which is done here on a voluntary basis The chief thing is there should be no loss Each for himself They have no common interest even among themselves, let alone a social purpose

In Russia, every unit is set up in competition against all others to achieve the highest in production and profits at all costs.

I recently read that all the thermal and atomic plants are managed by the N K V D i e secret police They force people to work as slaves Moreover in Russia loss of job means not only starvation but even landing in forced labour camps to work free i e without wages If anyone is dissatisfied he will be dismissed and sent to concentration camps to slave there There the industries work only for the State and are driven by the State under threats of shooting or internning the managers and directors for sabotage in order to get co-operation and co-ordination.

There can be no integration or dovetailing unless all sectors of industry work for social purpose — without profit for any unit

All-India Nai Talim Conference

It has been decided to hold the NINTH ALL INDIA NAI TALIM CONFERENCE at Titabar in Assam in the second week of November 1953. The first three days will be devoted to the Special Conference of the field workers of Nai Talim and the last three days to the General Conference covering Pre-Basic Basic, Post Basic and Adult Education An Exhibition of Nai Talim will also be organized as an integral part of the Conference

This is the first occasion that an All India Nai Talim Conference is being held in Assam and it is the earnest desire of the Minister of Education and the Constructive workers of Assam that a large number of delegates should attend the Conference and thus inspire the work of Basic Education in Assam with new life. Workers of Nai Talim are cordially invited to take part in the Conference

The Ministry of Railways has been approached for necessary Railway Concession which will be sent in due time to the delegates to the Conference The organizers will be grateful for an early intimation from those desiring to participate in the Conference so that necessary arrangements can be made in time

Asha Devi Aryanayakam,
Asst. Secretary,
Hindustani Talimi Sangh,
Sevagram

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DISASTROUS EVASION

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

The Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay addressing the Convocation a few days back referred to Article 343 of the Constitution which lays down that Hindi shall be the official language of the Union and said that this provision in the Constitution was necessary and beneficial and we should carry it out.

Having paid such tribute to the necessity of transition from English to Hindi, he began butting it. He said: "But the transition especially in the sphere of University education is a process which must necessarily be slow if our educational system is not to be seriously disorganized."

Having repeated this doctrine of gradualism, he went on to say: "English is the English language, but in Indian contexts and that Hindi was not equally an alien tongue."

Aspects of Fundamentalism to have been the [illegible] of academic pronouncements. This amazing opinion by people who are really responsible to carry out the transition from English to Hindi is to say the least very much misleading. The two propositions that they make, namely that the transition is necessary and beneficial and that English still are accepted by all. The first proposition is obviously to begin to think and plan for the transition and implement it. The second is an evasive approach to the question that [illegible] persons who preside at present over the [illegible] of higher education in the [illegible] unfortunately this is also commonly [illegible] in the pronouncements. If at all [illegible] was needed to go into and report on the [illegible] we have had it already in the Radhakrishnan Commission. But the tragedy of the situation is that these dignitaries seem to be too much under the dead weight of conservatism which in the changed conditions of our country, is totally [illegible] and no way helpful even to the [illegible] education as it is today.

Sir Walter [illegible] for gradualism on the plea that our educational system will be disorganized if the change [illegible] is to be slow. This is tenable if at all there [illegible] something like a system which has not [illegible] shown marked symptoms of disintegration, confusion and anarchy thus rendering [illegible] thing as a mere apology of anything [illegible] the name of a system. Our higher education [illegible] rudderless ship which merely drifts on with the sheer momentum of its previous century of history and is now fast heading to be wrecked by [illegible] itself with the rock of our national needs. Working out a truly national system of education. People expect that University authorities [illegible] to go on merely repeating [illegible] like the ones noted above and thus evade [illegible] with their real work. They should rather begin to move in whatever manner they think proper and negotiate the change-over from English to Indian languages within the prescribed period of fifteen years from the commencement of the Union of the Constitution of India.

24-8-'53

HAND-MADE PAPER

[Scheme for 1953-54]

There are no accurate statistics relating to the hand made paper industry in the country. Of the existing cottage of the industry there are 11 among the more important [illegible] the total number of kagdis working is 1,055.

In view of the fact that the industry can supply varieties of paper such as those required for legal documents, stamp-paper, drawing paper, filter paper, boards for mounting etc. there is great need to develop it.

Problems

Imported hand-made paper such as parchment paper, Watman's drawing paper and filter paper compete with indigenous production.

Technical assistance in respect of equipment and training has to be given to existing centres to facilitate manufacture of goods of quality which should replace imports in the shortest time possible. Research needs to be conducted with a view to exploring possibilities of manufacturing paper for uses such as manufacture of raincoats, window screens, umbrellas etc. as in China and Japan.

It is intended to promote the development of existing important centres of manufacture where the industry is carried on by workers of the artisan class who require help and direction on modern scientific lines so that they will be able to produce these varieties which, because of their special qualities, have to be imported.

Special attention may be devoted to producing certain specific varieties of paper at these centres, as these varieties have special qualities and can stand on their own merits in the market.

It is proposed to post one paper expert each at Sanganer (Rajasthan) and Aurangabad which are the largest production centres. Technical advice will also be available to other centres through staff of the Central Office.

The Scheme aims at introducing paper-making in secondary schools. During 1953-54 paper-making will be introduced in 50 schools at the rate of 5 schools round 18 of the production centres referred to above. Each school will be given a grant of Rs. 500/ Rs. 400/ for equipment and Rs. 100/ towards training of the school teachers in the art of paper making for a period of three months.

There will be a Central Research and Co-ordinating organization. Its functions will be:

(a) to organize the development of hand-made paper;

(b) to give direction and guidance in respect of research and training;

(c) to promote the interests of the industry and assist in solving difficulties arising from time to time;

(d) to collect statistics and information relating to the hand-made paper industry and to maintain the quality of production; and

(e) to arrange the supply of stationery requirements of Government out of hand-made paper.

(From a Bulletin issued by the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board)

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor MAGANBHAI P DESAI

VOL XVII No 28 AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY SEPTEMBER 12 1953 TWO ANNAS

LET GOVERNMENTS REMEMBER PROHIBITION

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

President Dr Rajendra Prasad sent the following message on the occasion of the inauguration of the Prohibition Week from the 15th to the 21st August organized by the M P Government

I welcome the decision of the M.P Government to observe a Prohibition Week There is great need for propaganda work with a view to creating and educating public opinion in all matters concerning social reform This is specially necessary for the successful implementation of Prohibition. A large majority of those who drink are not exactly addicts having tasted the liquor once, they just continue to take it quite thoughtlessly and may be weaned away from the reprehensible habit, if they are rightly approached and explained how it harms them and if liquor is made difficult to get. I am therefore convinced that a well organized and an extensive campaign in this direction will be highly valuable

The Congress as a political party had made up its mind on Prohibition even before the advent of Independence And the Congress Ministries after assumption of office have also given effect to this policy in a number of States.

"There is certainly need for great perseverance for success in Prohibition. But along with that it is equally necessary to make well-organized and concrete efforts in this direction and to explain the importance of this measure to the people. This latter part of the work is a little difficult in view of their wide-spread illiteracy Propaganda work is specially important in Madhya Pradesh where there are large tracts inhabited by aboriginal tribes I am glad that the M P Government are alive to the necessity of this reform and are doing their best to bring it about. I wish success to them in their efforts

Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said the following in the course of his message wishing success to the Prohibition Week

I learn that you are going to observe a Prohibition Week I hope the effort will meet with success Prohibition is not simply a pious principle but an integral part of our national policy designed to remedy an existing evil

"In some of our big cities and among a section of the people there has grown a strange idea that drink is part of the social fashion So far as India is concerned this idea is totally erroneous and the sooner it is abandoned the better

The occasion we hope will remind other State Governments which may not have yet taken steps to bring about this reform, of their duty in this regard which they should never forget I suggest that there should be drawn up a special five-year plan for this purpose also

18-8-'53

(From Hindi)

A POSITIVE APPROACH

(By Jawaharlal Nehru)

'Instead of always talking about unemployment we should adopt a positive approach to this important problem We should devise ways and means of providing more and more employment to our people in different spheres of national life Our positive aim should be to provide hundred per cent employment to the millions of our countrymen This, of course, cannot be done by any kind of magic

"I do not believe in giving 'doles' to the unemployed, It is entirely a wrong policy We should plan to give work rather than 'doles'. Our people should be given productive work We must produce our own goods even at a higher price rather than import them from outside We must keep our people going Even manual work will do for the time being If the educated young men do not accept manual work, our responsibility of providing employment to them ceases

"We must encourage our small-scale and cottage industries even though their products may be dearer and cruder for the time being. The important thing is that we must produce more wealth and also distribute purchasing power among the people This cannot be done through large-scale industries alone The human aspect must be the over-riding consideration Our people should feel the sensation of self-help in economic life Imitating the way of other countries will not help us much Our solutions must be based on our own conditions"

(From the A I C C *Economic Review*, 1-9-'53)

PRICE *vs* PROSPERITY

(By Prof M R Agarwal)

[Prof M R Agarwal Engineering College Bareilly sends me a very interesting dissertation on the Economics of Swadeshi. His thesis is that the price factor is illusionary. Under a new heading I summarize below his argument in his own words 10-8-53 M. K.]

The world is faced today with an economic confusion of a gravity without a parallel in human history and this has led to sorrow and suffering on a very large scale

Some countries have tried to relieve the economic distress by means of artificial expenditure on canal building, road construction and other similar public utility works But it must be admitted that such measures can be only temporary and that the economic distress and suffering of a nation cannot be relieved by building roads canals and bridges or by awarding doles to the unemployed We must also recognize that the poverty of 300 millions of human beings cannot be removed by organizing relief with the Government aid or by funds raised by public subscription

Swadeshi is the central fact round which all our economic problems revolve and is a powerful weapon to fight the distressing condition of poverty to which we all have been reduced today Therefore we must give a close study to the economic aspect of Swadeshi and the benefits it brings to those who practise it.

The greatest hindrance to the advancement of Swadeshi in this machine-age is the question of price It is admitted by everybody who has studied the past that this country was one of the richest countries of the world when the East India Company came here in the 18th century It is strange that such a country should have become so poor as to be challenging to the world for the food to keep its population from dying of starvation We are buying foreign goods from a long time and every time that we buy a cheap article in preference to another for a higher price we think we save some money As a result of this buying extended over a period of more than 100 years everybody in the country should have grown richer But instead that it has not happened We have instead lost what we had Let us therefore carefully investigate the matter of cheap goods for more than 100 years and see if we are richer The cause may be that the apparent advantages are not so in reality

We all hope that money spent gives goods to us and service to the person from whom they are bought Without having we concentrate our attention on the act of spending money giving no attention to the important second aspect of the transaction. The money spent should become purchasing power and return back to us as income In turn from such manufacturers we give purchasing power to us to use it as purchasing power in turn to us. The more widely the money spent circulates the more customers we shall get and the more shall we earn to go to buy food, clothes and other goods

The producer of the better customer is the person who will spend the money at once and not hoard it because they have not the money for a long time The hoarder should fell will not spend at once. If we want to get a rich man we get a poor man who has not shall go to his service and the poor man reaches 50 per cent because they shall make profit with

Let us think which can produce four merchants A, B, C and D and they have earned about in one Suppose every one of these merchants to buy cloth worth Rs 250/ in all They can buy

1 Foreign cloth costs Rs 200/-,
2 Indian mill cloth costs Rs 225/
3 Cloth from local weavers costing Rs 1,000/-.

Let us examine the value which cloth is the best for which cloth they should buy to their profit Assume the foreign cloth seems to carry the palm in the central and it appears cheapest, but we have to examine this fact more closely

1 All money spent on foreign cloth will be drained out of the country and go to the foreign mill-owners. A portion of this money will go to the railways but they will spend that amount in buying plants and parts for their use from foreign countries. Out of Rs 200/- nothing will fall to the lot of village customers and therefore, no amount of this sum thus spent, will find its way back to A, B C and D

2 Indian mill cloth will cost Rs 225/ A big portion of this amount will be reaped as profit by owners and directors of the mills a trifling may go to the Indian insurance companies Likewise a part will go to the hands of the foreigners who supply machinery oil, fuel etc. and only a small amount will reach the workmen who will spend a large part of their income on wine and such other intoxicants Thus only a negligible small amount from the Rs 225/ thus spent may find its way back to A, B C and D after a long time Money lying safe in the safes of an Indian millionaire is of no worth and value to A, B C and D unless it is spent to buy Indian goods

3 It will cost Rs 1,000/ to purchase cloth from the local weavers This money will go to the local weavers who will buy cotton, wheat rice etc. The money thus received by the spinners, carders washermen etc will also soon be spent on rice wheat and other similar goods. In this way almost the entire sum of Rs 1,000/ will find its way back to the four merchants and they by making a profit of two annas per rupee, will reap a net income of Rs 125/-. In other words they will get Rs 1,000/ worth of cloth for Rs 875/ only

True a hundred rupees more were spent in purchasing cloth locally made but it has also yielded an income of Rs 125/ which would not have been possible in buying any other cloth How can the goods which bring in for us a saving of Rs 100/ but which cut down an amount of Rs 125/ from our income be termed cheap?

Let us not forget another very important factor We have taken into consideration only one round of Rs 1,000/ which brings a profit of Rs 125/ to the merchants. But this money does not go outside the village and comes to the four merchants again and again. Thus the amount of Rs 875/ which the dealers actually spend on the goods which they sell to the weavers for Rs 1,000/ goes to the other persons who also are customers of A, B C and D When these persons spend this amount the merchants make a profit of Rs 109-4-0 on this sum at the same rate If we continue this process in a similar manner we shall ultimately find that the sum of Rs 1,000/ spent by the dealers on cloth has all gone back to them as profit and the local cloth which they bought cost them nothing in reality

This proves that foreign cloth or Indian mill cloth which appear cheaper are actually much dearer than the locally made cloth and that the latter is in fact the cheapest Even this seeming difference in price is usually very small

Therefore we conclude that —

1 Every person should practise Swadeshi for his own self interest i.e for his own economic prosperity

2. The present economic distress has come about because the money has gone into the hands of a few and is concentrating into fewer and fewer hands.

3 Price does not depend only on what amount of money has been paid for an article but how and when that money goes into circulation Price depends largely on the time taken by this money to become purchasing power

4. Our prosperity depends on the prosperity of our customers. By killing our customers and destroying their prosperity we are killing our own prosperity

5 Money is a medium of exchange Let us not impede this process of exchange by hoarding money

6. Money is not wealth, capital or finance The goods and services which money can buy are the finance and real wealth.

If the money spent on an article of Indian manufacture or a greater part of it goes to the safes of millionaires the article cannot be said to be Swadeshi

If a majority of our people buy the goods that are truly Swadeshi we shall soon find that we have moved a very long way towards economic freedom.

If a majority of the people in the world practise Swadeshi the causes of war shall vanish in no time and peace and plenty shall be the order of the day

SOAP MAKING WITH NEEM OIL

[Scheme for 1953-54]

Neem trees abound in the whole of India Neem oil is produced in small quantities in certain areas of Madras U P., and Bombay A small quantity of neem oil is used for lighting and medicinal purposes while the bulk goes for the manufacture of soap in Bombay and Calcutta The use of edible oils, such as groundnut cocoanut, etc. in soaps not only renders them scarce for domestic use but necessarily inflates their prices It is therefore necessary to exclude edible oils in preparing soaps and substitute them by non-edible oils like neem oil The leaves bark fruits etc of neem trees are well known for their smoothening effects on the skin The use of neem oil in soap is therefore essential from this point.

Of the total neem seeds produced these collected for crushing the oil are about 28 per cent in Madras, 10 per cent in Orissa and 21 per cent in Madhya Pradesh Thus a small portion of seeds is used for crushing while the bulk of seeds is wasted Seeds which lie scattered along roadside and other tracts will therefore have to be collected The extra oil crushed will be supplied to the existing soap-factories or to new soap-factories to be established as part of the scheme, and the oil-cake which is a valuable manure will be utilised for agricultural purposes

Demonstration units will be opened at the following places where neem seeds will be collected, decorticated and crushed. The oil will be supplied to the central soap units where it will be used in soap making

Centres	Agency
1 Sholapur	Maharashtra Seva Sangh
2 Mehmadabad (Kheda District)	District Industrial Association
3 Coimbatore	—
4. (To be decided later on)	—

Each unit will have 1 soap making centre to be fed by 7 neem-pressing centres

The total expenditure for the four centres will be Rs 7 lakhs

Expenditure on the neem oil manufacturing programme will be mainly by way of subsidies or loans to be granted to bodies such as those referred to above which would organise centres on the lines indicated by the Board. The subsidies will be for meeting the initial establishment charges and the loans for providing the working capital for the purchase of oil and for the purchase of equipment.

(From a bulletin issued by the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board)

SOAP MAKING
(as a cottage industry)
(By K B Joshi)
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EXPORT OF INDIAN MONKEYS

The Editor *Harijan*

Sir

The *Animal Defender* (London) devoted to the abolition of cruel experiments on animals "in medical laboratories in its issue of last June recently received in India from England editorially says

We recently circulated every member of the Indian Government begging that attention might be given to the deplorable export of monkeys from India destined to suffering and death in American vivisection laboratories

We have already received a number of replies expressing warm sympathy Nor has opposition to this evil method of earning dollars been confined to words We are informed that a Parliamentary Bill on the subject was introduced on April 10, and it is hoped that it will come up for second reading during the next session in August Meanwhile according to a newspaper report appearing in *Evening Herald*, Dublin, there has already been some discussion of the scandal We reproduce the report from our Irish contemporary

Indian clash over Monkeys

Indian deputies worried about what happens to exported monkeys clashed with the Minister of Agriculture Mr P S Deshmukh in Parliament today

There was a great deal of angry protest when he said that the Government permits the shipment of monkeys for use in medical research mostly in America because we want to get rid of them. They damage five per cent of our crops every year we have 10,000,000 monkeys in India he added

Monkeys asked him to ensure that the monkeys are treated humanely in view of Indian ideas of non violence and the sacred place of the monkey in Hindu (religious) lore

We have no authority to pursue our monkeys into foreign countries Mr Deshmukh replied To which the occidental humanitarian might well retort

No but you have the moral responsibility of preserving the monkeys from suffering by having them put painlessly to sleep in your own country (India)

All animal-welfare humanitarian societies in India should now vigorously take up the urgent matter of saving the Indian monkeys from cruelty in foreign countries

54 Wodehouse Road, SORABJI R. MISTRY
Colaba Bombay 5

[The Bill referred to is before the House of the People We hope all sections of our people will welcome it and see that a good law on animal welfare is put on our statute book

28 8 53 —M P I

WHY THE VILLAGE MOVEMENT?
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HARIJAN

Sept. 12 1953

VILLAGE INDUSTRIES AND CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

An M P draws my attention to the following starred question No 197 that was answered in the Parliament on August 6, 1953 :

Q '197 * Shri Dabhi Will the Minister of Commerce and Industry be pleased to state

(a) Whether it is a fact that the Planning Commission has, in the Five-Year Plan, recommended the adoption of a policy under which oil mills are to produce only non-edible oils, while the production of edible oils is to be reserved for the village *ghanis* , and

(b) if so the steps Government have so far taken or are going to take to implement this policy ?

A Shri T T Krishnamachari

(a) The recommendation made by the Planning Commission is that ' in the oil industry the policy could be adopted of developing the production of edible oils through the village industry and the production of non-edible oils through oil mills '

(b) The recommendation is under the consideration of Government "

The M P friend adds that this was followed by supplementaries from Shri Dabhi which were answered by the Minister in charge in the following manner

Q– May I know whether it is a fact that the meeting of the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board held recently at Bombay has recommended to Government to reserve for the village oil industry a portion of the edible oilseeds available in the country and to completely reserve the sesamum oilseeds for the *ghanis*, and whether Government have accepted this recommendation ?

A I believe some such recommendation was made All these recommendations are under the consideration of Government

Q May I know whether it is a fact that the Planning Commission has recommended the imposition of a small cess on mill oil for the benefit of the village oil industry, and if so when do Government intend to implement this recommendation ?

A That is a fact, so far as the recommendation of the Planning Commission is concerned As I said, all these matters are under the consideration of Government. Whether they would be implemented in that form or in some other form or would not be implemented at all depend [illegible] which Government makes up its mind."

The M P [illegible] further tells me of another (unstarred) question No 122 answered on the same day, which dealt with Government purchase of hand made paper, another important item of village industries and their encouragement. The question and its answer were as follows

"*Q* Shri Dabhi Will the Minister of Works Housing and Supply be pleased to state

(a) Government's policy about the purchase of hand-made paper for the requirements of the various Government departments ,

(b) the total value of paper purchased for the use of the various Government departments during the years 1951-52 and 1952-53 , and

(c) the total value of the hand-made paper purchased for the use of the various Government departments ?

A Sardar Swaran Singh

(a) It has been decided that hand-made paper should be purchased for all demi-official correspondence of the Government of India

(b) (i) 1951-52 — Rs 4½ Crores Approx.
(ii) 1952-53 Rs 5 Crores Approx.

(c) (i) 1951-52 Rs 90 500/-
(ii) 1952-53 — Nil as sufficient stock from the closing balance of previous paper was available "

The two questions and their answers tell eloquently well how lightly the Central Ministry take their responsibility to encourage and promote village industries Apart from the patent indifference that is apparent from the answers, the more serious matter is where Shri T T Krishnamachari says that the recommendations of the Planning Commission are still not considered by Government The Five-Year Plan is a point in the major policy of Government It has been deeply considered by now for the last few years, by Government as well as the people, as their chief plank for the recovery of our national economy The items and schemes enjoined therein are not dependent for their implementation on the ideas or whims of individual ministers. The Plan is a joint responsibility to the nation of all Governments, Central and State. The indifference and delay that are revealed by the answers explain to an extent why unemployment is there in spite of the Plan. The village industries are the most potent instrument to fight unemployment if not the only one unto our people situated as we are The Planning Commission gave some place to them in the Five-Year Plan, If these are not being implemented, as is evident from the above questions, is it any wonder that the Plan is not effective in its most vital and necessary purpose, viz removing unemployment ? Will the Central Government wake up and make amends for the delay and disregard and hastan to implement its own accepted policies ?

28-8-'53

HOW TO COMBAT UNEMPLOYMENT

(By Vaikunth L. Mehta)

No problem has engaged such public attention in recent months as that of unemployment This is due mainly, to the growth of unemployment that has been observed in urban areas and especially among the educated classes There has, however, been no census of unemployment carried out in the country and hence it is difficult to say to what extent unemployment has increased in recent years There may be a greater degree of employment in the country and yet the number of the unemployed may be larger It has to be noted, moreover, that with the modest annual increase in the population that has gone on during the last three decades the number of those available for employment is bound to have risen. For all these persons, the avenues for gainful employment have not grown correspondingly, especially, in the shape of employment on the land Besides, the development of mechanized industries has resulted in the gradual extinction of corresponding cottage or village industries. As this process goes on, unemployment must necessarily go up, particularly in rural areas During and after the World War, employment was being provided by the State for various administrative, trading and production activities Though productive activities have developed in recent years the pace of absorption of persons in State secondary or tertiary services has slackened The productive activities of the State in the shape of industries can absorb, comparatively, only a few of the large numbers offering themselves for employment. The public works programme can and does provide employment for the unskilled on construction works The semi skilled and the skilled or the educated cannot be taken on, however, to any considerable extent

2 It seems paradoxical that while, on the one hand, development is taking place in several sectors of our life, there should be less of employment provided instead of more- But this seems to be begging the question There is no evidence to show that the volume of employment has gone down in the country as a whole It has to be recognized, however, that technological progress, obviously, involves displacement of human labour which adds to the volume of unemployment, unless, at the same time, there is additional employment available for corresponding numbers in the primary sector.

3 A comprehensive 11-point programme has been formulated by the Planning Commission, and this will, undoubtedly, assist in reducing the volume of unemployment. One of the proposed measures is extensive production and use of electricity It is not clear, however, how the extension of electric power will help in providing additional employment, if it results, for instance, in the replacement of hand-pounding of rice by rice mills or of flour-grinding *chakkis* by power-grinding units This observation applies also to the measures suggested for the extension of small-scale industries There are certain types of small scale industries such as oil mills or power loom factories There are others which produce goods that are not usually turned out by cottage workers It is only when the production through small scale industries replaces foreign production that there will be a net gain from the point of view of additional employment Another of the measures suggested is the extension of the motor transport for carriage of passengers or freight If motor trucks to carry goods even over short distances displace bullock-carts, evidently, they will rudely disturb rural economy and lessen the volume of local employment in rural areas for cart-drivers, carpenters, blacksmiths etc The corresponding increase of employment in urban areas may not be of the same volume The usefulness of some of these proposals may hence be somewhat limited.

4 It is extraordinary that in India, too, there are some sections of the community who may not be altogether happy at the ending of the war in Korea It is their fear that this may alter the international economic situation to the detriment of the employment position in India By and large, considering the huge volume of unemployment and under-employment that prevails in rural areas, the cessation of hostilities in Korea should have little influence on our unemployment situation Apart from this, an era of peace leads to reduction of public expenditure of an unproductive type and, hence, should lead to more activity in the direction of social betterment and helpful production Hence the advent of peace is always to be welcomed, whether it is on our own borders or in distant realms

5 Occasionally, doubts arise whether the policies which the State pursues in the matter of international trade are such as to affect adversely the opening out of channels of employment Since the establishment of a national Government, the considerations which govern our import and export policy are, in the main, such as aim at the encouragement of productive effort in the country It may be that, temporarily or occasionally, there may be action taken, for special reasons, which may seem to operate otherwise Taken as a whole, however, no decisions can be taken as will exert an adverse influence on the employment position

6 The lines of action that should be pursued to deal with the situation are primarily those indicated in Chapter XXXIX of the report of the Planning Commission on the subject of employment modified or supplemented by the outline of the 11-point programme adumbrated subsequently by the Planning Commission

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[illegible] IS LIFE

(By [illegible] Sykes*)

[illegible] the soil was first [illegible] chemist Von Liebig, [illegible] four major elements [illegible] nitrogen and [illegible] the possibility that, if [illegible] ons the growing plant [illegible] able to do without the [illegible] and to grow our [illegible] process

[illegible] world's knowledge of [illegible] and the true soil [illegible] far wider vision [illegible] Today, we realize [illegible] of the soil its bio- [illegible] environment and its [illegible] Thus we have [illegible] ecology and [illegible] to understand the [illegible] ating the inter- [illegible] influence, [illegible] in the problem [illegible]

What Is Life

[illegible] ulous accuracy, the chemist can [illegible] ches and he would no doubt tell us [illegible] of 28 elements But if he puts [illegible] in the laboratory they do not [illegible] yet that is the only discovery [illegible] can make when he breaks up our [illegible] ure What is the difference bet-

* Mr [illegible] Sykes is a well known agricultural[illegible] He [illegible] on the Advisory Panel of the Soil Association which has [illegible] its objects [illegible] To bring together all those working for a [illegible] of the vital relationships between soil [illegible] (2) To initiate co-ordinate and [illegible] field (3) To collect and distribute [illegible] to create a body of informed public [illegible]

[illegible] the living [illegible] which [illegible] mo[illegible] [illegible] atest forces on [illegible]

[illegible] rectly concerned [illegible] life' has [illegible] nt of the problem [illegible] mation of [illegible] potentialities W[illegible] life soil is [illegible] that a living [illegible] mass of [illegible] existence — the [illegible] the fungi and the micro organisms [illegible] that [illegible] a minimum of 5 million [illegible] denizens to the cubic inch of living soil What is their function or right of existence They are put their [illegible] I see it [illegible] Will [illegible] out the process of disintegration [illegible] complexity of the soil's minerals The [illegible] rock splitting it into infinitesimal [illegible] so fine that, consumed by them [illegible] microscopic [illegible] these bodies live, die and decompose and [illegible] rate of decomposition consist of just the kind of food the green plant needs The green plant grows, is consumed by the grazing animal and through the dung and urine dropped by the animal micro-organic life having passed through another phase is returned to the soil whence it came The animal and the plant are consumed by man and in a properly ordered state of society, the effluents from man's existence should be similarly returned to the land, associated with decayed waste vegetable cellulose This in its turn would go towards the re-invigoration of living organisms in the soil, and the cycle would go on for eternity This is the order of Nature This life, of which we know so little, is the dominating factor The chemistry physics, and ecology are all there but these are subsidiary to the dominant order, which is life

What Do We Know about Life?

We know almost nothing except, perhaps, five rather startling divisions of its cycle which ought to be understood and memorized by every child at school They are these Birth, Growth Maturity, Death Decay — and out of decay springs the resurrection of Life, and the cycle of living goes on for ever It is only when man in his ignorance and stupidity interferes with the integrity of this cycle in Nature, that trouble begins By the application of artificial stimulants to the soil which at best are only artificial and not natural foods, (they have not been through the organic phase) by pressure in every direction in his haste to extract more in a given time than Nature is sometimes disposed to provide, by many acts of bad husbandry, and frantic legislation by ignorant Governments, the farmer is often compelled to follow courses in farming which his grandfather would have scorned It may be the modern farmer is not always aware of the damage he may be doing On the contrary, he may be fully aware of it, and

justifies [illegible] he may be perpetrating as due to the [illegible] emergency But this state of emergency [illegible] has now lasted for nearly twenty [illegible] ling to pass It is a permanent condition in [illegible] we find ourselves for food is becoming [illegible] day and land less fertile While they [illegible] ns where output is being maintained [illegible] many others turning into dust bowl [illegible] well know in America But dust-bowl [illegible] infinitility are not the prerogative of the [illegible] Continent Australia, New Zealand South Africa and every country in the world can tell its story of soil erosion and diminishing fertility

The Laws of Life

There is only one way by which fertility can be maintained and that is by the preservation of the Law of Life — Birth Growth, Maturity, Death Decay This cycle must be preserved It must not be interfered with There must be no act of husbandry on the part of the farmer that disturbs the steady turning of this regular wheel in Nature If this can be maintained fertility increases for life multiplies life and the greater the living soil population the greater will be the mass of mineral fertilizer that is made available the more luxuriant and bounteous will be our crops and we can sustain a greater population in mankind

We Must Think Again

These are the simple laws of the soil and, so far as I see it are the creation of the Divine Mind and intention but it is necessary for us to re-orientate our thinking to assume a different attitude towards the problems with which we have to contend and to realize that the greatest inheritance handed down to man is the soil, by which alone we can provide for our physical existence We are treating it far too much like any other commercial commodity — a kind of factory-process The more machinery we use the more artificial fertilizers we add, the greater the crops we are led to expect Instead of this, the world is able to declare today that the output per acre has not increased but shows a tendency to decline This is not all. While the tonnage per acre is less what of the quality — the life-sustaining character of the foods we produce? These according to my own experience, are in like manner declining

I have farmed now for many years and I have found an increasing standard of health by the use of continued and increasing quantities of organic decayed vegetable matter which produces not merely increasing crops but a higher standard of health in all my live stock. Side by side with this exalted standard of health, I get larger crops so the two targets would appear to run hand in hand High quantity and equally high standards in quality

(Adapted from *The Soil*, Winter 1952-53)

CAPITAL AND LABOUR

(*By M P T Acharya*)

[illegible] organisation is being run on the [illegible] given to capital It is not that [illegible] money to the labourers and employees but it [illegible] which is given that is advantage capital [illegible] the labourer or employee is paid [illegible] at the end of the week or month If that is [illegible] vance of money by capital it is because capital sells goods [illegible] and cannot sell earlier But without labour capital cannot get any goods.

While the labourer's or employee's wages are fixed the prices of goods delivered are not fixed Labour has no voice also in the fixation of prices The employers can fix any price convenient to them [illegible] all the difference between what is paid to labour and what is taken for the goods is accumulated capital which is again used for further exploitation and profits Whether that is done by private individuals or States makes no difference The fact is that capitalism can only be abolished by the people taking over all things for the common benefit If they do not want to take [illegible] responsibility for their own welfare but want others to tend to them others who are experts will only further enslave them. Too much dependence on experts will enslave all We must simplify (decentralize) matters to make dependence on expert and managerialist unnecessary

ARTICLE 47 OF THE CONSTITUTION

To
The Editor, *Harijan*
Ahmedabad

The following are the original English text and its authorized Sanskrit and Hindi translations of the latter part of Article 47 of the Constitution of India

English text " in particular the State shall endeavour to bring about prohibition of the consumption except for medicinal purposes of intoxicating drinks and of drugs which are injurious to health "

Sanskrit translation

"विशेषतः राज्य मादकानां पेयानां स्वास्थ्यहानिकराणां च औषधानां, अन्यत्र भैषज्यप्रयोजनेभ्य उपभोगस्य प्रतिषेधस्य प्रयतेत ।"

Hindi translation

"राज्य विशेषतया, स्वास्थ्यके लिये हानिकर मादक पेयों और औषधियोंके भैषजीय प्रयोजनोंके अतिरिक्त उपभोगका प्रतिषेध करनेका प्रयत्न करेगा ।"

It will be seen that according to the original English text and its Sanskrit translation the consumption except for medicinal purposes of all intoxicating drinks irrespective of the question whether they are injurious to health or not, is to be prohibited by the State while according to the Hindi translation the consumption is to be prohibited only those intoxicating drinks which are shown to be injurious to health

Obviously as the Indian Constitution passed

[illegible] English, it [illegible] which is to [illegible] translation of [illegible] Article 47 is incor [illegible] ted immediately [illegible] gentlemen who are en [illegible] drafting the Consti [illegible] languages of India [illegible] which the Hindi [illegible]

FULSINHJI DABHI

M. P.

[illegible] of BACKWARD CASTES AND TRIBES

By Maganbhai P. Desai

[illegible] issue I had noted about a press [illegible] K. Rao (*vide Harijan* 22-8-'53) [illegible] of the Backward Classes. He has foll[illegible] with another on the other two Bac[illegible] viz. the Scheduled Tribes and the Sc[illegible] Castes. The first is a class of trib[illegible] who inhabit some of our mountain jun[illegible] described as living a separate exclusive [illegible] and not fully assimilated in the main [illegible] of the people. These groups were also de[illegible] as aboriginal or Adivasi Tribes, a name [illegible] very true and is now falling out [illegible]. The second is the class of the Antyajas or the untouchables, now called the Harijans. The Kalelkar Commission is required to go into the question whether the revision of their Sche[illegible] declared by the Presidential Order under the Constitution is needed or not. Shri K. Rao [illegible] this aspect of the case and ra[illegible] the following poser in their regard.

[illegible] the Scheduled Tribes he says, "The so-called superstition of the aboriginal and the non-aboriginal is done away with the better for all concerned."

And regarding the Scheduled Castes he concludes: "It is unwise to confer privileges on the Harijans, which are not shared by non-Harijans. Discrimination in favour of one group implies discrimination against another and a departure from equality."

And he at the end enunciates that "to recognize biological groups like castes, tribes, races and communities for cultural privileges is fatal to national solidarity. The individual should be unit and not a caste, class or community."

It is a little difficult to refute the logic of the argument advanced by Shri K. Rao. However, in matters social of the nature under discussion, the logic too logical and scientifically accurate to be practically helpful. Logic might perhaps deny life. And I fear Shri K. Rao's analysis will be found to suffer from such a drawback. Surely, I hope he does not argue that the special needs of the Backward Classes should not be looked into by the State for the fear that it might mean a departure from equality. The question rather is where is the equality from which a departure can at all be possible? Rather the problem is to establish equality in places where there is obvious social inequality and even injustice. How to remove these is the main question and not really to confer any privilege as such. However, placed as we are, we have to see that in removing inequality among the castes and the tribes or the classes we do not give a long lease of life to casteism and create something like a privilege of backwardness. The Kalelkar Commission's difficult task is to sort out different classes, castes and tribes for special treatment by the State and so do it that the distinction to be so made does not constitute a separatism in our body politic, and put a premium on casteism and tribalness.

We have vowed to be a nation without any distinctions of class, creed, caste, sex etc. In our social conditions as they are this is a difficult achievement. It is stipulated in the Constitution that these two Scheduled Classes will enjoy special representation in the Parliament and the State Legislatures, but that privilege will last for ten years only. Thus there is a limit set to this political privilege. Not so for the social inequality. It is not said when the special consideration to be shown to the Backward Classes will cease and how. Therefore the danger of separatism and privileged backwardness is not altogether unreasonable. The Backward Classes Commission should consider this aspect of their work also, because for equality to be real and complete there should be made no statutory distinctions on grounds of class or creed, sex or birth etc. in free India.

17-8-'53

BHOODAN YAJNA

[Land gift Movement]

By Vinoba Bhave

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

VOL XVII No 34 AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1953 TWO ANNAS

KISHORLALBHAI — A CONSTANT SOURCE OF INSPIRATION

(By Vinoba)

It is a year since Pujya Kishorlalbhai departed from our midst to retire into the world of the Spirit As I said on that occasion, in the rather free association of workers which we are, his presence provided the great uniting force which kept us bound to one another He acted very much like the oil which keeps the parts of the machine working smoothly, each in its own sphere Thus he lived giving us freely of his abundant love and passed over to his Home when finally the call came from the other side

Friends and workers had a realization of greater responsibility devolving on them after him A great many of those who gathered together at Chandil had an experience of his invisible presence which made them take to the work with a sense of greater urgency and seriousness They took a very important decision there The Charkha Sangh merged itself in the Sarva Seva Sangh and thus greatly added to the strength and influence of the Sarvodaya Samaj This has opened the way for other constructive organizations to do likewise I believe that by and by they will also come in and be merged in the Sangh Ahimsa does not work in parts It is a harmonious whole It is what the Vedas have called by the name of *Aditi* One without division'

Some friends had suggested the raising of a memorial fund for Kishorlalbhai I did not approve of the idea I pointed out that Kishorlalbhai had not liked the raising of the fund in Gandhiji's name Nor had I liked it But some of the old and respected leaders of the country issued a public appeal for it and we did not think it right to voice our disapproval and strike a rather discordant note But with that this chapter of collecting funds by raising subscriptions should be deemed finally closed That will give us the needed inspiration to find out new ways of doing our work and thus add fresh and nobler chapters to the old ones We should stop encouraging the spirit of possession even for promoting public welfare activities That will open the way for adventure and bold experimentation along other and more fruitful channels and enable our workers to be brave and strong and acquire the genius to overcome all difficulties

People are aware that along with the Bhoodan Yajna we have also launched Sampattidan Yajna as a complement to the former We want the people to donate a portion of their wealth and income but we do not want to collect the money so donated with ourselves and establish a fund or anything like that The money remains with the donor We only keep the gift deed The donor undertakes to spend the money in accordance with our instructions He has also to keep the accounts and present them to the public Then it is not that he gives his donation once and is freed from his responsibility to have anything to do with it On the contrary he is required to give the pledged portion of his income year after year throughout his life If we succeed in popularizing and establishing this idea among our people every house will turn into a bank for the poor and we will see that non-possession is a thousand times more effective and more powerful than possession I am deliberately proceeding with this programme rather slowly because I want it to be assimilated into our accepted code of individual and social conduct The need for Sampattidan was being felt ever since the Bhoodan movement started But following Kaka's great injunction, Attend ye to the root, and all else will be added unto it," I preferred to concentrate on the Bhoodan Yajna only in the initial stages and put forward the idea of Sampattidan based on non-possession in Bihar after Bhoodan had made sufficient progress I may add that the sacred memory of Kishorlalbhai was my constant inspiration in working out the development of this idea of Sampattidan and the final form into which it has been presented before the people

Friends who met at the Chandil Sarvodaya Conference realized that it would no longer do for them to sit on the fence if they really wanted the Bhoodan movement to succeed And they decided to plunge themselves into it I feel that this decision was also inspired by Shri Kishorlalbhai's memory He often said while he was alive

How I would like to go from village to village on the Bhoodan pilgrimage!" And though he could not move physically, he did all he could to

THE UNION

Lake Mosaic

from the [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

HUNDRED YEARS OF COMPULSORY VACCINATION

The Editor of *Harijan*

[illegible] one hundred years ago compul[illegible] vaccination was first introduced in [illegible] beginning with England in 1853. So the [illegible] year 1953 is centenary year of [illegible] vaccination.

The compulsory vaccination law 1853 [illegible] announcement of a popular [illegible] Gandhi's principle of compul[illegible] vaccination. The next few years [illegible] a great deal of [illegible] the British public [illegible] proceeding [illegible] the modest [illegible] the appointment of [illegible] in 1883 by the British [illegible] Royal Commission [illegible]

[illegible]

Bombay

POVERTY [illegible] LUXURY

(By [illegible])

[illegible] that I [illegible] thousand [illegible]

[illegible]

Printed and Pub[illegible]

A RIGHTEOUS STRUGGLE

By Mahadev Desai

[illegible] Price Re 1-8 0 Postage etc [illegible]

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HARIJAN

Sept. 19 1953

A MISGUIDING AGITATION

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

The P. S. P. Party in Gujarat has started an [illegible] agitation in the Pardi Taluka, District [illegible]. Some persons have been arrested in that [illegible] and Section 144 has been applied to [illegible] of the Taluka.

[illegible] movement concerns itself in a way with [illegible] Yajna and its leaders describe it as [illegible] Satyagraha. It is therefore necessary to [illegible] it.

[illegible] said that on account of recent Bombay [illegible] legislation landholders began to get [illegible] tenanted land on the plea that they [illegible] till it themselves. It is also said that [illegible] was got back from the tenants in [illegible] Thus left the tenants to live as [illegible]. Another thing that is said to have [illegible] was that landowners stopped to grow [illegible] turned good land into mere grass [illegible] their advantage in two ways [illegible] from much cost of production, and [illegible] depend upon labour for ex[illegible]. The sum total of this change [illegible] landholders prospered the [illegible] almost lost their profession [illegible] whether the landholders are [illegible] change food-crop land to grass [illegible] for our cattle. However [illegible] today. At such a time it is [illegible] to grow grass in place of food [illegible] that this was going on in [illegible] years past. Consequently the [illegible] thus creating a headache [illegible] as well as Government [illegible] that under these circumstances [illegible] decided to launch what it calls Khed-[illegible] the Taluka. It was for solving the [illegible] similar kind in Telangana that [illegible] thought of the Bhoodan way — a [illegible] violent method of providing the [illegible] land. People liked this idea and we [illegible] today as an all-India movement [illegible] can be resorted to in Pardi also [illegible] Shri J. P. Narayan went round [illegible] the whole of Gujarat saying that [illegible] be intensified as it has the poten[illegible] a silent non-violent revolution [illegible] problem. Obviously, the Khed-[illegible] Pardi is not in accordance with [illegible] rules. Its protagonists as well [illegible] claim is that it is a further action [illegible] Does it mean that Bhoodan [illegible] is not helpful?

[illegible] first principle of the Satya-[illegible] its object must be specific and [illegible] opm[illegible] and [illegible] exhau[illegible]

[illegible] what [illegible] must [illegible] that th[illegible] Instead [illegible] the P. S. P. [illegible] they sho[illegible] it. That [illegible] landlord [illegible] till land [illegible] actually [illegible] The ide[illegible] capture land [illegible] enough [illegible] give way [illegible] move and [illegible] true then [illegible] is very clear.

Again [illegible] tions [illegible] aimed [illegible] not is it [illegible] it is als[illegible] trespass [illegible] that it [illegible]. All this tender [illegible] only [illegible] strong form of mere [illegible] Satyagraha is made of sterner st[illegible] would not be proper therefore to [illegible] agitation Satyagraha.

Again, it is commonly agreed [illegible] among t[illegible] people as well as by the Government that th[illegible] landless must get land. What [illegible] then sought [illegible] be eslabhshel by the Pardi [illegible] on? It is alleged that the tenants were ejected from th[illegible] land which should be investigated. This rather complicates the question about the exact nature of the demand further. If such an enquiry is the demand then it can be agitated for in an orderly way: the legislature might be resorted to if ejectments are bad in law: they might be challenged through law courts. Or in the last analysis the ejected tenant might refuse to be so treated and so resort to Satyagraha. Nothing of this kind seems to have been done in the Pardi movement. Why the P. S. P. workers who had been working in the Bhoodan movement switched over to their new way and how it is Satyagraha and how it is going to benefit any one is not clear.

It remains for the people now to see that the unemployed landless are not misled by such an agitation. Ill-thought out and hastily undertaken Satyagraha injures: they must be saved from such injury. The Government must see that the Tenancy Laws are not abuse[illegible] on account of the[illegible] any drawback. The landholders also will have to understand that they cannot ignore Shri Vinoba's message. If they have stopped [illegible] food crops it is not proper. To deprive the [illegible] living with

[illegible] cannot [illegible] as if [illegible] a crime [illegible] Why [illegible] have [illegible] even [illegible] that the [illegible] they [illegible] social good [illegible] happiness [illegible] lies their own happiness [illegible] law of co-operative society [illegible] gives an unnecessary [illegible] the Paid [illegible] and thus one initial mistake [illegible] multiplied. This only cobbles the mistake [illegible] in any way correcting it. Social good [illegible] that both the mistake [illegible] collected and the [illegible] children [illegible] are [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

(From the original in Gujarati)

MERE EDUCATIVE PROPAGANDA CANNOT COPE WITH THE DRINK EVIL

(By Gandhiji)

My work in connection with temperance began as early as 1893 when I went to South Africa. When I saw my own people my own countrymen drinking and even women drinking who would never think of drinking in India and as a result leading a life of the gutter I saw that the task was an uphill one. These men and women were not prepared to listen to any lectures on temperance much less to any personal advice. I saw too that some of them were perfectly helpless or they thought that they were helpless. I adopted many measures all such measures as were within the competence of a man who is without any authority. But I cannot claim any degree of visible success for those efforts.

These men (Indian labourers) who have become addicted to the habit of drink do not justify it. They have a sense of shame about it. If you speak to them about it, they will tell you they are helpless; they are labourers, they will tell you all sorts of falsehoods and try to deceive you, but they are ashamed of this habit. In Europe on the other hand it will be ungentlemanly on my part if I do not stand a drink when you come to see me. When I was a student in England I found myself in a most embarrassing position because I would not stand a drink to friends. But that is not the case in India and therefore I suggest that it would be a wrong thing for you to say that education has to precede legislation. Education will never be able to cope with the evil.

I would therefore appeal to you to make it your sacred duty to carry on a whirlwind campaign for total prohibition.

Young India, 18-4-29

MAHADEV DESAI'S EARLY LIFE

By N. D. Parikh

Page xii + 71. Price Rs. 1. Postage etc. As. [illegible]

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IMMIGRATION AND RACIALISM

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

Nairobi, Aug. 27, 1957.—Kenya's European [illegible] for the admission of at least 30,000 [illegible] European immigrants to the British Colony in the [illegible] and a ban on further Asian immigration.

The only hope for the survival of the Kenya European Community was to stop the entry of one [illegible] and establish what would amount to a [illegible] they said in a resolution at the annual [illegible] of the European Electors Union meeting here [illegible] of [illegible] about 20,000 Europeans [illegible]

The above news-item is noteworthy in [illegible] ways. It spells a future war of races and colour in the dark continent. How otherwise can a small microscopic minority dare dictate a [illegible] to the sense of justice and fair play. The white minority in East Africa is only about 41,000 in a total of 1,81,00,000. In Kenya we find that there are 30,000 Europeans, 90,000 Indians, 24,000 Arabs and five million Africans. A lush and choice of the Asians who are in Kenya are chiefly the middle men who work for the small European aristocracy at the top. The African is the poor farmer who has been deprived of his good and little land under white legislation and [illegible] is reserved for Europeans. He is again made to earn currency to pay a poll-tax which can only be paid in cash. In his own native land he is required to carry with him a registration card otherwise with his fingerprints on it. It is in this background that we should interpret the news-item given above.

The [illegible] aspect also from which we should view this attitude of the European. The Western European [illegible] are too many and unless we [illegible] to die of want and hunger we should restrict birth and [illegible] open markets for Western manufactures and [illegible]. With the strength of [illegible] he has he would not allow us to migrate to Africa, Australia etc. which [illegible] very [illegible] populated and therefore would be exploited to their best by man from [illegible] come to settle on them. [illegible] either would want a European [illegible] to migrate to these lands. Such a racial [illegible] is [illegible] though. While on one side [illegible] prohibit [illegible] happy international [illegible] on the other shows how hollow it is [illegible] and apologists to preach [illegible] and not realize that an obvious and natural [illegible] is to close over population in some [illegible] under population in some others [illegible] reasonable migration through an international authority. This the Westerner would [illegible] he would rather hazard to meet [illegible] to satisfy his selfishness like the Mau Mau agitation by black and tan methods of counter Mau Mau [illegible] and India's resentment by passing [illegible] to evade Asians. This is [illegible] the spirit of [illegible] even the UNO Charter. Is [illegible] wrong to say that this [illegible] the overbearing white minority [illegible] which [illegible] not theirs is [illegible] danger

INDIA AT THE CROSS ROADS

by John Seymour

[illegible]

[illegible] Kinds of Cotton Industry

[illegible]

Political Conflict in India

[illegible]

The Great Indian Debate

[illegible]

Gandhi's Influence

[illegible]

Communist of India's Learnings

[illegible]

India

Religion of Khadi

[illegible] a religion to an enormous [illegible] that a thing started by [illegible] British. The nov[illegible] independence. Many a [illegible] home-spun cloth than that [illegible] quality — if a machine-[illegible] the same quality as [illegible] man. A mind member [illegible] all an attractive [illegible] meal — dine not

[illegible] West [illegible] effective [illegible] India. You are consistently [illegible] — for what? Is it good [illegible] example [illegible] for light houses a few [illegible] of [illegible] to million suburbs [illegible] is it better for [illegible] this own hom[illegible] the well Western [illegible]

[illegible] Mahatma Gandhi [illegible] village [illegible] with [illegible] [illegible] that [illegible] members [illegible] time [illegible]

Man and Machine

[illegible] much [illegible] — [illegible] from the [illegible] be absorbed into [illegible] In other words, [illegible] revolution of [illegible]

[illegible] such idea. They [illegible] the village [illegible] it is to be [illegible] recognized the [illegible] control, and this need [illegible] widely [illegible] throughout the cities and vil-

SOCIAL SELF-HELP IS THE REAL SOLUTION

S. M. P. T. [illegible]

Rebel [illegible] organ of [illegible] that in [illegible] belonging to its fan[illegible]

Mersie [illegible] They own work and economy [illegible] money [illegible] bought and [illegible] [illegible] United States

The [illegible] (Translation Swedish)

Such news are not [illegible] papers and party [illegible] because such ideas are danger [illegible] capitalists and political parties [illegible] ture power over the people by [illegible] quackery.

This village community [illegible] electing members to cooking [illegible] ment but by direct action by the [illegible] The members are not [illegible] works but are in actual work. [illegible] village community is not directed by the Government [illegible] Kolkhoz (collective economy [illegible] wrongly called) and Sookhoz (State farms) with wages paid as to slaves and driven as slaves of State. They are free communities (Communes) conducted by the members themselves on social solidarity basis without interference by Government or disruption by political parties. Where equality and solidarity cannot be broken.

If all villages organize themselves on this basis they can abolish money transactions among themselves and provide one another with all things without buying and selling (and therefore without money calculations and transactions) as among the members of a family all families and all villages belonging to one human family. It can be extended to the world.

If civilization crashes, that will be the only way to organize mankind — they have to organize themselves without politics and States and their communities. Civilization based on wrong and unworkable economy of politicians and States will crash. It is no use to save it — it cannot be saved — as politicians and statesmen are vainly attempting to save it.

Edward Carpenter wrote once: "If civilization makes us sick, let us go back to barbarism!" Not necessary — for we can go further beyond civilizaton as we know it.

DRINK [illegible]

(By [illegible])

[illegible] could hi[illegible] letter [illegible] and indic[illegible] [illegible] my husbandry [illegible] doing [illegible] them b[illegible] in touch [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Unfortunates of Drinking

[illegible] there is [illegible] [illegible] You [illegible] [illegible] but without [illegible] [illegible] What is [illegible] it is [illegible] [illegible] after [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Bhoodan and Satyagraha

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor MAGANBHAI P DESAI

VOL XVII No 30 AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY SEPTEMBER 26 1953 TWO ANNAS

LEARNING AND SERVICE OF THE PEOPLE

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

A [illegible] of the *Harijan* from Baroda in [illegible] of an letter in English to the Manager, [illegible] that he does not desire [illegible] a subscriber. Giving his [illegible] that the *Harijan* has lost its [illegible] and lacks originality and critical [illegible] Shri Mashruwala's [illegible]

I can [illegible] nothing to [illegible] in reply to the [illegible] I may only repeat [illegible] the charge of the [illegible] I am fully conscious of my [illegible] to fill the place [illegible] Bapu Mahadevbhai [illegible] C V Hiwale [illegible] in God I strive [illegible] capacity and understanding [illegible] the duty that has devolved on [illegible] the information of [illegible] complaint [illegible] I have received several [illegible] in India as well as abroad [illegible] expressed their satisfaction [illegible] rendering the same useful [illegible] not in any way of subscribers [illegible] but only to illustrate [illegible] different views

The reader [illegible] not run nor well [illegible] the sake of mere writing [illegible] as their aim the cause of [illegible] to rebuild [illegible] through construc[illegible]

The reader [illegible] what are these works and activities [illegible] papers aim at serving? Establishment of world peace and free development of the human personality are the objects of these activities. The means for realizing them should be [illegible] Truth and Non-violence. The world [illegible] new in a sense They have already been placed [illegible] before the country. The attainment of independence by the country has heralded a new age in our land. New situations and new problems have arisen. These works are therefore required to be reoriented and redefined in this new set up. In fact, we are required to [illegible] the truths taught by Gandhiji and see on our own

The *Harijan* papers aim at serving this cause and they do so at present even at a loss because of this cause though I should add there is a limit to the extent of the loss which it can bear. In this connection I would incidentally inform the readers and lovers of this cause that the three papers together do not pay their cost at present. The subscription list is dwindling. I may not go into its details here. I hope the Manager will do so in due course.

Now to the other points raised by the friend in his letter. The first thing that strikes me is Why should he have written in English? He could have chosen to write in Gujarati. He could have then expressed his ideas more clearly and fully. About Bhoodan he says that its philosophy is all right. But donors do not seem to donate land with full understanding and genuine feeling. He has not as much faith in the lower rank of Bhoodan workers as he has in Shri Vinoba. And since Vinoba is not to go to every village for distributing donated land he asks what will be of this all important work of distributing land? His main objection is that none has the proper study of village life, without which nothing will solve our village problem — not even Bhoodan.

The above objections of the correspondent against the Bhoodan movement partake of the nature of misgivings raised by Shri Mirabehn and some others some time ago. They have been discussed in these columns. I therefore need not answer them again. It is obvious that all workers cannot be like Vinoba. But it should be borne in mind that these are social problems and there is a technique of solving them by group action. And so it has been done before. All were not like Gandhiji. Still he had demonstrated the technique of mass action which worked. Similar objections were raised against his Satyagraha movements too. Even in ancient times the ordinary man had not attained the height of Rama, Krishna or Buddha. Still by following them society marched from progress to progress.

The letter reveals also a harmful habit that is found at present among the educated. They suffer from false self importance. The main criticism of the correspondent is that none has the

[illegible]quisite study of our vi[illegible]er quote him here. He writ[illegible]

> It is my consid[illegible] sociology and anthropology [illegible] Acharyji and social worker [illegible]ing Vinoba have the objective and comprehensive ide[illegible] village life. It is all based on one's own ra[illegible] assumptions and one's own pre-conceived ide[illegible]
>
> All this is not all right. None of the lower [illegible] of Bhoodan workers and even top leaders know m[illegible] beyond a few facts given by economics."

To say that Shri Vinoba and Shri Nehru have no knowledge of village life is an instance of false self importance born of mere book-learning These two life-long workers of our people have got their ideas not from college text-books but from the living text books of the lives of our people and by serving them The knowledge our friend thinks he has gained he should better test on the touchstone of its practical use by serving society If he actively helps Bhoodan movement or works in any other field of service of the people and utilizes his knowledge for the welfare of men he will soon realize what is real village life and what is the right remedy for its ills The educated youth today seems to be under a snare of deriving self satisfaction by acquiring superficial knowledge from books He requires to be saved from this The remedy is for him to take to some actual work and harness his knowledge for actual social service Let us remember that learning requires to be followed by practical work and is perfected by it by the living experience in the university of life

(Adapted from the original in Gujarati)

GANDHI, KEYNES AND THE CHARKHA

By S Moos

Lecturer in Economics, Durham University

I

Gandhi appears in Western eyes as an enemy of technical progress an old fashioned romantic who has strayed into the twentieth century carrying his spinning wheel with him.

How far is this impression accurate? Gandhi never claimed to be an economist His approach to economic issues can only be understood within the framework of his philosophy

Foreign trade industrial relations the size and location of firms or any economic measure were to be judged according to one principle Whether or not they heightened the likelihood of violence This was to be the supreme test of civilization.

To give an example of this attitude in 1950 the All India Congress Committee published a document entitled Our Immediate Programme

One of its principal objectives which it entrusted to the Planning Commission, was the growth of the human personality in all its aspects

This — to Western ears rather startling — task is to be found side by side with plans for the use of dead animals for manuring purposes and with the problem of capital formation.

So Gandhi was both a practical politician and an idealist. In fact he himself said I am not a visionary I claim to be a practical idealist

II

It seems to me that Western opinion is largely based on Gandhi's early period when he condemned all aspects of modern civilization.

Gandhi [illegible] the benefits of civilization [illegible] for his rather [illegible] for the [illegible]ion with the Indian village [illegible] hostility to large-scale enterp[illegible]

To answer [illegible] two assumptions are [illegible] this economic [illegible]

The first is that the [illegible]pose of economic [illegible]ty is to create condit[illegible] accurable to man's spiritual development to h[illegible]pendence, to his self [illegible]alization and to his acceptance of personal responsi[illegible]ities

The second is that these aims cannot be realized in a state of idleness or of complete lack of economic independence

From these assumptions it follows that unemployment is the most serious of all economic problems and it seems that the determination to cure this evil formed one of the pillars of Gandhi's thought How far could he accept Western solutions?

III

In advanced industrial countries better machines and better organization lead to higher incomes lower prices or a shorter working week.

Any temporary unemployment created by technical improvement can be overcome by such measures as retraining or the encouragement of mobility

For this reason the late Lord Keynes and his followers of the Full Employment School concentrated their attention on the type of unemployment resulting from a maladjusted national economy

It was believed to arise from lack of balance in the distribution of a nation's income and expenditure leading to a deficiency of demand and to a glut of savings

It was to be cured by attempts to increase expenditure to absorb idle savings and to utilize idle machines.

The main phenomena with which Keynes' New Economics concerned itself were the excess capacity to produce and the insufficient demand by Government and industry to use all current savings for new productive purposes

But in India this Western type of maladjustment contributes only a small share to her total unemployment for her unemployment is of a different character

IV

Four out of five of India's 360 million people depend on agriculture for their living Only a small fraction of industrial workers are employed in large-scale industry

Agricultural employment is dominated by seasons between the harvest and the coming of the rains that is, for four to five months each year 120 million workers in field and forest are idle

These are in Keynes terminology the Involuntary Unemployed

India's involuntary seasonal unemployment is beyond Western imagination if in terms of numbers one could imagine Great Britain without a single man or woman employed in field office or factory for two whole years one could arrive at a rough equivalent of India's staggering economic problem

One might then appreciate the spiritual misery caused by this type of unemployment.

Although Keynes did not deal with the Indian type of unemployment his first activities as an economist had a strong Indian flavour

His first Civil Service position was in the India Office His first published writings dealt with India problems.

They were a book on Indian Currency and Finance which came out in 1913 an article on "Recent Economic Events in India" in the *Economic Journal* of March 1909 and the review of a book *The Economic Transition in India* in 1911.

In the latter he wrote Sir Theodore Morrison — that is the author of the book — "argues too lightly from

the East without a full enough consideration
underlying factors upon which depends the
ous direction of the resources of the
the mills of Bombay and Calcutta figure too
public eye
say that these mills hardly influenced
ll being of India which could be improved
ing the brains and the capital of new India
d villages
ould today as it was in 1911.

V

chelon opposite against savings As the
from rural seasonal work have to cover the
re there is very little left for savings and
here is no capital available for improve-
ul ru improvements productivity and there
ot rise
ol vicious circle arises out of the first. To
between sowing and harvest, farmers
are not sufficient savings available to satisfy
d high interest rates have to be paid to get credit
is the lack of savings leads to high interest rates
ch interest rates reduce the farmer's income the
l income does not allow a margin for savings the
savings leads again to the high rates of interest
on.
d India of these vast legions of unemployed lacks
dustry which could absorb the idle millions. The
are entirely dependent on the towns
credit which is so scarce and for which they have
s excessive a price comes from the towns
village products for which they obtain so low a
to the towns Unemployment in India has to be
ly reduced before defences of the Keynesian
lest new disaster can be built
After all the essential feature of the Keynesian technique of boosting expenditure is that it can successfully counteract unemployment only when used on a sufficiently large scale and before unemployment spreads

Keynes assumes idle capital and a high mobility of labour but India is short of capital and her unemployed are immovable—glued to their misery

What was needed in India were methods which would help to employ idle labour reduce the claim for scarce capital increase the standard of living by greater self-sufficiency of the villages and finally — and for Gandhi an essential — lessen the dangers of violence

As nothing is more likely to lead to violence than the demand for scarce goods preference should be given to goods with expandable supply

To Gandhian economics scarcity is the decisive consideration not cost or efficiency

This attitude gains importance in the light of recent reports which suggest that shortages of essential commodities will remain a threat to world production trade and full employment.

Gandhi's drive for the use of indigenous resources does do something to meet the situation outlined in these reports

According to Gandhi it is better to rely on the bullock than on oil for moving the plough because once she has decided to give up her bullocks and her 40 million buffaloes the cutting off of oil supplies would spell ruin to India.

What buffaloes bullocks and man meant as sources of energy for the production of food the spinning wheel was to mean in the provision of cloth

The textile mills depend on markets to sell and materials which might become scarce such as iron and steel and foreign cotton and yarn.

But the supply of the material for the spinning wheel is adjustable

The spinning wheel represents local production and relies on local resources and local markets Therefore the extent of fraud and speculation, of conflict and of violence arising from conflict are reduced

As less money has to be spent on textiles from the mills the villages will need less credit and will free themselves from the interest burden

I think the spinning wheel will occupy the idle hours of the unemployed and will prevent his spiritual decay

So the spinning wheel emerges as the supreme cure for India's rural millions It is meant to save the multitudes of India's villages from decay

Gandhi emphasized that hand-planing was not intended to withdraw a single able-bodied person who could otherwise find a more remunerative occupation from his work but rather

The whole claim advanced on behalf of the spinning wheel is that it alone offers an immediate practicable and permanent solution of the problem of problems that confronts India namely the enforced idleness for nearly six months in the year of an overwhelming majority of India's population owing to lack of suitable occupation supplementary to agriculture and the chronic starvation of the masses that results therefrom

He went on There would be no place for the spinning wheel in the national life of India if these two factors were not there

* * *

The spinning wheel had still one more function to fulfil. It was to symbolize the value of manual work as such in an environment where this value was threatened either by apathy and demoralization, which grew in the soil of unemployment and starvation or by the stigma of inferiority attached to manual work when compared with non-manual work or with the machine

For the West the spinning wheel represents industrial backwardness productive inefficiency the ultimate sin against technical progress

In Gandhi's eyes it symbolizes the victory of work over idleness, of life over lifelessness, of the family unit and the village community over dispersal and disintegration.

It is the victory of non violence Once when he was asked Show God to me face to face Gandhi answered You will see Him in the Spinning Wheel.'

Western ideas if they are to suit Indian conditions, will have to be revised.

Is it really good economics to spend scarce resources for the import or output of labour-saving machines for use in industries which can command gigantic armies of unemployed ?

Gandhi's answer was the cottage industry, villagers would engage in home-craft, or they would produce soap flour and paper from local raw materials.

But as these types of village industry still leave great pools of unemployed further employment can come only from small scale industry carried out in villages.

* * *

Would this still be in accordance with Gandhian teaching ? Some of the confusion about the purpose and character of cottage industry might have arisen because Gandhi's attitude to the machine had not been sufficiently analysed

Gandhi was once against all machinery, calling it the chief product of modern civilization the symbol of a great sin Later he greatly qualified this attitude.

Mechanization ' he said is good when the hands are too few for the work intended to be accomplished It is an evil when there are more hands than required for the work

It was bad when it enriched a few at the expense of the many It was good when it was used for the benefit of the people

(Reproduced from *The Indian Express*, 5-8-53)

HARIJAN

Sept 26 1953

BHOODAN AND SATYAGRAHA

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

One thing in the Bhoodan movement that [illegible] appeals to a Socialist is that land can [illegible] this way *without any compensation* [illegible] he believes that to get land with compen[illegible] would be an impossible proposition But [illegible] with this people of this persuasion have a [illegible] giving lurking in their minds whether [illegible] have enough land through the Bhoodan [illegible] If not, what should be done to secure [illegible] without having to give compensation for it ?

[illegible] question has been agitating the minds [illegible] people for a long time. And the answer [illegible] they have allowed themselves to cherish [illegible] is that then they will resort to [illegible] And words to that effect are quoted [illegible] some utterances of Shri Vinoba as [illegible] such a Satyagraha will take place, [illegible] be undertaken, has hardly been [illegible] by anybody till now The agitation [illegible] Praja Socialist Party appears to be [illegible] direction. There is reason to believe that [illegible] movement tries to seek a way for getting [illegible] If it does not come forth on our asking for [illegible] Bhoodan

Shri [illegible] Narayan has issued a statement from [illegible] which he is reported to have said

> [illegible] with Bhoodan It has been asked [illegible] not see any inconsistency in it [illegible] it clear that no tenant should [illegible] be evicted from land that is justly his [illegible] under the present social set up [illegible] a landlord, no matter how [illegible] Furthermore, what is conceded [illegible] cannot be wrong for a com[illegible]

That [illegible] in the Pardi agitation those [illegible] who hold that land justly belongs to them [illegible] to seize it How such a thing is consistent with the Bhoodan principles is beyond comprehension

Certain people have from the beginning harbouried a complaint against the Bhoodan movement that it depends for its success on zamindars giving land , what the landless can do to get land is not shown by it Such a complaint truly begs the question whether there is such a programme for the landless as would compel land-gift without compensation. There has been a persistent demand for such a programme from a certain section of the workers Should the Pardi Khed-Satyagraha be understood as such a programme ? If so it raises the following few questions

1 The land is not of the Khatedars but justly belongs to the tenant — how is it so ? The legal position is not that [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] also should understand [illegible] is not [illegible] nor is it [illegible] graha The surest way [illegible] continue the Bhoodan [illegible] endeavour The Bhoodan [illegible] this junctture should [illegible] all in their move [illegible] this unhappy [illegible]

[illegible] in Gujarati)

[illegible] OFFENCE FOR THE HINDUS

([illegible] Jaganbhai P Desai)

[illegible] papers that Shri Vinoba and [illegible] assaulted at the gate of the [illegible] Deoghar (Bihar) by some [illegible] priestly class, when he [illegible] people with some Harijans Two [illegible] of the party were also [illegible] was also man handled [illegible] Ahmeda his secretary, wives [illegible]

[illegible] great tragedy averted [illegible] but much better now [illegible] Sharma, Chandreshwarp [illegible] serious injuries No cause [illegible]

[illegible] have news every Indian, and [illegible] will feel utterly ashamed of [illegible] one might feel about the [illegible] Harijans, there is a limit [illegible] otherwise there will [illegible] between a barbarian and [illegible] Baijnath Temple is one [illegible] temples Is it such a [illegible] of the Pandas today in the [illegible] sanity good man like [illegible] few Harijans for Darshana, the [illegible] could utterly be out of [illegible] ? [illegible] Hinduism There is no [illegible] of religion [illegible] civility

And such [illegible] against the nation [illegible] though [illegible] the Pandas have [illegible] till recently — [illegible] how deep rooted the [illegible] untouchability is This should be a [illegible] the Hindus chiefly of Bihar People [illegible] vow that they would not enter [illegible] without the Harijans' company This [illegible] stop the Pandas occupation [illegible] increasing such unemployment [illegible] tolerate such exhibition of [illegible] The Pandas and others [illegible] should know that the blows that they [illegible] on the deity because it was [illegible] both God and true religion

How will people [illegible] think of it on [illegible] these news What will they say about us If the White [illegible] lands how are they more wrong than our Sanatanis ? Let the custodians [illegible] note that such [illegible]

[illegible] when the [illegible] angu[illegible] [illegible] other tim[illegible] [illegible] ash [illegible] [illegible] which [illegible] [illegible] from [illegible]

THE PRESIDENT'S DIRECTIVE TO GOVERNMENT SERVANTS

[An informal meeting of Ministers and senior officer of the Central Government was held on August 29 1951 in Rashtrapati Bhavan to consider ways and means of popularising Khadi The meeting which was attended by the Prime Minister the Vice-President Dr S Radhakrishnan and members of the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board had been convened at the instance of the President Dr Rajendra Prasad Addressing the meeting the President said as follows]

The work of Khadi has been engaging the attention of many of us for the last thirty or thirty-five years and there are many people here who have given a great deal of time and thought to this question There is the difficulty of competition with mill made cloth and there is also further difficulty that we cannot get Khadi in as large a quantity as one requires

The economics of Khadi are based on certain fundamental facts of life in this country We know that India is an agricultural country and something like 70 to 80 per cent of our population lives on agriculture in some form or other If you consider the life of an agriculturist you will find that however large or however small the holding of an agriculturist may be, he and his family members cannot get full employment throughout the year and he cannot also leave his place and go elsewhere in search of employment and think of anything else because the work of agriculture requires intermittent attention If the hours and the days which are thus wasted by the agriculturist and other members of his family could be utilized, we will have more than enough of Khadi to clothe the whole country

I do not think anybody would object to the low wages in that case because they are earned at a time when the land does not pay at all He can earn something and that something is not so very insignificant after all, because he need not purchase a single yard of cloth if he gives time to it I can tell you from my personal experience that one hour of spinning a day yields enough of yarn sufficient to give us as much cloth as we in India are using today on an average, that is to say 15 to 20 yards per head. I think if you take that aspect of Khadi into considera-

tion, the question of cheapness or dearness would not arise at all because it is the result of labour of the people in their idle hours That is the fundamental aspect of Khadi, but we know all people are not always inclined to work We are often inclined not to work. But with all these difficulties, I think, it is possible to propagate Khadi as it was done in the past when Gandhiji started the movement and when we were not in the Government and did not expect any help from Government In spite of all that there was a class in the country who stuck to it and used it That class is still in existence What we want now is that the other classes who were not in favour of Khadi should also take it up and give encouragement to it. I am glad the Finance Minister has agreed to give subsidy to it

A question has been raised about the expensiveness of *saris* for ladies I think the question should not arise at all I do not know whether our women are so fully engaged the whole day that they cannot spare one hour a day If they can use their spare time in spinning they will be able to get a *sari* without any expense at all practically, except only for the cotton, and I think that will be cheaper than any other *sari* they can get elsewhere. If they start wearing Khadi woven from yarn spun by their own hands they will not fail to appreciate it. By practice their skill will improve and their nimble fingers will produce Khadi of a superior quality as it will be for their own *saris*

Those of us who have actually known the production of Khadi know what tremendous amount of relief it gives to the class of people who have no other source of income I remember the days when I myself used to go to Khadi centres where yarn was purchased and where poor women clothed in rags would come from miles with small bundles of yarn to sell. If their yarn was not purchased for one reason or the other, one could see clearly the despair and despondency on their faces One could not help feeling that this Khadi work was really of very great service to the poorest class of people I think things have not changed even today to such an extent as to obviate the necessity of this kind of relief altogether

I, therefore, suggest that when we think of Khadi we should not think of the mill-owner or the mill worker but of the poor woman in the village.

Problem of Unemployment

We have been very much concerned with the problem of unemployment and very rightly, too When we take into consideration this problem, you can see very easily what amount of employment Khadi had created. If I am not wrong a single man in a mill looking after spindles throws out of employment 200 men One man looks after as many looms as would produce cloth equal to the output of ten to twelve weavers on handloom in a day From that you can judge what tremendous amount of unemployment a mill creates in a single day

I am not here to plead that there should be no industrialization in the country That is a big question and that has to be dealt with on its own merits, but I am placing before you a fact which cannot be denied and the effect of which is being felt in the everyday life of the poor in this country It is therefore, necessary that when we think of Khadi we should think of unemployment or underemployment of a large number of people who cannot get any other employment If we look at it from that point of view, you will agree that any subsidy that can be given to it will not be wasted If you do not give any subsidy to it you will have to find some means of subsistence for these men and women It is much better to support them with this subsidy

It is our experience that when calamities like earthquakes, big floods occur, opening of Khadi centres in affected areas brings a lot of relief to the people In fact, in connection with the recent floods in Bihar I have received telegrams from Khadi workers there asking for utilization of funds placed at their disposal for opening Khadi centres

The purchase of Khadi is not altogether an act of charity It will give employment to millions By buying Khadi we shall not be wasting money but investing it in artistic things. We have been spending crores by way of subsidy for sugar and steel industries for years We never objected to it Of course, they needed it. I wish some kind of subsidy should be given to Khadi also, because it deserves it more than any other organized industry

Some Suggestions

I wish to make one or two suggestions Many of you here are Heads of Departments I do not suggest to the Army to use Khadi for uniforms I will not even suggest even to the Police to use Khadi uniforms. For one thing, we may not have enough Khadi today for the purpose. But I do not see any reason why in Rashtrapati Bhavan and all other Government Departments Khadi should not be used, why spats, napkins, towels, curtains, dusters and so many other things which we use every day in offices, hospitals, etc, should not be of Khadi I, therefore, suggest the Government issue instructions that all the Departments, excepting Police and Army should make all these purchases from Khadi Bhandars If that is done, I think there will be a great fillip to the Khadi movement, not only because a great deal of Khadi will have been purchased by the Government, but also because it will have a great effect on the people If a thing like that is attempted, I think the promotion sale and disposal of Khadi, which sometimes become a problem, will have been solved. And I can say if you can ensure the sale

of Khadi there will be no shortage in production and its supply What is, therefore, needed is to stimulate the use of Khadi not by force or coercion but by willing co-operation, by appreciating the fundamental facts about the economics of Khadi

I wish you gave thought to it not only from the economic point of view but also as a matter of national necessity which will help the poorest people and employ a large number of people in the country

USE OF KHADI—A NATIONAL DUTY

[From a statement by Shri V L. Mehta Chairman All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board, at a meeting of Ministers and senior officers of the Central Government, convened at the instance of the President, at the Rashtrapati Bhawan on August 29 1953]

The principal function of Khadi as we envisage it, today is to afford fuller employment to the rural population Among the problems which now confront those in charge of the destinies of the country none causes such concern as the growth of unemployment. Dwelling as the majority of us do in towns and cities, it is the signs of unemployment among the educated that worry us But far more stupendous is the problem of chronic unemployment and under-employment in most of our rural areas

The main purpose of the Five-Year Plan is to reduce the volume of this unemployment in rural areas and to raise gradually though it may be the average level of income in the country This goal the Plan seeks to achieve by the adoption of two lines of action: One is to provide larger opportunities for employment on and for increased earnings from the land It would take us beyond the object of today's meeting if I deal with that aspect of the programme It is the second aspect that concerns us namely, that of reducing the pressure of population on the land by organizing and extending opportunities for productive employment in the countryside, by the provision of suitable secondary occupations and by the revival and reorganization of village industries By arranging for the processing of locally available raw materials with the help of local labour and by organizing the manufacture of consumers' goods with the aid of simple tools and appliances as well as techniques, it is possible to utilize more fully the productive capacity of the nation as a whole, and, at the same time, to check the process of unregulated urbanization that gives rise to manifold problems, not the least among which is that of urban unemployment

Among village industries the leading place is occupied by the production of cloth. This is very natural, since after food and shelter the greatest need of a human being is clothing The manufacture of cloth was the most ancient of our industries, the products of which, before the advent of the age of the power-driven machine, won fame for us in distant lands How and why this industry decayed is an aspect of our economic history which need not detain us today But even in present times this industry finds employment for larger numbers than the highly efficient organized textile mill industry The handloom weaving industry which still employs large numbers is in a perilous condition mainly because of its dependence on its competitors, the textile mills, for the supply of its basic material, namely, yarn The hand-spinning industry was as good as dead until its revival and organization was first taken in hand, three decades and a half back, by the Father of the Nation Mahatma Gandhi

In the past it was hand-spinning that provided the basic raw material for the fine fabrics for which our artisans earned renown all over the world It was Gandhiji's aspiration to see that the industry achieved the same heights of glory in the atmosphere of free India Confining our gaze for the present to the economic value of the programme, we find that it has immense potentialities As a Committee appointed by the Government of Bombay observed 15 years ago, "Under existing conditions of technical knowledge and taking into account the enormous number of persons for whom a subsidiary occupation is required, hand-spinning is almost the ideally suited subsidiary occupation for the Indian agriculturists, it involves very little capital it is not difficult to learn it can be taken on and left off at the cultivator's convenience and it fits in with the century-old traditions of the countryside" It is these considerations which have, presumably, induced the Planning Commission to accord to Khadi and other village industries a central place in our rural development programmes.

One problem—and that probably the most difficult—remains, namely, that of marketing the largely increased output that will result With all the improvements that the Board seeks to bring about and with the organizational aid it will provide, the reduction in the price of Khadi that will be effected will not be of such magnitude as will enable this cloth to compete with mill-made cloth. The rebate to the consumers that, with the Central Government's approval, the Board has sanctioned, transfers the burden to the State of the overhead charges, which, I may emphasize the Board attempts to keep extremely low But a difference between the two prices will continue and this difference should be treated as a contribution by the State or by the consumer to the maintenance of the oldest among our handicrafts and as a premium paid for the alleviation of distress, both visible and invisible, in rural communities or among sections of the population like our displaced fellow-citizens from Pakistan

Among economically powerful countries, the State assumes the burden of relieving distress caused by unemployment and underemployment

by devising a system of doles and other forms of social security payments Much preferable to a system of doles however is payment by way of wages for some form of simple productive employment such as is contemplated through the extension of Khadi production This extension would result in an increased output The lines on which the movement is being organized provide for production being carried on as largely as possible on a basis of self-sufficiency, thus reducing the volume of production seeking outlets in cities However our National Government have accepted their responsibilities for carrying this programme of relief and rehabilitation by placing funds at the disposal of Government for organizing and financing the work of rehabilitation as also by purchasing as much of the cloth as they suitably can for their own requirements They have also agreed to assist in the establishment of depots and emporiums for the sale of Khadi The rest of the task is the duty of the consumer

The general public the Khadi Board and the blessings of the President of India address an appeal at the time of the Gandhi Jayanti Today, the Board's appeal is to a group of persons who in our view can lead to the rest of the community to the use of Khadi as consumers with knowledge and understanding The persons who are present at this meeting are much better than members of the Board to do the social and economic aspects of the Plan and of the duty that is cast out to us to contribute to its success We know that the development of Khadi is not for the purpose of providing large-scale employment but is an integral part of the Plan One of the best ways of furthering this part of the Plan is to ensure that the products that are turned out are taken up by those sections of the community who are the discriminating consumers and who besides possess the requisite purchasing power In the days of the War the Government then in authority called upon all, including those associated with the task of governance to help the Government to provide the sinews of war Now the Government have embarked today on a campaign against poverty and unemployment Khadi is a part of this campaign for the successful prosecution of which Government may well appeal to everyone of them to help in providing the sinews of war by taking to the use of Khadi and by purchasing it henceforth as a duty of patriotic duty

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QUALITY OF FILMS

The Editor *Harijan*

Sir

Of late there has been a great hue and cry among the conscious public regarding the deteriorating quality of the films which are produced with the mercenary mentality It appears they are now out to aggravate the inborn sexual appetite of the human psychology It seems they are inclined to adopt the worst part of Hollywood and to place it to the forefront of their productions It is a pity when one watches the children following blindly the so-called heroes and heroines! This bizarre quality of films has brought blasphemy on Indian culture and civilization in the international fields They have also poisoned and diverted the attention of the younger generation to the sexual side endangering our long cherished dream of building of the strong nation in the world It is timely if the public raise their voice in protest against this Will the Directors and Producers be cautious and improve the quality of the films without compulsion? The sooner the authorities intervene the better it is for the good and well-being of the promising children of Free India

25 9 53 SURENDRA PARIKH

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MARTYR OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

(By Willem De Sanderes Hendrikz)

It is extremely difficult for an artist to put into words what he has tried to express in terms of painting or sculpture and we know only too well how verbal descriptions of works of art can either obscure their significance or give them an intellectual content which is not justified by their aesthetic value

I would never have essayed an explanation of the origin and form of my "Martyr of the Twentieth Century" had it not been for the fact that this work will now be seen by thousands of people unfamiliar with the trends of twentieth century art Such people are perplexed and even antagonized by any departure from naturalism or from the forms of expression with which they are familiar In addition, the material demands of living deny them the leisure to seek the meaning of aesthetic symbolism

So it is to these people that I address this attempt to explain something about a piece of sculpture which took form in my studio — a work motivated by an intuitive urge rather than by an intellectual drive

Mahatma Gandhi was to me one of the few remaining forces for good in a chaotic world where bigotry, injustice and material gain are the driving forces of what we call civilization.

The news of his violent end affected me very profoundly It seemed that this deed reflected the utter futility of trying to improve the conditions of living, of trying to raise humanity above the present level of near-bestiality

And yet when I started out (after the sleepless night that followed the hearing of the news) to give form to yet another of the martyrs that line the passage of history, this feeling of futility left me It was replaced by a single minded purpose to try to express in sculpture form the essential character of this great man

A thin elongated form is suspended in space — space which symbolizes eternity A hand reaches to the sky and a heavy foot ties it to the earth. Between these opposing forces hangs a body which is not tortured by this conflict but which is calm and in repose The whole is carved with the utmost directness and every detail is sacrificed to ensure an impression of simplicity The simplicity that Gandhi regarded as an essential factor in his mode of life, the calmness that made that frail body a tower of strength to those who sought justice under his guidance

Although there is only one arm and hand and one leg and foot both these limbs cast shadows on the wall against which the figure is hung And these shadows take on a reality of their own and replace the missing limbs So in the counterplay of the limbs and their shadows lies the metaphorical counterplay of light and darkness of the real and the unreal of the concrete and the abstract of the physical and the metaphysical And the conflict of these forces is held in equilibrium by the ideal of peace symbolized in the immortal calm of the dead Gandhi

Finally if the hand seems raised in benediction then it is a benediction If it seems raised in protest, then let it be a lasting protest against injustice

22-3-'48

LIMITATIONS OF SATYAGRAHA

(By Gandhiji)

Whether it would be proper to undertake Satyagraha, whether one who undertakes it has the fitness to do so and whether the cause for which it is sought to be undertaken is worth it can be judged only on the prevailing circumstances. I have to advise and guide friends and co-workers when they seek my advice and guidance And often while granting their right to offer Satyagraha I have to warn them in the same breath that it was neither the time nor the occasion for it

I have no hesitation in declaring that he who has not had some training in constructive work has not even learnt the first steps in Satyagraha And to my mind constructive work means the spinning wheel and Khadi work constructive work means removal of untouchability constructive work means work for prohibition constructive work means striving for friendship between the Hindus and the Mussalmans Indeed, he who is not imbued with the spirit of service and the spirit of love could never dream of offering Satyagraha

This writing does not of course apply to those who are not bound to seek or follow my advice He who is by nature non violent who is by temperament Satyagrahi in whose whole being truth pervades and who is the spirit of service embodied deserves the respect of the world He needs not my advice, not my guidance And no one need say where and when he will offer Satyagraha not whether he has the right to do so

But to those who are filled with anger and pride whose ego fills their being and whose intellect is disturbed by passion I would certainly say 'Please hold yourselves in patience Any thoughtless step taken even unconsciously would not only inevitably lead to bitter consequences but would also destroy the little control that is in evidence at present and future generations who would have to undergo sufferings on account of the so-called Satyagraha will curse us and the very name Satyagraha will suffer disreputa' Every thoughtful person should therefore, appreciate the limitations of Satyagraha It would be better if instead we gave up the very name of Satyagraha and behaved as we thought best The world will then know us for what we are But the world will feel disturbed and perplexed and would be unable to see its way if acts are performed in the name of Satyagraha but not deserving it

5-7-'31

If the Satyagrahi is patient there is no injustice for which he has no remedy But it must be clearly borne in mind that if one who suffers injustice has no strength to resist it there is no other means to counter it in Satyagraha This is the limitation of Satyagraha The aim of Satyagraha is to train the sufferer by actual demonstration as to how he can free himself from his sufferings Till he is so trained the Satyagrahi has to hold himself in patience If this is a limitation of Satyagraha it is also its beauty and strength So the Satyagrahi does not become anyone's patron or guardian He suffers with the sufferer, becomes his partner in suffering and his comrade

Do not be misled into the belief that you are bound to take aggressive action against any immorality or injustice you see Better train yourselves for such action by silent constructive work Do not invite action against injustice but welcome it when it comes to your door

19 7 '31

(Vide in the original in Gujarati Navajivan)

TEMPLE ENTRY FOR HARIJANS

[Shri Vinoba issued the following statement from Pardih (Bhagalpur) on 20-8 53 regarding the Deoghar *Baijnath Temple Entry Incident of 19 8 53*]

Yesterday while at Vaidyanathdham I went for the Darshan of Mahadevjee in company with Harijans and some of my colleagues We could not of course have Mahadevjee's Darshan, but as a blessing got beatings at the hands of His devotees That has evoked inquiries from friends and hence this statement

I would like to say at the very outset that those who have indulged in this act of assault did so only out of ignorance That being so I do not want them to be punished for this Rather I am glad to find that all those who were with me in hundreds remained calm through it Not only this my companions who were badly battered told me that there was no anger within them even at the time of occurrence I feel it is symbolic of God's grace to a land to have workers that bear no ill will against anybody Those who indulged in the assault were seized with anger, so much so that they made no distinction between man and woman I trust this will prove to be the last curse of Bhedasur, the devil in man that discriminates between one man and another

I had no mind either to force my way into the temple or to seek entry into it on the strength of the provisions of law On the contrary it has been my practice not to go to a temple that is not open to Harijans But I was told on inquiry that Harijans had free ingress into this temple Consequently we went out for Darshan in a reverent mood after the evening prayers We had observed silence all along the way and I had been meditating on the Vedic hymn sung in the praise of Mahadev. When we were assaulted, unexpectedly in this state I even experienced significant sense of comfort I turned back with a feeling of happiness but as we were going away the persons assaulting us became more pronounced in their zeal Those in my company formed a cordon round me and took all the blows that were

taste of [illegible]
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[illegible] of science Every faith is
[illegible] touchstone of reason If our
[illegible] in view and behaves according
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[illegible]

SOME FIGURES ABOUT LANDS IN THE PARDI TALUKA

[illegible] orker from the Surat District has collected
[illegible] figures which would prove useful to
[illegible] proper understanding of the agitation that
[illegible] in the Pardi Taluka He says that he
[illegible] care as he could in collecting the
[illegible] figures from government records Relevant [illegible] from the communication is reproduced below

How much land has been taken over for personal cultivation by landowners from tenants

Year	Willingly given up by tenant	For Non-payment of rent	Taken over by owners or ex-owners under the	Total
	A. g.	A. g.	A. g.	A. g.
1949-50	919—33	8—14	31—35	957—33
1950-51	383—19	64—20	32—13	480—12
1951-52	294— 1	58— 6	29— 1	379— 8
Total	1 597—16	127— 0	92—35	1 817—1[illegible]

The figures show that during the last three years 1 817 acres and 15 *guanthas* that is 14 per cent of the land held by tenants has changed hands and passed from the tenants to the owners of land

Land used in personal cultivation and land rented to tenants

The figures as to how much land is cultivated by owners themselves and how much by tenants at present are

Total acreage of land in the possession of tenants	Land cultivated by owners themselves	Total land under cultivation
13 000 acres	23 000 acres	36,000 acres

Thus land under cultivation in the possession of land owners is 23 000 acres and is held by small as well as big holders It includes the acreage held by owner farmers belonging to the backward or scheduled tribes Land cultivated under tenancy rights is 13 000 acres and most of it is in the possession of small tenants The tenant farming a few acres

Land for Food Crops

Besides the acreage of land under actual cultivation in the Pardi Taluka during the past fifty or sixty years was never as much as it is at present

[illegible] cultiva[illegible]
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Pardi Taluka [illegible] acres food
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Cultivable Land

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Total Acreage under Cultivation has increased

[illegible] 61 for paddy cultivation 5,000
[illegible] about 8 000 acres yield miscellaneous [illegible] le total working up to more than 40 000 [illegible] r cultivation This leaves [illegible] acres [illegible] Government records how [illegible] acres as gauchan land. This means that [illegible] land have been brought under cultivation [illegible]

Such [illegible] never under cultivation before [illegible] under cultivation of 40 000 acres [illegible] which by government records If the acreage [illegible] brought under cultivation is added [illegible] arrive at the actual figure of land under [illegible] which is 10 000 acres

About Ownership of Land

Out of the total of [illegible] 000 acres of land in the Pardi Taluka [illegible] 00 [illegible] who belong to the trader community hold 14 [illegible] acres as owners big holders including [illegible] and other communities hold in all 20 000 acres [illegible] 000 acres are held by small holder [illegible] It means that more than [illegible] per cent of [illegible] under cultivation belongs to [illegible] small farmers

[My suggestion to the local public workers is that they should collect figures regarding families who are landless and as to how many acres of what kind of land would be required to distribute among them for their useful employment Then they may approach the owners for such land to be given in Bhoodan They would also do well to think of starting small and large cottage industries because these landless families could hardly be fully employed on land So not only land but small and large cottage industries would be required to find full useful employment for them Basic schools run on Ashram lines and centres of social education should also be organized along with them The question brought to the fore by the Pardi agitation could be solved to satisfaction in this manner only and in no other —M P]

HARIJAN

Oct [illegible] 1953

GANDHI JAYANTI MESSAGE TO THE NATION

1

(By Rajendra Prasad)

For many years past we have been celebrating with great enthusiasm the birth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhiji himself had said that the day should be observed not as his birthday but as Charkha Jayanti. And in that spirit it is celebrated in many places by spinning Charkha and propagating Khadi. This year too it is essential that it be celebrated with the same enthusiasm and in the same manner as before.

The Government of India have decided to give subsidy to Khadi and a Board has been constituted for organizing and developing Khadi work. It has been a great difficulty with Khadi that its price as its cost of production is a little higher. Efforts are now being made by the Government to reduce its price and make it available to the people at cheaper rates. Khadi is a very effective weapon to fight unemployment. It can give employment to many people who have no other source of income. It is particularly in this respect that the propagation of Khadi is so essential. It was not long ago when workers in the Congress went from house to house to propagate and sell Khadi. There are at present many difficulties regarding sale, it is in [illegible] discouragement from all quarters. [illegible] of the people the Khadi Board has made arrangements to make Khadi available in different qualities in as much quantity as they like. Figures of the [illegible] will be made known to the public by [illegible] on the Jayanti day. The Khadi [illegible] on the Gandhi Jayanti fixed [illegible] crore of rupees is target for the sale of Khadi [illegible] its work for the purpose. [illegible] lovers of the country will participate [illegible] for the promotion of Khadi and contribute to its success.

New Delhi, 5-8-'53

(Translated from Hindi)

2

(By Jawaharlal Nehru)

Many of us have believed in Khadi and worn it for a large number of years. It was for us the livery of freedom in the days of our struggle and at the same time something that put us on a level with the common man in India, whose welfare was the main object of our endeavour. Our country unfortunately has suffered from a multitude of castes. They still continue and bedevil our politics and our social life.

[illegible] our social life due to [illegible] differences and to get rid of these has been and is our objective. The Constitution of India has emphasized this in its directive principles of policy. But that is a big question involving big changes in our entire social fabric. We move in that direction no doubt, but the pace does not appear to be fast enough.

However that may be, there are some things which each one of us can do, and one of these is to put on and use Khadi and thus lessen at least the outward barrier of clothes that separates the well-to-do from the poor. Khadi at least brings an element of kinship with the vast masses of our people. It produces an atmosphere of comradeship and common endeavour.

In addition to this it helps, to some extent at least, in tackling the problem of unemployment. I do not mean to say that this problem will be solved by our wearing Khadi but we do help somewhat in this way and the consciousness that we are responsible for solving this problem of unemployment is ever with us.

This problem of fuller employment has become now a major problem of today for all of us. We have to tackle it on a multitude of fronts. But it is becoming increasingly recognized that a major way of tackling it is by the encouragement of village and small-scale industries.

Khadi is one of our principal village industries and Khadi is a symbol also not only of the freedom that we sought and that we have won, but of that kinship of spirit and removal of barriers among all our people, which is so important.

Therefore, let us wear and use and encourage in every way Khadi. This applies to all of us whatever our grade or function might be and whether we are officials or non-officials.

More especially, let us do this on this anniversary which brings such a host of memories to us — Gandhi Jayanti Day.

(From the *A I C C Economic Review*, Sept 15 '53)

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TO THE READERS OF THESE PAPERS

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

My article 'Learning and Service of the People' (*Harijan* 26-9-53) has brought me several letters from the readers. They write to say that they do not agree with the friend whose letter I had referred to in that article, their view being that the *Harijan* papers is different. They find the papers as interesting as before and express their wish that the papers do continue to serve the cause of the people. Some of them say that they come to know of the papers being run at a loss only when they saw that article and express their sympathy for the papers. One of them suggests that money be raised from the people as a 'Harijan Paper Aid Fund' which may help the papers continue at least for the coming three years if not more. Another friend has expressed his willingness to offer some money as help. To them all I on behalf of the Navajivan Trust, express a deep sense of gratitude and request them to continue to take interest in the papers and help them become self supporting.

About a year and a half ago when the circulation of the three papers together went as low as 18,000 the late Shri K. G. M. drew the attention of the public to it. People responded well to his appeal. The total number of subscribers of the three papers rose to 18,000 and the papers again became capable to pay their cost.

The circulation today is about 12,000. Last year 6,000 new subscribers were added to the list. Of them about 1,500 did not renew their subscription in February last. Hence this sudden drop in the subscribers number.

I now invite the attention of the readers to the [illegible] of individual papers given [illegible] elsewhere in this number [illegible] subject matter here.

[illegible] will see from the figures for the [illegible] subscribers of one English [illegible] or below the required [illegible] for each of them. The [illegible] if one of these [illegible] the other might be con[illegible] if it comes to ceasing [illegible] the edition it could be only [illegible] the English one. There is [illegible] Trust that in the number of subscribers [illegible] *Harijan* did not go up to 6,500 it [illegible] to be stopped. (*Harijan*, 22-2-1952)

Some readers suggest that in the Central and State Governments wish they can help by [illegible] number of subscribers. Various [illegible] institutions of Government do spend [illegible] papers. What objection could there [illegible] ing for the *Harijan* papers? If [illegible] and Community Project Centres take up the idea and devote their attention to it they can render service to the papers.

Regarding the suggestion of accepting donations and raising funds to help the papers, the Managing Trustee informs me that the Navajivan Trust has not worked on donations and funds it has never been its policy. The institution has been built up on the strength of faith and inspiration of Gandhiji and on the spirit of sacrifice, service, hard honest industry and perseverance of its workers.

In the new age in which we live there is no reason for a change in this original policy of the Trust. Therefore the suggestion of raising a fund is not acceptable. However, as I wrote to a reader in reply to his letter, lovers of the *Harijan* papers may work for increasing the number of subscribers and if they are well-to-do, they may pay subscriptions for other deserving persons who cannot afford them. To this end they can help create 'Subscription Aid Fund' as help to various people who desire to read the papers but cannot subscribe for them. A friend has sent me seven such subscriptions. The Trust has carried out his wish and has continued the papers to seven deserving persons.

The issue in which this article will appear happens to be published about the Gandhi Jayanti Day. It is quite in the fitness of things. These papers are dedicated to the cause of propagating the way Gandhiji showed us to achieve Rama Raj. If the people desire to see the papers continue to serve them they should see that they pay their cost. This is in a way a test of their earnestness and love for the papers. I know the responsibility of the Navajivan Trust as also of the editor in this matter. As I wrote in my previous article, I am trying with all my strength and understanding to fulfil my duty as editor. I request the readers to give their help and goodwill in my task. My humble request to them is to treat this paper as a weekly letter to them, take active interest in the discussions that appear in it and frankly communicate to me their views, reactions, feelings etc. That will greatly enhance the capacity of the papers to render effective service. If in this way in every field of our national life, people explore every possible means of service of the people and endeavour to enhance their capacity to render it, then only will they effectively tackle every problem confronting the country and march from progress to progress. The country's onward march is not so much achieved by authority from above as by building up the strength of the people by instilling in them the will to perform free, spontaneous service and sacrifice. Power at the most gives a decent and attractive outer garb to it. On this sacred day of the birth anniversary of the Father of the Nation let each one of us, man, woman and child, be poor and rich, prince and peasant alike take the pledge to rededicate our life in the service of the people in the spirit enkindled in us by him.

24-9-53

(Adapted from the original in Gujarati)

THE KEY TO A PEACEFUL REVOLUTION

(By Vinoba)

The modern wars are specially calamitous in one respect It is curious that they lead to a result which is contrary to what has been regarded as the scientific law of Nature, namely, the survival of the fittest The present scientifically conducted wars take a heavy toll of young men who on means that while the fittest are sacrificed to the war deity those who are unfit stay back in their homes and are saved This is contrary to the law of Nature So these wars are utterly unnatural in every respect, and may well spell the [illegible] of humanity on the earth, unless [illegible] to check them Let us see [illegible] they come about

A social order whatever its form and structure [illegible] is designed to promote the health and happiness of the people And there is no doubt that it [illegible] profit to it for some time, may be, even for [illegible] But gradually its utility diminishes [illegible] comes when it is no longer serviceable [illegible] has then to be scrapped and remade [illegible] has to be remade after the old [illegible] The change and the reconstruction involve a good deal of suffering and [illegible] There are some who are reluctant to [illegible] suffering and who therefore oppose this [illegible] They throw in their support on the side of the *status quo* They do, of course, introduce reform but only at a snail's pace and try to keep the old system intact, so long as they can, in the name of peace and order. Under the circumstance those who want change are driven to the view that it cannot be brought about except through violence The situation gives rise to tension and as it increases, the cleavage between the protagonists of peace and order and those of change becomes wider and the latter become confirmed in their faith in violence as the only solution This ultimately ends in war and revolution

But we have now discovered a way which is both peaceful and revolutionary and unfailingly potent to secure the change of society without any of the evils associated with the other two ways We want to overhaul the entire social structure without recourse to violence, that is, we want both peace and revolution Revolution is indispensable Now if we want peace also, then we have to prove that peace too has the power to revolutionize the society — not gradually but with the speed of a revolution If this is proved, the violence will cease to be the indispensable adjunct of revolution and society will be saved This is what we call a peaceful revolution or Satyagraha

We who believe in Sarvodaya i e the well-being of the entire society without any distinction of class or creed have taken to Satyagraha as the means to the end that we have set ourselves We must then have full faith in its efficacy Secondly we must be prepared to suffer for [illegible] have th[illegible] [illegible] of the [illegible] the [illegible] which, [illegible] darkness, [illegible] faith in [illegible] human [illegible] divine con[illegible] we have [illegible] we can [illegible] revolution in the [illegible]

[illegible] we should take up [illegible] and work for their solution [illegible] the same time, con[illegible] purification individuals

[illegible] helping the people [illegible] faith and develop faith [illegible] to manifest the power of [illegible] solving all our problems [illegible] perspective Bhoodan work will reveal [illegible] active glory

People [illegible] argue that the work of land distribution [illegible] accomplished by legislation. Our [illegible] Brothers do it We have no objection [illegible] But we take delight in building up *[illegible]* We [illegible] desire to finish this work [illegible] We can And we firmly believe that this will [illegible] in a very short time This work will [illegible] such numerous virtues and provide such a key that it will be easy for us to solve so [illegible] problems We keep a record of the quality and the quantity of land collected At the same time we also measure our work from the number of workers we receive and from their quality, [illegible] they have faith in humanity and in our ideals

To these workers we advise that they should develop mother's devotion for their co-workers Whatever wrong [illegible] may commit, the mother goes on believing [illegible] child after all, is good at heart We should cultivate like devotion for our colleagues and [illegible] our opponents In case we hear ill of our friend we should disbelieve it On the contrary if we hear of some good act of our friend we should at once believe it. God dwells in every heart and He inspires him to do good

Lawyers know that the law may acquit even ten accused persons but it sees that not a single innocent person is punished If there is some ground for doubt, we have to allow its benefit to the person concerned The benefit of doubt should be so construed that it should lead us to find out goodness This is indeed a fine characteristic of law based as it is on faith in humanity The goodness of a man needs no testimony It is misdeeds that need to be examined In case evidence is forthcoming, one should believe it, in its absence one should dismiss the doubt from his mind.

[illegible] in belief in the goodness [illegible] constitutionally bad he [illegible] for his vileness and [illegible] been summoned and [illegible] respects goodness and [illegible] This presupposes that [illegible] With this faith in the [illegible] can bring about a peace-[illegible]

[illegible] thought and with firm faith [illegible] Bhoodan Yajna a veritable [illegible]

[illegible] Hindi

STANDARD OF RAILWAY ADMINISTRATION

(By Pankshitlal Mazmudar)

The railways are now an unavoidable necessity [illegible] all of us — specially for those who either live in the cities or are connected with them in [illegible] It is therefore important that they [illegible] a high standard of administration, [illegible] after independence they have [illegible] nationalized and constitute the biggest of [illegible] national assets

Unfortunately however, we find that they have been responsible for promoting corruption in numerous ways and have acted as a great contributing factor in bringing down the quality of public life And I feel that if the educated [illegible] us do not take note of this evil and strive to purify it it may very well spread from the railways to other fields and reduce the entire [illegible] nation to a state of chaos The fear is all the greater because attempts to draw the attention of the railway officials to such instances are usually met with indifference, with the result that people become used to them and ignore the evil [illegible] an instance

On 16th '53 at about 9 in the morning I sent a man to the Ahmedabad Station to buy a ticket for a night train There is a booking office at the Station which remains open for all the 24 hours of the day, as can be seen from a notice displayed over its window The man, however, returned with the reply that the 3rd class ticket along with the reservation will be issued after 7-30 in the evening This appeared quite strange to me inasmuch as it went against the settled and declared intention of the Railway Administration to extend this particular facility to the 3rd class long distance passengers I contacted the Railway authorities on the phone and after some little argument received the reply that I might send the man again and the ticket would be issued I expressed strong disapproval of this sort of behaviour and pointed out the inconvenience which it had caused me Pat came the reply from the other end If your man had told us that he was coming from the ticket would have been issued immediately Needless to say that this gave me a still greater shock If one is required to use one's influence to secure a facility settled and declared to have been extended to the public [illegible] that the [illegible] never take any advantage of it Such [illegible] liences are an everyday affair to the [illegible] passengers It is [illegible] regretted that [illegible] complain against such misconduct I [illegible] to urge on the members of the Railway Advisory Boards and other who may be interested in the question to give greater thought and [illegible] to the difficulties of the 3rd class passengers And I humbly suggest to the Railway Administration to appoint a few selected persons as visitors and take immediate action on the complaints which they may choose to make or forward to the Railway officials

I am afraid that if the public and the Railway authorities do not show more serious regard in this matter then this growing malady of corruption may affect our social life in an increasingly greater degree

(From the original in Gujarati)

NEW TREND IN THE BHOODAN MOVEMENT

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

A friend showed me the September issue of the *Vedanta Kesari* a monthly magazine of Shri Ramakrishna Math Madras pointing out one of its articles named Some Trends in the Bhoodan Movement That the *Vedanta Kesari* a philosophical and religious paper that it is is interested in this movement is nothing surprising because Shri Vinoba's movement in the words of the magazine, "required the background of a peculiar type of civilization and traditions which obtained only in India"

It further remarks, "That Shri Vinoba should have spontaneously called his campaign *Bhoodan Yajna* is significant. Words like *Yajna* and *Dana* are not mere joined letters to Indian mind They are so to say power-currents of national inspiration It is a matter of great blessedness that it should have been given to Vinoba to induct into the modern Indian *mileu* those powerful currents of national inspiration and to give them an orientation most needed in these times of naked needs and brute urgencies.'

While appreciating this aspect of the Bhoodan movement the paper hints at a point or two which are noteworthy One is "If by extreme ill luck the Bhoodan movement slips into the path of coercion It can do incalculable harm to this nation It should be seen that the purity of approach is not vitiated by hunger for success and anger out of frustration"

We must admit that its warning is not merely true and appropriate, but is very timely and necessary The paper discusses Shri J P Narayan's part in the movement and from what he lately said at Madras and elsewhere, has sounded a mild note of warning in the following terms

"If paper reports are correct, it appears that Shri J P sometimes tends to create

a sort of [illegible] in the [illegible] prospect [illegible] when you [illegible] taken [illegible] [illegible] we are afraid [illegible] not so much founding on the inherent goodness in [illegible] but on your own capacity of creating a [illegible] complex in the man.

We do not know whether this can be [illegible] non violence"

In the postscript of 2-9-'53 to the article, the [illegible] further that the "Bhoodan movement is not a whit less revolutionary than the one set in motion by Marx. But if the Vinobian movement even unknowingly tries to steal the thunder of the Marxian movement the former indeed blunts the edge of its own revolutionary urges. There can be no mixed economy for pure non violence. An adulterated non-violence is horrible because it is counter-revolution [illegible] Non violence immaculate is constructively [illegible] because it has a face so unlike violence. How can imitation violence be as effective in its own way as sincere violence? [illegible] either way means losing revolutionary [illegible] the destructive edge, the other's the creative edge.

Quoting from *The Hindu's* (2-9-'53) report of the Press Conference of Shri J P at Madras the magazine raises a further point as follows It says According to Shri J P Satyagraha to induce landowners to donate lands to landless was not in conflict with the aims and methods of the Bhoodan movement

And it asks "Could the act of 'inducing', one may also say, enforcing by whatever means, the lawful landowner to part with his land against his own wish, be called Satyagraha? Could such extortion consummated be called *ahimsa* and a moral act too? Has Shri Vinoba formally sanctioned his workers to use such Satyagraha for the fulfilment of his mission?"

On reading the above, the reader will be also drawn to say that the writer of the above lines unknowingly anticipated the Pardi agitation called the Khed-Satyagraha. This agitation is led by people who belong to the P S Party. The leader of the Party, Acharya Shri Kripalani came to Bulsar the other day and blessed it in words that emphasize more the fears and apprehensions noted by the *Vedanta Kesari* article under review

27-9-'53

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CIRCULATION OF 'HARIJAN' PAPERS

After Gandhiji's demise the *Harijan* Weeklies were suspended for some time They were revived in April 1948 The circulation figures of the papers at different periods since then are given below

Date	*Harijan*	*Harijan-bandhu*	*Harijan-sevak*	Total
4-4-48	9 451	9,103	4,717	23 271
1-2-52	2 840	3 890	2 270	9 000
13 9 52	4 415	7 408	6 024	17,907
1 2-53	4 535	7 630	6 435	18 600
1-3 53	3 375	5 441	5 385	14 201
1 9 53	3 150	4 777	3 620	11 547

Readers will see from these figures that the circulation of the *Harijan* papers has been dwindling for the last six or seven months

After the demise of Gandhiji when the papers were restarted under the editorship of late Shri K G Mashruwala the initial figure of subscribers of the three papers together was 23,271

In February 1952 the number of subscribers went as low as 9 000 and the Trust had to announce that papers would be closed But on the request of the Trustee the Trust decided to continue the papers The Trust and Shri K G M issued an appeal to the people to help the papers become self supporting by subscribing to them in large numbers It met with a good response The subscribers continued to increase in the year 1952 53

On 1 3 1953 the *Harijan* papers entered the new year The readers will see from the figures given above that since then subscribers have been continuously dropping down and the Trust suffer an increasing loss The English and Hindi editions have a smaller number of subscribers than the Gujarati The number of subscribers for the English edition is the smallest If its subscribers do not increase in adequate numbers the Trust will have to consider whether it could be continued longer The position could however be averted if either the subscribers for the English edition rise to the required number or the other two papers show a compensatory increase in the number of their subscribers I draw the attention of the readers to the article on the subject by Shri Maganbhai P Desai printed elsewhere in these columns

26-9 53 JIVANJI D DESAI

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor MAGANBHAI P DESAI

VOL XVII No 32 AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, OCTOBER 10 1953 TWO ANNAS

BAPU AND LAND-PROBLEM

(By Suresh Ramabhai)

The land problem is perhaps the largest and most intricate problem facing our country Bapu was very much alive to it and frequently he gave expression to his views on the same as occasions demanded it

Writing in *Young India* of February 6 1930 he observed

'The greatest obstacle in the path of non violence is the presence in our midst of indigenous interests that have sprung up from the British rule the interests of moneyed men speculators, scrip holders, landholders, factory owners and the like All these do not always realize that they are living on the blood of the masses and when they do, they become as callous as the British principals whose tools and agents they are It must not be difficult for them to see that the holding of millions is a crime when millions of their own kith and kin are starving and that therefore, they must give up their agency No principal has yet been found able to work without faithful agents'

Then followed the Dandi March Salt Satyagraha Gandhi Irwin Pact and came the Karachi Congress where was passed the resolution on Fundamental Rights All this disturbed the peace of the land-holding fraternity whom Gandhiji met Gandhiji and placed their situation before him He disarmed their fears saying

'Let me assure you that I shall be no party to dispossessing propertied classes of their property without just cause My objective is to reach your heart and convert you so that you may hold all your private property in trust for your tenants and use it primarily for their welfare (*Selections from Gandhi* p 98)

But he also added a note of warning

'I would tell you that *ownership of your land belongs as much to the ryots as to you* and you may not squander your gains in luxurious or extravagant living but must use them for the wellbeing of ryots Once you make your ryots experience a sense of kinship with you and a sense of security that their interests as members of a family will never suffer at your hands you may be sure that there cannot be a clash between you and them and no class war (Italics mine) (*Selections from Gandhi* p 89)

In the words of Bapu a model zamindar could easily turn India's dung heaps miscalled villages into 'abode of peace health and comfort provided

He would come in intimate touch with the ryots and know their wants and inject hope into them in the place of despair which is killing the very life out of them He will reduce himself to poverty in order that the ryot may have the necessaries of life He will study the economic condition of the ryots under his care, establish schools in which he will educate his own children side by side with those of the ryots He will purify the village well and the village tank He will teach the ryot to sweep his roads and clean his latrines himself by doing this necessary labour " (*Young India* 5 12 29)

Thus he wanted the landlord to treat the peasant as one of his own family As regards the ownership of land Bapu was quite clear While addressing a gathering of peasants at a public meeting in May 1939 at Brindaban Bihar, he said

'I believe that *the land you cultivate should belong to you* but it cannot be your own all at once, you cannot force it from the zamindars *Non violence is the only way* consciousness of your own power is the only way (Italics mine) (*Harijan* 20 5 '39)

At another place he remarked

Real socialism has been handed down to us by our ancestors who taught *All land belongs to Gopal*, where then is the boundary line? Man is the maker of that line and he can therefore unmake it' Gopal literally means shepherd it also means God In modern language it means the State i e the people That the land today does not belong to the people is too true.' (Italics mine) (*Harijan* 2-1 37)

Now how should the people recover their ownership of land? Bapu was quite confident that they would do so

I have no doubt that we can make as good an approach to it as is possible for any nation not excluding Russia and that without violence *Land and all property is his who will work it* " (Italics mine) (*Harijan*, 2-1-37)

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A glimpse of this approach can be had from the talk he had with Shri Mirabehn in the Aga Khan jail Shri Mirabehn one day asked Bapu "How will land be distributed after Swaraj?"

Bapu answered:

"Land will be owned by the State I presume the reins of Government will be in the hands of those who have faith in this ideal *A majority of zamindars will give up their lands willingly* Those who do not do so will have to do so under legislation' (Italics mine) (*Harijan* 29 12 '51)

In short the above very clearly shows that Bapu desired a solution of India's land problem on three principles

(i) All land belongs to Gopal,

(ii) Land and all property is his who will work it, and

(iii) The zamindars will give up their lands willingly The aim of the non-violent worker must ever be to convert them

Curiously and happily enough these are the three basic tenets of Acharya Vinoba's Bhoodan Yajna movement Perhaps this is why that Vinoba says that Bhoodan Yajna is Bapu's work and that it is nothing but Bapu's work that he has been doing all along On this Gandhi Jayanti day let we constructive workers, turn the searchlight inwards and ask our own self "Do we love Bapu's name or his work? And if we love Bapu's work what are we doing for Bhoodan Yajna?"

Allahabad, 21 9 '53

A CURE FOR CITY-ULCER

Gandhiji used to describe cities as ulcers in the body social Professor Toynbee the great British thinker in a similar strain says The transfer of population from countryside to town has produced the same cancer in the Western as in the Hellenic body social the cancer of an urban proletariat which has lost its roots in the country and has struck no roots in the town

City life has admirably been condemned by the Australian philosopher Dennis Jackson in a pamphlet which Professor Colin Clark quotes in his article on the Future of the Proletariat in *Diogenes* No 2 (Spring 1953)

It is the community of families which has acquired for the making of whole men and women. Today life of that community has broken down almost entirely in the world of the great cities—the home the neighbourhood associations, the cultural traditions no longer exist but all has been resolved into a chaos without beauty significance or stability through which the masses move to and fro like leaves before the wind each unit jostling an unknown looking into strange faces which mean nothing in his life In such a world the home life I hold together almost by violence and at great sacrifice the framework of neighbourhood in which it should exist is absent.

Professor Colin Clark is of the opinion that the existence of a proletariat is an unmitigated evil How then is it to be remedied? The professor sums up his remedial programme in one word—dispersal or decentralization as Gandhiji would phrase it

1 Dispersal of property so that in place of a few enormous capitalistic concerns or nationalized industries we have a host of working proprietors family business and small employers

2 Dispersal of political power

3 Geographical dispersal of population

'To what extent is it necessary to have concentrations of economic power? Only where the technical conditions of production require it. And where does this happen? *Par excellence* in certain forms of transport (railways shipping and airlines) in heavy industry, and in forms of manufacture requiring very extensive equipment In other forms of manufacture in a moderate degree In banking and insurance In armies and navies and office administration organized by central governments

'Having enumerated these one finds it is complete In all other fields the large-scale organization is not only unnecessary but is generally at a positive disadvantage It is not needed in agriculture in road transport, in wholesaling, in retailing, in education in building in hotels, restaurants, hairdressers and other personal service industries. Unlike manufacture these industries are not dealing with steel or mass production As soon as the organization becomes at all large the supervision and co-ordination of the work of a number of employees becomes both difficult and costly

'Man will be supplied to leave vital a small proportion of the labour force in a modern community need be occupied in industries requiring large-scale organization and not only a small proportion but a diminishing one In an advanced community only the demand for manufacture will be so small that a rate of only some twenty per cent of the collective national income and the proportion of the labour force occupied at an even lower percentage (because productivity in manufacture tends to rise faster than in other activities) The proportion of the labour force required for the production of a modern community may fall even lower and an increasing proportion of these are not production workers who can work in small units A large part of the remainder are those transport workers who are required in every big city merely to move the individuals to and fro with the disappearance of the latter the proportion of the labour force required for the production could fall even lower

'Financial and insurance occupy 1 per cent of the labour force that is a high figure

'We are left with government departments and so-called public utilities the large-scale organization in the modern world is not so set to work to create useless government employment

On the concentration of political power there is little more to say All public authorities should be organized on a small scale until the need for large-scale organization can be proved and the onus of proof should always be placed on those who would be centralizers Schools and hospitals for instance would probably be run better by a multiplicity of small organizations than by attempting to centralize

The trend for political centralization in the past has been from the shortage of educated men This reason we hope will soon be obsolete In this future we should expect an abundance of such men

Complete dispersal to small communities will not be possible for all its advantages It must be planned from a central council through by a strong political authority We should build up the modern world communities with populations small as 2,500 These would be able to have a hospital centre medical centre municipal government and a secondary school and an active social life

Such communities would have to be grouped for higher [illegible] and commercial purposes A population of [illegible] 5,000 would be about many of these [illegible] applied For more specialized medical service and the more specialized forms of commercial activity a population of 50,000 would be required But with modern method of transport and communication there is no need to have all the activities in a single city

It may be [illegible] that the atom bomb was a blessing in disguise because for the first time it has really made people think hard of the dispersal of our overgrown industrial cities

V G D

With [illegible] is not enough [illegible]

[illegible] est and [illegible] governments [illegible] their eyes

— M [illegible]

[illegible] when the [illegible] thought [illegible] ends the sup[illegible] huge powers [illegible] world govern[illegible] will surpri[illegible] an alignment in favour of [illegible] small community and to the de[illegible] political power. But extremes [illegible] When a 'way of life' [illegible] disintegrate, as that of [illegible] the human mind breaks [illegible] repudiates all limi[illegible] tumbling in new directions [illegible] economic and political [illegible] nations and small [illegible] wallowing in sense [illegible] indulgences which do not [illegible] the greater part of man[illegible] basic needs. The [illegible] this way of life [illegible] and discontent, communism and counter-revolution and finally war. In the [illegible] military expenditures rise to a level [illegible] otherwise, might place the entire human race beyond the reach of want, and achieve the world unity and peace we now seek in vain.

It is demonstrable that [illegible] quantitative civilization produces a vicious cycle of over production, struggle for markets, unemployment, economic breakdown, communism and counter-revolution, expanding armaments and war. As time advances the cycles occur more frequently, the economic breakdowns are of larger dimensions while the military preparations are on a vaster scale until finally we enter the era of permanent war. It is then that the people in despair call for a world government. Yet were it to come, it would be as helpless as they and it would inherit the impasse which produced it.

It follows that if we are to achieve world peace and freedom we must turn from power to culture, from self indulgence to social, neighbourly living, locally, nationally and internationally. At root our problem is moral and spiritual. It must therefore, be solved at the cultural not the power, level, thus in each nation and not by the edicts of a world government. Schools and colleges, the church and the homes of the people must come under the influence of a finer thinking and Christian truth be made manifest in the work a day life of the community.

For the Eastern and indeed all the underdeveloped nations it means something rather different, since large scale industrialism has [illegible] their territories. They [illegible] our mistakes and build [illegible] patterns, such values and [illegible] enthroned in his constructive [illegible] aim was human and social [illegible] achieved by every person [illegible] in vocation with a social [illegible] of governing, largely self-[illegible] unity or Village Republic [illegible] be in store for mankind [illegible] of the East and of [illegible] to the aims and instru[illegible] industrialism!

[illegible] power clog our progress [illegible] The nations must work [illegible] them as rapidly as possible. It [illegible] task.

[illegible] to that society should be voluntary, [illegible] ence will follow compulsion, either [illegible] world government while nothing [illegible] cult to procure than a world authority [illegible] coercive powers. The League of [illegible] N.O. clearly prove that the [illegible] sovereignty is the most treasured [illegible] the final means of protecting the [illegible] most highly treasure.

[illegible] society will come slowly, and not by [illegible] and thus of a world government [illegible] by voluntary effort, joint schemes [illegible] is needed in any part of the world.

A [illegible] government cannot govern without power and U.N.O. has taught us that such power would never attain its objectives, and would in fact never be given to any world authority.

World unity and peace must ultimately depend upon the achievements of creative, neighbourly habits among the people in all lands, at home and in their international transactions. These must begin at home and then spread [illegible] the whole world. The springs of social [illegible] national stability and world peace are [illegible] culture made universal, the [illegible] we seek would be here, for humanity [illegible] advances by the same spiritual law.

All healthy social growth is from the bottom [illegible] from the top downwards. History [illegible] that where the social units [illegible] and responsibility for their development [illegible] politically and economically, is [illegible] shared wisdom, genius and enlightenment reach their zenith and issue in the [illegible] social norms that are most to be desired and that are consonant with the needs of [illegible]

[illegible] contend that the international order for which we now look in vain will not come [illegible] from above, but by culture and enlightened personal and social action from the

[illegible] power-[illegible] distributed power [illegible] all communities which [illegible] culture, have learned [illegible] the truth of man's [illegible] contentment and peace [illegible] the domain of perso[illegible] of creative living and [illegible] will help to build the world [illegible]

HARIJAN

Oct. 10 **1953**

UNEMPLOYMENT

(By Bharatan Kumarappa)

A great deal of talk is being indulged in on this topic lately. The problem, as a matter of fact, is nothing new. Indigenous production or Swadeshi was put forward as a solution by the Congress at the beginning of this century. But what form exactly Swadeshi was to take was left to the genius of Gandhiji who saw clearly that industrialization of the Western type was absolutely no solution. He set about to tackle the problem of unemployment on a countrywide scale and organized hand spinning and weaving all over the country as a symbol of what required to be done. Gandhiji was convinced that unless village economic life was revived, and village industries were restored to their central place in the life of the nation India must perish.

His thought in this respect was revolutionary and still is. Everywhere in the world people imagine that industrialization is the need of every country which sets out to abolish poverty and unemployment. Gandhiji was the first to go contrary to this assumption, to caution us against industrialization, and to direct us along the line of village industries.

Why? Not because he wanted us always to be poor, not because he did not want anything new, not because he was an ascetic. These are superficial criticisms levelled against him by those who do not relish his views and have not studied them. If Gandhiji was opposed to industrialization it was only because he saw that though industrialization had undoubtedly brought phenomenal prosperity to some countries, it could not help us because industrialization is not suited to a country like ours where labour is over abundant and where industries have to be carried on as far as possible alongside of agriculture in the villages during the time when there is no work on the fields, and also because he felt that industrialization led, on the one hand, to a dangerous concentration of power in the hands of the capitalist, the expert [illegible] but more or [illegible] and of the [illegible] the other hand it [illegible] to [illegible] and markets [illegible] national conflict [illegible] war.

[illegible] effectively [illegible] in our country [illegible] especially [illegible] Gandhiji's death is [illegible] we should [illegible] as much [illegible] on village and cottage industries [illegible] full employment [illegible] should [illegible]

As against this strangely enough Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, Minister of Commerce and Industry in a Congress Government which one would think in an important matter such as this would strive to follow the lead of Gandhiji, is reported to have stated a few days ago in a debate in the Council of States that he was more and more convinced that only industrialization could tackle the problem of urban as well as rural unemployment. An extraordinary view indeed, considering the indisputable fact that machines curtail labour and that industrialization on a scale large enough to employ our population would require control over raw material sources and world markets, which cannot be had except by unrivalled military might, imperialism and war.

If then in spite of the pronouncement of the Minister of Commerce and Industry we are of the opinion for reasons such as those given by Gandhiji that industrialization is not the remedy, what it may be asked is the way to find full employment for our people? In principle, it would seem that the only remedy is to adopt such methods of production as employ men rather than mammoth machinery. One has only to walk down the streets of cities like Bombay, Madras or Calcutta, to see scores of people loitering with nothing special to do. What could help them, it would seem, is not large machinery which not many can afford, and if procured can employ only a few of them, but some means whereby they could be organized into small working groups manufacturing useful articles with the aid of inexpensive equipment. This seems fundamentally what requires to be done. It also fits naturally into the general pattern of our national life which is not centred in cities but lies scattered in innumerable villages. What is necessary, it would seem, is to build up both in towns and villages small co-operative units of production which will use for the most part human labour aided by simple machinery. This need not spell primitivism and inefficiency, for all the inventiveness of modern science and engineering skill could be used to devise

[illegible] for example, if [illegible] some capital training, facilities [illegible] the necessary raw materials, and equipment [illegible] could conduct research to improve [illegible] methods of production It could see that [illegible] co-operative industries are not killed by competition from large-scale manufacturers Indian or foreign Let us take, for example, the shoe industry which could well be carried on in cottages In the period of transition, when cottage shoe production is being organized, training given and improvements effected in the cottage industry, large-scale shoe manufacture may be permitted only for a specified period of years During that time the price of the hand-product and the factory product could be made even by imposing a levy on the factory product and subsidizing thereby the hand product A similar policy could be followed in regard to all foreign manufactured articles except such as cannot be manufactured in India

Furthermore, prices should be controlled to make cottage and village production remunerative Today our educated middle class are thrown more and more into the ranks of the unemployed not only because their education has been purely literary, but also because they cannot make a living out of small scale industries If they are to return to the villages agriculture and village industries have to be made to be more paying A Government interested in directing our educated youth back to the villages must therefore rigidly control prices so that rural products might provide a livelihood to them It seems strange that in a country where so few have received education, there should be lack of employment amongst the educated This is only because the educated do not find, as in the U S A and in the U K, means of independent gainful occupation If they did, they would certainly not be looking for jobs in the Government or in business firms

Moreover the Government being a large consumer, it can aid small-scale production greatly if it followed a policy of using as far as possible products of village and cottage manufacture

Above all, the Government must be manned by persons who have complete faith in village and cottage industries It must strive to build the entire economic life of the nation on village and cottage industries as the base To do this it may have to put up an iron curtain in the way of an exclusive wall of protection till this new economy is well established Unless it takes such revolutionary steps there seems little hope of our ever securing full employment for our people

A REQUEST TO ACHARYA KRIPALANI

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

I am obliged to Acharya Kripalaniji for his long personal letter of 30-9-'53 from New Delhi He encloses therewith a press statement which he issued in Bombay on the 25th September, embodying what he said at a Press Conference in that city regarding the Pardi Khed Satyagraha in Surat District He writes to me that " it represents the true position of the Satyagraha " And he adds " In that statement I have not mentioned one point It is that Morarjibhai has offered lands at Dharampur Supposing the land is good enough I submit that it is easier for a few zamindars to have grass lands in a neighbouring taluk than that some three thousand families should move themselves their hearths and homes from one taluk to another

Shri Kripalaniji in his statement has tried to put the whole case of Khed Satyagraha This was necessary and it is a matter of joy that he has done it The Press Conference has been reported in the daily press, therefore I need not reproduce it here Leaving off the language of controversy, I summarize below the chief points that Acharyaji has made in it

1 It is said that the Adivasi Kisans in Pardi want to invade the rights of private property and want land to be redistributed This is utterly and entirely wrong

2 The tenants merely want that the big zamindars turn a portion of their grass-lands to food crops cultivation, and they want permission to cultivate this portion of land. They are prepared to pay the zamindars their customary share of produce as rent. The ownership of the land will remain as now with the zamindars

3 Thus the demand is that out of a total of 50 000 acres of grass-lands, only one tenth, i e 5,000 acres be rented for food crops cultivation There is no question of invading the right of private property

4 After all most of this land before the onrush of money economy in these villages belonged to the Adivasis. The zamindar is a recent creation What the Adivasis want is not the original right to their landed property, but the right merely to cultivate lands which in most cases originally belonged to them And for that they will pay the customary rent to the zamindar

5 Moreover, those who are directing this Satyagraha want a commission of enquiry to go into the whole question

6 This demand of an inquiry has been endorsed by Shri Vinoba. And he does not say that the Satyagraha in Pardi is against the principles and practice of Bhoodan

7 However it is up to the advocates of Bhoodan to join hands with the members of the P S Party and approach the zamindars for Bhoodan of 5 000 acres to be cultivated on rent And to quote from Shri Kripalani's statement,

So far [illegible] the Bhoodan varied approach has [illegible] by the P S P work including their [illegible] Jayaprakash Narayan I have also heard that Shri Ravishankar Maharaj also made this approach without effect"

5. Therefore on the whole it is felt that the margin of contention is very narrow and if there is no question of prestige on either side this question can be amicably settled

These in short are the chief points made by Shri Kripalanji's statement The reader will see from it that there are two main points of contention

1 5,000 acres of grass-land must be made available to be rented for food crops cultivation

2 The whole question must be inquired into

Of these the question of inquiry is such that the P S P if it so wishes can take it up on its own and report its conclusions both to the public and the Government It need not be mentioned that for such an inquiry to be popularly reliable it must be scientific and impartial But if it is to be undertaken at all the terms of reference for it must be clearly defined What exactly will be the matter for such inquiry? Will it be the working of the Bombay Tenancy Act during the last four or five years? Or would it be the inquiry into the claim of the original right to the Adivasis' landed property in land? Or what else will it be? Whatever it be, the question for the inquiry must be explicitly formulated

But, the main and important demand is that of land viz that the poor Adivasis should have 5 000 acres either as Bhoodan or in another manner and the Bhoodan workers and the Government might get that by joining hands with the P S P workers I understand this is the substance of the P S P demand

If this is the object of the Khed-Satyagraha — to place the above matter before the public and Government — then it must be taken to have been well served by now I hope the Bombay colleagues of the leader of the all-India P S P agree with him here

If so then it might be said that the margin of difference in the contention narrows down very much If 5,000 acres of land should be obtained for tenants then efforts in that direction must begin, which means that Bhoodan work should start again But the atmosphere created by the Khed-Satyagraha in Pardi is not proper nor helpful for such efforts And as Shri Vinoba said in one of his latest prayer meetings, "it is not right to say that Bhoodan movement bore no fruit in Pardi. It cannot be said that a single tour of Shri J P Natayan afforded the movement full opportunity to be effective" The Government also is ready to make land available in its own way Some one like Shri Kripalanji should talk [illegible] and know [illegible]

[illegible] immediately [illegible] grama [illegible] peaceful [illegible] prestige [illegible] in this [illegible] Kripalanji I [illegible] to call off the [illegible] negotiations with [illegible] proper atmosphere [illegible] work also in that [illegible] that the P S P and other Bhoodan [illegible] might [illegible] lands and work.

[illegible] this happens then the unhappy situation that has come about could be remedied and work in the good of the poor in that taluka which all [illegible] do in their own respective ways, might [illegible] in proper atmosphere

Shri Kripalanji writes to me in his letter I would like friends to forget personalities and [illegible] Can we not come together and see that the [illegible] Adivasis do not suffer injustice?

I would incidentally request friends in the Congress and those who once worked with Bapu to forget me and my worth my past and my present and find out a way of settling this matter I request Shri Kripalani to help, in the manner suggested above to find out such a way Shri Vinoba has built up the Bhoodan movement on such an all-party and all comprehensive basis I request Kripalanji to help restore this right and all-acceptable basis of the Bhoodan way of approach.

3-10 '53

(From the original in Gujarati)

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COMMON SENSE ABOUT MEDICINE

[illegible]

The Editor of *Harijan*

Sir

Since national health service will shortly be [illegible]duced in all Indian Provinces the Govern[illegible] and Indian people will be interested to read [illegible] of the most sensible pronouncements we have [illegible] seen from a medical officer of health which [illegible]ppeared in a report in the London *Daily Graphic* [illegible]ewspaper The report consists of extracts from [illegible] speech written by Dr Denham Health Officer of Birmingham England, and read at a Rotary Club meeting

> The national health service has tended to en[illegible]nurage the belief in the minds of people that health [illegible] now available to them through the medium of medi[illegible]ne This is a great mistake and I feel sure we as a profession would be doing a much greater service to mankind by emphasizing the fact that medicines are seldom necessary in the treatment of ill-health in a healthy community The same view should be to take all available measures in our power to prevent disease and not to accept its periodic visitations as inevitable. I am convinced that one of the main functions of the medical practitioner should be the giving of advice as to the best measures which should be taken to avoid illness and thereby maintain a state of positive physical and mental health A very considerable part of minor illness from which we suffer year after year is due [illegible] in a way of living and is in many cases [illegible] preventable An outstanding example at [illegible] present time is food poisoning The vast [illegible] of these [illegible] are entirely preventable if any [illegible] with the preservation and handling of [illegible] sensible precautions against conta[illegible] [illegible] way If each individual took [illegible] garding his own health [illegible] in bilgent in calling drinking and [illegible] much of the [illegible] phone might be [illegible]
>
> O[illegible] use [illegible] of [illegible] is not popular with [illegible] that the doctor is putting [illegible] of caring himself when [illegible] be doing it through the medium [illegible] and pills"

[illegible] Editor of London *Daily Graphic* says

> [illegible] people together [illegible] sooner or later [illegible] their illnesses — or their children's [illegible] how to avoid disease It is [illegible] that interest them not health [illegible] One of the aims of the national [illegible] is to prevent illness But prevention [illegible] not in the doctor's surgery [illegible] — sensible living and wise precau[illegible] [illegible] drew attention to the need for [illegible] in health matters That need is [illegible] her is bringing increased risks [illegible] How many people realize the im[illegible] in handling food stuffs? [illegible] inquiry a discover what [illegible] health The real trouble is [illegible] O[illegible] would not invite [illegible] sickness and folly and then [illegible] medicine prescribed by [illegible] things right. Here to star[illegible] for health living given by a [illegible] of fresh air simple adequate [illegible] keep physical exercise and healthy [illegible] disease"

[illegible] should [illegible] health [illegible] *to Health*

[illegible] SORABJI [illegible]

[illegible] Bombay

THE SAMPATTIDAN YAJNA — ITS IDEOLOGY AND TECHNIQUE*

(By Vinoba)

It should be clearly understood that the Sampattidan Yajna is not intended for collecting or creating a fund There is not only a difference in its purpose but also in the technique of its collection work If there were the usual way and idea of a centralized fund it would not be called Yajna or Sacrifice The Sampattidan movement has been named as a Yajna deliberately and with mature thought about it and the Yajna is a religious duty which applies to all without exception. It has a universal character in that nobody can escape it It is of the nature of what are called man's *prathamani dharmani* i.e man's basic duties such as truth etc

It is thus that the Sampattidan Yajna differs vitally from other usual collections We do not ourselves receive the gift of money or anything else, we only take from the donor the gift-deed, that is the promise to give The donor himself undertakes to administer his gift in the service of the poor He too does not give any money to the poor for money may be misused The use of money in Sampattidan will be generally forbidden, except for purposes of a social nature For example we may ask for money for purchasing cement for the construction of wells, or for purchasing a pair of bullocks for co-operative use by two or more peasants jointly One may still entertain the fear that the peasant in question might sell away the bullocks and the money would be lost But that would be going too far Such distrust will not help us We have to act on the faith that our goodwill will produce similar goodwill in others And this is not a superstitious faith it is a faith based on long experience of human psychology As the movement goes ahead we hope to go to every village and ask every man to give his bit — a sixth, an eighth or a tenth portion of his produce for the common good of society The will naturally give what they have The peasant will give grain while the artisan will give things he manufactures For example the carpenter will contribute his labour and make [illegible] five ploughs All these contributions will go to the entire village to build the people's share of wealth We will do the same in the cities We will ask the rich to shed off the sense of ownership and share their wealth with the needy We will make them realize that their interest and those of the society are and should be [illegible]

After all there is no reason for any clash of interest between the employers and the employed Can we conceive of an All India Sons' Organization and an All India Parents' Organization each seeking to safeguard its interests

Price [illegible] Postage [illegible] As. 4.

* Speech in Khadigram Jamui on 3-8-53

[illegible] really amazing that today we [illegible] students organizing themselves [illegible] in the belief that their interests [illegible] and even contradictory to each other [illegible] is an indication of a perverted mentality — [illegible] the increase of demoniac psychology fast [illegible] the mind of modern society We have to fight this evil tendency and bring in genuine co-operation where there is conflict. We want rich to see and appreciate that those who do physical labour are also entitled to a due share in the wealth produced

Why should not there be the same partnership between the owners of an industry and its workers as there is between different owners? Of course I am speaking of real partnership — that of the equalist I will tell the city-dwellers You have received amply from the villagers it is now time that you give a share to them in your wealth And it will not do to give what you can once only and regard yourselves as free from any further obligation in this regard It will not do for a man to want to free himself from a religious obligation He must want to get rid of an evil habit but not of a meritorious one I therefore ask the Sampattidan donors if it is a sin that they should want to be released from its obligation after they have done their bit once They have to accept it as religious duty to be done continuously all their life

It is said that it is difficult to do I say it is not A friend expressed his readiness to contribute twenty five rupees every month for the whole of his life I explained to him that this was more difficult He might become poor and then he would be compelled to break his promise On the other hand instead of a fixed sum of money he decided to contribute a fixed portion of his income he would be able to keep his promise more easily In that case if he gets only half a loaf of bread he may yet part with a sixth of it in favour of the poor This is why I insist not on a fixed sum of money but on a portion of the income or property Viewed thus, the Sampattidan should not appear burdensome to anybody A man does not feel the burden of his body nor should he feel that of duty enjoined by true religion Far from being burdensome, the acceptance of religious truth is a source of inspiration, it adds [illegible] feeling of life

There is one thing which we will demonstrate through Sampattidan that non-possession is a force for social good We have long known that [illegible] possession brings about individual purification We have now to realize that it can also serve as a powerful means of social wellbeing We have to prove that it is not only spiritually efficacious but it can help us in constructing a better and [illegible] worldly life The Gandhi Memorial Fund collected ten crore rupees But not even hundred crores will suffice for all we want to do The need of the hour is to mobilize all our wealth in every form and press it into the [illegible] Sampattidan way will turn [illegible] bank on which the society [illegible] for all its wants And because [illegible] will be used locally, it will [illegible] able plan It will directly [illegible] of the collective strength of the [illegible] unite them with one another and [illegible] its energy for constructive effort [illegible] practice of equality and renun[illegible] but we have to look at [illegible] as forces for promoting social wel[illegible] what we have done is enough to [illegible] potentiality in this direction [illegible] hundred rupees for an [illegible] we have received so far would [illegible] twenty crore rupees Had I set to [illegible] money instead of land I would [illegible] numerous difficulties — all [illegible] undesirable things tar[illegible] work

Recently [illegible] Sampattidan Yajna a newspaper [illegible] said of me that Vinoba wanted [illegible] not money, he only wanted some [illegible] the gift-deeds Just as one [illegible] with flowers even thus one [illegible] by putting a paper-garland [illegible] like 'Repeat the Lord's name' [illegible] to spend anything in it — [illegible] pledge has it. The comment [illegible] that it is substantially true We [illegible] of the donor more than his [illegible] there is this safe[illegible] Sampattidan pledge that I will [illegible] regarding the use of his gift [illegible] possible when the move[illegible] and we begin to receive [illegible] such offers Then we will [illegible] absolute trust in the [illegible]

[illegible] reached a stage when we [illegible] the distribution of wealth [illegible] much in this [illegible] after all only a bucket, which [illegible] well If there is no water [illegible] there be any in the bucket We will therefore go to the source of water — the people What the Government can not do the people can We have discussed the ideas [illegible] enough I now want that in the coming two or three months a beginning should be made to put it into practice

(From Hindi)

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Rearranging the Map of India

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

VOL. XVII No 33 AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, OCTOBER 17 1953 TWO ANNAS

THE SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM MEMORIAL

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

[illegible] probably know that Gandhiji found [illegible] his first Ashram in India in Ahmedabad and [illegible] it as the Satyagraha Ashram. That was [illegible] private building 38 years ago, on 15th May [illegible] During these years much water has flown [illegible] the Sabarmati the great founder himself [illegible] and we are a free nation though not [illegible] the Swaraj to achieve which Gandhiji [illegible] immortalized Ashram. During these [illegible] only we as a nation, but the Father of [illegible] Nation also grew to be a world figure, and [illegible] unique a personality that Einstein [illegible] to remark that "generations to come, it [illegible] be will scarce believe that such a one as this [illegible] flesh and blood walked upon this earth" [illegible] to visualize such great ones [illegible] which therefore the forget- [illegible] preserve even to be re- [illegible] The Government of Bombay [illegible] decided to acquire the site and [illegible] the first Satyagraha Ashram at [illegible] Ahmedabad and it is going to be [illegible] as a fitting memorial of that great [illegible]

The [illegible] ceremony of this Satyagraha [illegible] memorial was formally done by the [illegible] of Bombay on October 4, 1953 or [illegible] the birthday of Gandhiji [illegible] Hindu calendar The Collector [illegible] who is the Chairman of the [illegible] Committee appointed by the Govern- [illegible] of Bombay for this memorial, said at the [illegible] ing

[illegible] was here in this building that in 1915 the Father [illegible] established for the first time a Satyagraha [illegible] on his return from South Africa He stayed in [illegible] for nearly a period of two years The [illegible] then shifted from these premises to where [illegible] Harijan Ashram today on the banks of the [illegible]

[illegible] the Government of Bombay thought of ac- [illegible] premises in which Bapuji had spent some [illegible] of his life and from where he had [illegible] the cult of the spinning wheel, his [illegible] Harijan uplift, equality with the poor self [illegible] similar other things I need hardly [illegible] mainly due to the keen interest taken in [illegible] Chief Minister that this scheme of [illegible] mises was promptly completed and the [illegible] over to the Committee which had been established to see that the memorial was put up on sound and right lines

The Government have accepted the recommendation of the Committee that the acquisition is mainly intended to preserve the building as a relic of Gandhiji's Ashram and to use it as a centre for social activities loved and advocated by Bapuji Naturally in view of these recommendations the desire of the Committee has been to keep the memorial aesthetically simple attractive and as far as possible in its original design While we have renovated the building by plastering it here and there, its structural features have been kept essentially the same as it were when Bapuji occupied it.

In consonance with the recommendations made by the Committee and accepted by the Government, the Ashram will run a library where we will be keeping Gandhiji's literature The library will also act as a focus for sponsoring such social and cultural activities as were dear to Bapu It is intended to appoint an Organiser-cum-Librarian who will be mainly responsible for organizing such activities

At the end the Collector read messages received on the occasion some of which are given below

From Dr Rajendra Prasad

All the places connected in any way with our struggle for freedom are claiming the nation's attention one by one That is specially the case with places where Mahatma Gandhi stayed and worked In course of time such places are sure to acquire historic importance The Satyagraha Ashram at Kochrab in Ahmedabad District was the first place where Gandhiji stayed in 1915 on his return from South Africa to propagate his ideas about the spinning wheel uplift of the Harijans propagation of Hindi as an all-India language etc. He stayed in this Ashram for about two years before shifting to the better known Ashram of Sabarmati Till 1950 the building at Kochrab occupied by Gandhiji remained almost in its original condition. Rightly enough the Bombay Government acquired it together with the neighbouring land three years ago with a view to preserving it as a relic of Gandhiji's Ashram and to use it as a centre for social activities

'It is only proper that this first venue of Gandhiji's political and humanitarian activities should be developed as a memorial worthy of the Mahatma It is given to few to visit as many places as Mahatma Gandhi did while propagating his political philosophy and social doctrines Thus, though there are places in the remotest districts

of India which he visited and with which people still associate his name, the places which he selected for his work and which he sanctified with his presence deserve to be raised to the status of national monuments For this reason, I feel that developing the very first Satyagraha Ashram started by Gandhiji is a step in the right direction I take this opportunity to congratulate the Bombay Government and the Gandhi Smarak Samiti on their decision and hope that the Kochrab Ashram will not only help us to remember our emancipator with gratitude but will also inspire us with that lofty ideahsm which characterized Gandhiji's life and teachings."

From Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

"I am glad to learn that the original building in which Mahatma Gandhi established a Satyagraha Ashram in 1915 has been acquired and is going to be used as a centre of social activities This is as it should be On the occasion of the inauguration ceremony of the Ashram which will be located in this building in Ahmedabad, I send my good wishes"

From Shri C Rajagopalachari

"May all of us learn to value sacred things and give out worship in the right way This inauguration ceremony consecrates the spot, where our Janaka ploughed the ground for his great sacrifice and where for India he found Sita in the furrow"

From Acharya J B Kripalani

"I had the privilege of living for a few days at the Kochrab Ashram in the middle of 1917 I had been with Bapu in Champaran The Committee to look into the grievances of the Champaran tenants at the hands of the indigo planters had been appointed and there were a few days before its work was to begin Bapu wanted to utilize this time to return to the Ashram and begin his social activities specially the establishment of a national school

"Life in the Ashram was a new experience for me Most of its members were the inmates of Bapu's Ashram at Phoenix in South Africa Shri Maganlal Gandhi was in charge of the Ashram I must admit I did not altogether fancy the life there It appeared to me too rigid and full of prohibitions I know today that the restrictions were necessary if they were to be trained to keep their rigid vows After a day Bapu asked my opinion about the life there I frankly told him that while the inmates of the Aahram may be imbued with the spirit of non violence I did not see the spirit of active love in their life and work I had associated active love with a kind of glow of delight in the face of those who felt it and I missed it in the countenance of the Ashramites To my surprise and confusion this opinion of mine was retailed to the inmates of the Ashram after prayer in the evening Of course Bapu added, " I don't accept Professor's opinion" He always called me professor I don't think the elder members of the Ashram appreciated my [illegible] I scarcely expected them to do so But it is an incident that stands out in my memory

'The land at Sabarmati had been acquired and often we had to work there Some times we went to live the camp life that had been created there for the supervision of constructive work

'It is not my purpose here to record the varied experience I had in the few days I was privileged to live in Kochrab Ashram I am glad that the Bombay Government have purchased the building in which Satyagraha Ashram began its work in India I am also happy to learn that the surrounding grounds have been acquired for carrying on Bapu's constructive work I wish the new institution all success '

From Shri G V. Mavlankar

'I am much pleased and satisfied to learn that the Government of Bombay have decided to perpetuate as a memorial the site of Gandhiji's first Ashram in India I know the site and the building since 1915 when Gandhiji came and stayed there I had the privilege of attending the prayer meetings and of having been served dinner by Gandhiji himself I remember those pious days and the great things that Gandhiji taught us, all of which make me firmer in my resolve to follow them and inspire me even today

Gandhiji needs no memorial, he is one unto himself This one in brick and mortar is only a material thing On this occasion, I only hope it will inspire posterity to enthrone in their heart the ideal of the Satyagraha Ashram and provoke them to follow the path of Truth, Non-violence and Service I am sorry I cannot be present on the occasion on account of other engagements outside I wish all success to the new institution"

(Abridged from the original in Gujarati)

The Chief Minister, Shri Morarjibhai Desai in his speech referred to the great sanctity that naturally attaches itself in our minds round the idea of this memorial and showed his deep concern to see that the new institution was organized in the best manner befitting the unique ideal of the Father of the Nation To do that he said, the Government proposed to create a Trust for it so that the institution might not suffer on account of changing governments under a democratic order

In this connection, I suggest the proper way to do this would be to make a statute of the legislature laying down the general law for the creation and maintenance in due and adequate manner, of this Satyagraha Ashram Memorial Trust It should be realized that this memorial, however humble and outwardly small-looking, embodies the idea of the Satyagraha Ashram which is no more now As such it is a world memorial for the Ashram ideal, which was to imbibe and evolve and inculcate in the body politic the way of life, individual and corporate, based on Satyagraha, Bapu's immortal and unique gift to the world

10-10-'53

BHOODAN LAND DISTRIBUTION IN U.P

(By Akshya Kumar Karan)

The question is often asked as to how the lands received in Bhoodan are actually distributed among the landless The question is important and needs to be answered in order to remove the doubts which ignorance in this regard may create in the minds of the sceptics For example, there are people who are anxious to know if we who are entrusted with the work of land distribution succeed in finding out the really needy from among the poor landless The suggestion would seem to be that the villages are [illegible] with individual and factional rivalries and [illegible] men who can help in finding the most deserving cases from among the poor for the allotment of land are hard to get What is then the guarantee that the land distributed would only go to the landless, properly so called — who have nothing else to turn to for their livelihood ? Even assuming that they will get land, how can they profit by it unless they are provided with the agricultural wherewithal ?

These doubts are quite natural and require to be removed Vinobaji has been answering them from time to time The Uttar Pradesh Bhoodan Samiti has also considered this question and laid down the method of distribution which is now being followed by the workers throughout the province and may therefore be regarded as having stood the test well

1 The date for the distribution of land in the village which may have been chosen for this purpose is fixed several days in advance and is announced to the people of that and the neighbouring villages seven days before the date of actual distribution, by beat of drum Efforts are also made to approach the people personally and inform them of the programme The announcement is repeated a day before the date of distribution

2. During the seven days preceding the distribution, the distribution workers inspect the donated land, study its fertility and decide the acreage necessary for the maintenance of a peasant family They also request the head of the local *gram-panchayat* and the *patwari* to accompany them and help them in the inspection and the appraisal of the fertility of the land concerned

3 The information regarding the date and the place of the distribution is sent to the District Magistrate and other officials concerned with it, the intention being that he or his representative and the *patwari* may be present in the meeting and give to the organizers the benefit of their help

4. On the distribution day the entire population of the village gather together at the appointed spot The donors are also present. Then someone from the workers makes a short speech explaining the ideology of the Bhoodan, the method of distribution and the policy underlying it Next, the landless among the present are asked to stand up Some of them may not stand up on account of shyness The organizers therefore take care to repeat the request until all of them show up Since they are all local people who know one another there is hardly any room for a landholder passing himself off as landless Besides the *patwari* is there to point out who are the real landless

5 The landless can be divided into three classes (a) Agricultural labourers who have no other means of earning their livelihood and who work on land of others, (b) those who have taken to other occupations but would like to revert to cultivation because the occupations in which they are engaged are insufficient to support them, (c) those who have very insufficient lands and no other occupations and who are therefore very poor

6 The first preference in the distribution of lands is given to the class (a) landless, next come the poor cultivators belonging to class (c) The rest of the land if any is allotted to class (b)

7 However there might be villages where the number of the landless of even the first group may exceed the land available for distribution That makes distribution difficult Under the situation the responsibility for picking out the most deserving persons from them is placed on the landless themselves If they cannot decide it, lots are drawn and land is allotted accordingly The Bhoodan workers act merely as witnesses The persons going to receive land having been settled, they are asked to sign a printed application purporting to be a request for land, after which they are presented with certificates of having received land This certificate is signed by the representative of the Bhoodan Committee, the representative of the District Magistrate (the *patwari*) and the Chairman of the village *panchayat* The workers have to take care that the certificates are duly filled in and distributed to the recipients of land

8 The whole procedure is gone through without any fee being charged from the recipients

9 The lands received should be cultivated by the recipient himself for at least a period of ten years, and the cultivation should start within 3 years from the date on which he received it. Failing that, it may be taken back from him and given to some other man

10 We aim at giving a *bigha* of land for every individual in the family

This is the method of distribution followed by the workers in our province In case of a difficulty not covered by the above, the workers are to solve it in consultation with the people of the village, taking into consideration the local conditions.

(From Hindi)

HARIJAN

Oct. 17 1953

REARRANGING THE MAP OF INDIA

[The question of redistribution of States in the Indian Union is fast getting prominence all over India It has become compelled both the Government as well as the [illegible] Congress to pay heed to it whether they like it or not Shri Jawaharlal Nehru spoke on it during his last tour in South India at Madras. Mr Rajagopalachari [illegible] Mr Nehru to speak said that they were glad the President and Prime Minister was going to tell them [illegible] things which they would keep as wise and [illegible] a like The speech is summarized below from [illegible] October 3 1953]

I shall confess to you," Mr Nehru said "that I did not wish to hurry it. I wanted to delay — I am not talking about Andhra I am talking about general problems — till the other processes of consolidation in India had taken place We are consolidating our country in many ways and we are I think, a strong national unit in the world Nevertheless, there is much to be done if we are to bring about what I would call the full emotional integration of India and her people

"I would have preferred" Mr Nehru went on "that this process of re-fashioning the provinces and States of India was postponed or delayed till we had built the country with a solid foundation I had no doubt that it was necessary to some extent to re-fashion the map of India, but I cannot say to what extent There is no reason why we should accept everything that came down from the British as a permanent institution in India The process has begun and let us do it well and thoroughly Let us not be afraid of it or sorry about it It is certain it is a historic development which is taking place or is going to take place all over India, in various shapes and forms"

The Prime Minister, in this connection, referred to the talk about linguistic provinces and observed that while there might be something in it, he did not like this particular phraseology, 'linguistic provinces" Language was no doubt important and represented a major element in the culture of a people They wanted to preserve the variety of culture in India which was represented among others by language and to give the languages whether Tamil, Telugu or any other tongue, full opportunity of growth and cultural expression "But when we talk about linguistic provinces, while we lay stress on an important aspect of the question, the trouble is that we somehow ignore many other important questions The question has to be considered in its entirety in all its aspects linguistic, cultural, administrative, financial, security, defence and so many other things Then you are in a position to look at the picture as a whole. Also, you cannot isolate the [illegible] States [illegible] other States [illegible] realize [illegible] The formation [illegible] relatively the simplest [illegible] by no means simple [illegible] and will arise, no doubt

Problems Posed

[illegible] that there were demands [illegible] in South India and in West [illegible] not be treated in isolation [illegible] take the demand for a [illegible] The Maharashtrians were [illegible] unity among the people of India [illegible] nothing wrong in their desire for [illegible] Province But as soon as they [illegible] this problem, they could [illegible] questions arose The first natural [illegible] Bombay State would have to be [illegible] consequences

[illegible] had to Karnataka also The Kannadigas [illegible] State He sympathized with [illegible] there was no reason why they should not have it There was more reason on their side than in the case of many others But Karnataka [illegible] single issue If they took up the [illegible] came into the picture [illegible] they [illegible] Kerala and Bihar also came [illegible] not just say You can have Karnataka [illegible] once and there it is The whole of Central and South India would be shaken up [illegible] they had to consider the picture in its entirety

The biggest problem, Mr Nehru pointed out was [illegible] They talked a great deal and rightly about the economic problem. The principal question was the economic issue of raising the standard of people and getting rid of unemployment and poverty "If this is the biggest problem he asked, "should we do something which comes in the way of a solution of it or delay it" It is an important consideration That is why I say language, though an important factor, is not the overriding factor The other factors have to be considered"

High Power Commission

It is for this reason 'Mr Nehru said, 'that we are going to appoint a High Power Commission to go into these matters" He had always thought of the appointment of such a Commission because he did not think that they should accept everything as it was in India today But certainly he had hoped that the appointment of such a Commission would be delayed for at least ten years till independent India settled down and that they could take up the cutting up of States in a slightly different way

Mr Nehru said that they came to the conclusion that it was better they did not delay the matter "If by delay one merely keeps the people's mind in ferment, it is not worthwhile So,

[illegible] its [illegible] far the Com[illegible] k in such a [illegible] Anyhow it [illegible] sion should [illegible] lection the [illegible]

[illegible] Danger

[illegible] the past cannot be [illegible] over all dangers

Mr Nehru [illegible] ed Th[illegible] something [illegible] the world to [illegible] of danger to [illegible] of invasion across the Himalayas from Ru[illegible] have not [illegible] ightest thought in my mind [illegible] danger of this type If there is danger, we [illegible] prepared [illegible] I am not worried about it [illegible] Pot[illegible] powerful countries worry [illegible] But I do worry about the internal danger M[illegible] ading [illegible] that it is this kind or [illegible] that [illegible]

[illegible] this connection to the [illegible] of linguistic [illegible] Mr Nehru emphasized that [illegible] nothing should be done to weaken the fab[illegible] India [illegible] was manifest that if they proceeded purely [illegible] on [illegible] linguistic basis and not [illegible] they might make ridiculous divi[illegible] [illegible] and administrative point [illegible] to create a ridiculous division [illegible] because national boundaries [illegible] of historic incidents or war 'But there [illegible] reason why we should have absurd [illegible] — economically and administratively [illegible] — merely to satisfy some urge for what is [illegible] common language area" They wanted to [illegible] all languages

[illegible] Nehru concluded that, now that the [illegible] been put before the country quite [illegible] by the proposed appointment of a Com[illegible] to go into the whole matter, it seemed [illegible] that it was completely unnecessary and [illegible] people to go on agitating for this lin[illegible] other It had no meaning The [illegible] of flags and passing resolutions demanding [illegible] and that reminded one certainly of what the [illegible] under British rule 'It is not quite fitting, Mr Achru said, in a free country to do so"

[illegible] only of [illegible] guard against it

India's Unity

[illegible] pointed out that when [illegible] and went to America [illegible] not thinking so much of he [illegible] land in India from where they [illegible] thinking more of India [illegible] matter where you come from [illegible] India is strong [illegible] are out [illegible] cannot be so strong if you are [illegible] State district or town [illegible] I have always [illegible] that the [illegible] ing independence is the [illegible] on the emotional and [illegible]

[illegible] want in the [illegible] people of India [illegible] It would be fatal [illegible] diversity of India [illegible] India to develop [illegible] diversified ways [illegible] always bearing in [illegible] If they did not [illegible] from this point [illegible] ahead as a strong [illegible] taken them in the [illegible] again

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All India Nai Talim Conference

We have been receiving many inquiries regarding the Nai Talim Exhibition going to be organized as an integral part of the Ninth All India Nai Talim Conference, Tilabar (Assam) The exhibits should reach Tilabar on or before 8th November 1955. Suggestions for this Exhibition are contained in a booklet issued by the Hindustani Talimi Sangh Sevagram and can be obtained by sending Ans 4 in postal stamps.

Concession Certificates

Employees of a Government, semi-Government local self-Government or a statutory body going to attend the All India Nai Talim Conference on their personal account may take advantage of the railway concession But for this they will have to send a declaration from their immediate superiors that their travelling expenses will not be borne by the Government or semi-Government or statutory body

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BHOODAN YAJNA : WHY AND HOW

(By [illegible] Shrikrishnadas Jaju)

[illegible] Government has set up a special [illegible] and promoting the Bhoodan [illegible] is adapted from the [illegible] of the Board Shri Shrikrishnadas [illegible] inauguration.

M P]

[illegible] having been achieved, the [illegible] before the country was that [illegible] economic and social freedom to [illegible] question demanded attention the [illegible] because every adult, man or [illegible] now the right of vote which made [illegible] and economic disparities between [illegible] and groups look ever more incon[illegible] [illegible] mere of political equality It was [illegible] that the [illegible] people would not suffer them any [illegible] The poor in India have continued to be [illegible] plotted [illegible] the centuries and our chronic poverty has passed into a proverb Even after six [illegible] years of freedom the darkness of the cottages of [illegible] poor remains unrelieved by the touch of its [illegible] Under the circumstances, the economic problem assumes highest priority and calls for immediate solution

In accordance with the ideology of non-violence Gandhiji while he strove for political freedom had also paid due attention to the economic aspects of our situation and achieved what was possible notwithstanding the crippling handicap of an alien government ruling over our country Strange as it may seem, those who held the reins of the Government after the attainment of freedom found themselves unable to go along the path which Gandhiji had showed

But things could not stand still The movement for the abolition of economic inequalities between different classes has been steadily growing throughout the world In the last few years it has produced violent convulsions specially in some of the East Asian countries The rumblings of this movement were already being felt in India which showed that the problem had reached the danger point But it was neither desirable nor possible to solve it through violence Legislation could have provided a sort of solution. But a [illegible] legislation making a sudden break from existing conditions is also not entirely free from violence and cannot even be enforced satisfactorily unless it is supported by public opinion. It looked as though the country were caught up in a difficult impasse In the meantime, however, God inspired Vinobaji to launch the Bhoodan movement and show the way out

To collect lands from the landholders and distribute them among the landless is only an outer though a necessary, aspect of its work Essentially it is directed to the creation of new values in our social life or [illegible] Vinobaji It seeks to establish an ethical view of economics Economics have been too long dominated by the profit motive with disas[illegible] [illegible] people [illegible] all [illegible] rescue it from this degradation and make it conform to ethics so that India may solve all her problems through non-violence and ultimately realize her cherished goal of building up the Sarvodaya order of society The Bhoodan movement has made great progress and people are now well acquainted with its nature and ideology

The intellectuals are however oppressed by a doubt namely, whether Bhoodan can provide an effective solution of the entire land problem As it is, the achievements over the last two years are quite considerable and strengthen us in our hopes from this movement

Those who have more land than they need have begun to realize that they cannot keep it for long Lands are being sold and are thus going to those who will work on them with their own hands There was also for some time a spurt in the cases of eviction of tenants by the landlords under the fear that the future legislation in this regard will deprive the latter of this right The tendency has however been checked in most States and it is hoped, will be completely stopped very soon The Planning Commission has accepted the principle that there ought to be a ceiling to the individual's ownership of land. The Hyderabad State Assembly is already considering a bill in this regard And it is certain that sooner or later all other States will also have to take similar measures Vinobaji advocates laying down a 'flooring' instead of a ceiling, that is, every one who wants to live by cultivation of the land and has no other means of livelihood must be provided with enough land to have his needs met by it The atmosphere for direct or indirect sharing of land which we find growing around us is largely the result of the Bhoodan Yajna The State Governments can do their part in this work mainly by suitable legislation designed to help and promote the movement The atmosphere for such legislation is being rapidly built up That will however constitute only a part of the work Our primary objective is to change the prevailing ideas about wealth, specially about the individual's ownership of wealth This can be done only through the Bhoodan and the Sampattidan Yajna

The Bhoodan work has been conceived as a non-party social service activity It has no place for party-politics. Except the Communists and a few other groups all others are supporting it and contributing towards its furtherance according to their capacity It is expected that those who work for it will forget their party-affiliations for the while and work as non-party social workers without in any way trying to serve the interests of their parties The distribution work will also have to be done in the same spirit It will be our endeavour to place it in the hands of non-party workers who will be expected to discharge it in the non-party way.

[illegible] common difficulty [illegible] the pro- [illegible] of the gifted [illegible] land records — this [illegible] to be attached to the gift-deed — [illegible] the determination of the gifted land [illegible] part of the field has been donated [illegible] for the donor or the Board to [illegible] will also take much time if they do [illegible] The [illegible] had better be left to be done by the Government officers The Government will also have to provide certain facilities to the new grantees The Board will present its considered recommendations on this question to the Government in due time and hope that they will do the needful

(From Hindi)

MARKETS AND WORLD PEACE

(By Wilfred Wellock)

[The following is from the Author's *Orchard Leaf Papers* No 8 on "Local National and World Government" It continues the argument that was taken up in "World Government is no Solution" (see *Harijan*, 10-10 53)

M. [illegible]

Before nations can function in amity to achieve the world's peace they must free themselves from the nightmare of uncertainty in regard to markets and supplies The first steps to this freedom are a revolution in personal and social values and aims and the organization of a reasonably balanced agro-industrial economy The effect of taking them would be a marked fall in the nation's demands for markets and for the earth's resources and thus in the strains and tensions which lead to war

It follows that the foundations of a true internationalism are a spiritual culture and community responsibility and that these rights should be established throughout the world Man's highest development depends upon such a culture as does also the world's peace Hence it should reside in all the institutions of responsible small communities in the family, the school the church the playground and in all the places where man and woman foregather to fulfil their personal ends and their social being If their culture be deficient, vitiated International relations will result, but if it be sound the order of peace and universal goodwill will ensue

Every nation and every locality is more or less conscious of certain values and characteristics connected with its traditions, language culture habits and customs, which it desires to retain and develop Also the more responsibility is localized the more colourful, varied, fruitful and attractive will the life and work of nations become Quality of life is most manifest in the little things of every-day experience, in friendly habits kindly customs and rich flavourful phrases Take these things away and life is reduced to a spiritual desert.

[illegible] system [illegible] promoting would increase [illegible] intercourse [illegible] friendliness and insure the world's peace [illegible] present state of the world shows that it has [illegible] precisely the opposite effect. Indeed, the aggressive nationalism that is now arising in the Near and Far East may be said to be one of its products and the best way to end it would be to abandon imperialism and adopt a more co-operative economy The one great exception to the new Eastern Nationalism is the spiritual nationalism of Gandhi

What attracted me most during my recent visit to India was the richness of her skills and handicrafts and the spiritual quality of her life, and I can think of no greater tragedy than the abandonment of her village economy in favour of Western industrialism, that nightmare of deadening uniformity of standardized goods and men What India needs is the harnessing of simple small scale machines to her wonderful skills so as to improve her production while preserving and developing her creative genius

Today the people of the great power-States call frantically for peace while yet they increase their armaments and move fatefully towards war Bogged by their materialism they are unable to escape from the fate they dread Their mass-production industrialism demands more markets and raw materials than are available whence fear of economic breakdown communism and world war hastens the event they desire above all others to avoid No world government could function in such conditions

A hydra-headed fear enslaves the nations Truth alone can save them the truth that life is more than meat Peace has its price It is the fruit of the creative and other spiritual values and it will come when these values are taught in our schools and colleges and pursued in our workshops The order of peace will first be fulfilled in the family and the locality then, with them in the region and with the region in the nation and finally with the nation in the world family It is such an order we ought to be electing today In the last analysis a peaceful world order is the harmonious functioning of millions of small communities which have learned the art of living Their peace is the world's peace because they accept a common law the TRUTH that they who give their lives shall find them. The operation of that law is the World Government we seek

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INDISCRETION RUNNING AMUCK

(By Parashuram Sharma)

Today being the Gandhi [illegible] *Times of India* [illegible] all of [illegible] the portrait of Mahatma [illegible] the caption the [illegible] [illegible] below it one found [illegible] words — Prohibition must go to [illegible] [illegible] Do drink for another [illegible] says Dr Deshmukh.

What an appropriate [illegible] delivered it by Dr Punjabrao Deshmukh [illegible] on a serious occasion and a very holy place [illegible] the father of the National [illegible]

It is really a [illegible] pity that the ministers and other responsible leaders may speak in such a strain as if their [illegible] muscles of what they believed. Will [illegible] that great old [illegible] that on his birthday [illegible] such words as these [illegible] would [illegible] people to drink for [illegible] year [illegible] on getting more money and do not care [illegible] it comes from?

Is it not [illegible] the Constitution itself to [illegible] pledged themselves under sacred oath [illegible] Could he not choose some other occasion [illegible] as if his pent up feelings and [illegible] words? Will he not [illegible] sober on making such a statement even under difficult economic conditions?

He does not seem to care from whatever [illegible] he can get money even if it comes by [illegible] the poor and their families and lowering [illegible] standard of the nation as a whole. [illegible] he will [illegible] other to take to drinking [illegible] that their ministers may get more money. Is he sure that after ten years he will be [illegible] and he will then shall the campaign [illegible] directed by the Constitution.

[illegible] crisis can be the result of bad plan [illegible] things must not have been placed [illegible] are being spent on schemes in [illegible] common man does not feel interested as [illegible] his heart. These schemes seem [illegible] whims of certain advisers. Is [illegible] antee that even the excise revenue [illegible] sufficient for these whims, if the [illegible] is continued?

[illegible] help poor India and save her from [illegible] humble prayer.

[illegible] the feelings expressed above. It [illegible] *for The Times of India* to do as [illegible] the report is true Dr Deshmukh [illegible] the crusading mood for drink [illegible] comprehension [illegible] member of the Govern[illegible] laid down that the [illegible] responsibility [illegible] high quarters [illegible] him, for he is a democracy. Should [illegible] Minister pull up such ill-thought-out [illegible] running amuck?

M. P. J.

CONSTITUTION MAKING IN PAKISTAN

(Maganbhai P. Desai)

[illegible] I learn that after a fairly long [illegible] constitution making for Pakistan [illegible] there is a move towards the [illegible] and Indian questions [illegible] the Muslim [illegible] unanimously received [illegible] all of the Constitution and [illegible] of Pakistan will have [illegible] and will consist of five [illegible] N.W.F.P. Provincial States [illegible] Punjab 3 Sind and Khurasan [illegible] States. Bahawalpur [illegible] The most [illegible] to be [illegible] Pakistan — [illegible] and [illegible] We [illegible] Pakistan [illegible] Minister [illegible] [illegible] criticism [illegible] [illegible] Sindhi Khan [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] will [illegible] Even [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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1624

SHRI C P SHUKLA

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

I had never even dreamt that I will be required to pen these lines for Shri Chandrashankar He was younger to me We worked together for fairly a decade and more since 1923 4 first in the Satyagrahashram and then at the Gujarat Vidyapith It is painful that he went away at an early age of 52 I send my deep condolences to Shrimati Ramubehn Shukla and her two daughters, to Shri Shukla's old mother, and his brother and sister

Shri Chandrashankar was one of the young band of students who left their schools and colleges when Gandhiji announced his great programme of Non-violent Non-co-operation in 1921 Chandrashankar was at that time in the Intermediate class at the Gujarat College, Ahmedabad He left it and joined the Gujarat Vidyapith, the National University established by Gandhiji at Ahmedabad. It was here that he came in intimate contact with Shri Kaka saheb Kalelkar, Late Shri M D, Swami Anand and others This drew out from him the literary abilities which Shri Shukla possessed, and he left off formal studies at the Vidyapith and began to work as Shri Kakasaheb's secretary In 1933-4 when Harijan papers were started at Poona, he undertook to manage them there and worked as the editor of the Gujarati 'Harijan Bandhu'. The three papers were transferred from Poona to Ahmedabad, and Shri Shukla came over with them He continued there for a year or so and then left that work and entirely took to literary work. He was not a story-writer or a novelist He was a brilliant translator and an able essayist. His 'Sitaharan' is a beautiful instance of his abilities, the book is read by thousands of school boys. Ancient Aryan culture was his special subject He gave Gujarat some of Dr Radhakrishnan's books in Gujarati He edited and gave to the world, in English and Gujarati, two fine collections of Gandhiji's reminiscences For the last few months he was with the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, helping it in its Gandhi film production at Bombay He was ailing from asthma for the last 22-3 years And he succumbed to it. He had a strong attack of the disease a few days back and had to be brought to the Bombay Hospital, where he expired May he rest in peace. Chandrashankar will be remembered by us all as one of the brave band of young men who came out to serve the cause of India's freedom May God give courage to the members of his family to bear patiently this their irreparable loss

20 10-'53

SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT BHOODAN *

(By Vinoba)

Such conferences are intended for an exchange of views among the workers in an atmosphere of peace We should therefore listen to everybody attentively Everyone has something important to say and though they may at times seem to be wandering away from the subject or speak more than is necessary, it should not be deemed as waste of time

Shri Jayaprakashji has expressed his views on the question of evictions† I agree that Bhoodan workers must help such helpless peasants But we are bound by certain limits About this question of evictions I had made it clear quite earlier when I was in Kashmir that he who is evicted should refuse to give up the land If he has nothing else to turn to for his livelihood I repeat it A soldier must show courage, if he is called to fight But often it so

* Adapted from a speech on 5-9-53, at the Conference of Bhoodan workers from various provinces, held at Khadigram Jamui (Bihar)

† The following is the relevant portion from the summary of Shri Jayaprakash Narayan's speech to which reference is here made

I have received a number of complaints about evictions. Evictions are being carried out in Dalla at a steadily growing and an alarmingly high rate The Government officers are siding with the landlords There is another aspect of the question which should be seriously considered. What am I to do if I am evicted from my land? It is all very well to say that you will get your land in due time as the revolution progresses But how am I to overcome my difficulty in the present?

It will be no use going to courts because poor tenants have no money to pay for the exorbitant expenses which the legal proceedings involve

Under the circumstances they want to organize themselves on an independent basis If they take to violence we should certainly check them. But if they fight for their rights in a peaceful way how are we to help them?

[illegible] political colour [illegible] exploit it for politi[illegible] [illegible] be no such mo[illegible] duty as it comes [illegible] Let it be de[illegible] without getting [illegible] be even mental [illegible] will bring him [illegible]

[illegible] Bihar and I w[illegible] only went to the [illegible] was no use [illegible] the question whether [illegible] the right to the particula[illegible] of land from which he had been evicted [illegible] alone could pronounce a just decision on it [illegible] I know as well as you do that if he is evicted, [illegible] will be left without any other means of liveli[illegible] You should therefore give him at least half [illegible] land The landlords generally agreed to this [illegible]

Shri Jayaprakashji has also said that big [illegible]mindars and landholders were not giving due portions of their lands This is true But than on our part we will not be satisfied until they do so We are going about our work at present rather [illegible]ently This may not do when the time arrives for the final solution of the question Then we may have to change our technique and tune it to [illegible]tronger key We should therefore be mentally prepared for it

When Raja Sahib of Banka told us that he would give us what we liked, we could have, like Vishwamitra, put him to a severe test But we asked for his entire uncultivated land and only a sixth portion of his cultivated land He gave us all that and a little more We called his donation 'Putna Dan' or a full gift At this, Gadreji said that I had made a mistake He said that I should have left only twenty acres for the Raja Sahib and taken all the rest. I wrote to him that this was a Yajna that is, a duty which has to be performed continuously When the time comes, we will go to him again.

Shri Jayaprakashji has also raised the question of the capitalists Our ideas regarding this question are quite clear About land there are even some difficulties. There are no such difficulties about wealth and property the accumulation of which by individuals we hold to be an unmixed curse It is a disease as pernicious in its effect on the mind as a physical disease in its effect on the body Christ says that a wealthy man perforce remains occupied in his mind with his wealth the wealthy are therefore to be pitied

Just as a doctor would advise a man suffering from obesity to give up taking ghee and sugar, so do we advise the wealthy to give up the [illegible]chnen[illegible] [illegible]alth in their own interest It [illegible] former [illegible]st give up ghee and sugar, it [illegible]ans he [illegible] want to live but to die It is [illegible] same in case of the wealthy We want to [illegible] *aparigraha* [illegible] non-possession the very [illegible] of the society We want to make the people see the power of non-possession as the principle of a rich and happy social life People have so far thought of non-possession as an individual virtue which may be useful for him in his inner purification. We now seek to bring out its power for social good People do not as yet realize the fact that giving one's wealth to society is as good as keeping it in a bank

We ask for only one-sixth of a person's wealth, but that is only by way of the first instalment It is intended to be a recognition on his part of the principle that he has to renounce his claim to the wealth which is not his but of the society

Some speakers have referred to the paucity of workers in our movement They say our movement is not attracting the workers in the measure that for example, the Non-co-operation movement did The latter attracted literally thousands and lakhs of workers Now we must understand that there is great difference between this movement and that At the time the Non-co-operation movement was launched, the Government servants were stigmatized as the enemies of the country They have now become patriots after the attainment of freedom A Government servant also serves the country in his own way Naturally everyone is attracted towards the lucrative Government services where he cannot only better his lot in the worldly way but also get the satisfaction of having served his country

Moreover, when there is a strong gust of wind not only birds but also leaves leap up into the sky, and are carried along in the storm. But now only birds can fly, and not the leaves. Only workers with a strong spirit of renunciation can join the movement In fact, we have to produce our own workers and for that we have to evolve a new type of education. We want man who will be imbued with sacrifice, faith and knowledge. The Khadi Board has appointed 500 workers for producing 30 lakh rupees worth of Khadi. It is apparent that we shall require many more for collecting and distributing 30 lakh acres of land.

(From Hindi)

BHOODAN YAJNA

[Land-gift Mission]

By Vinoba Bhave

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NON-VIOLENCE NEVER FAILETH *

(By Vinoba)

It rains only in drops but it results in an illimitable supply of water for our use Even so we want that gifts in Bhoodan Sampattidan and Shramadan though they be only in small drops, must come from every man That will ensure the success of our mission and bring it much earlier than most people think. Some might doubt if a consummation such as this can ever come about How can all men come to feel the urge for giving? —they ask I wonder why it should be regarded as impossible Man is essentially a thinking being He thinks and tries to fashion his life, however imperfectly, in the light of his thought So if we convince them of the correctness of our thought there is no reason why they will not follow it in their conduct.

These doubts arise because we have no idea of the wonderful powers which lie latent in man But as we proceed forward in our exploration of the boundless field of the spirit, we will discover more and more of these powers This is the secret behind what is called the phenomenon of *avatar* It means the manifestation of the inner and hitherto hidden powers of man and their expression in his active life Devotion to truth is one such power it manifested and there was Rama Another is the capacity for detached action it manifested in Krishna Compassion was embodied in the person of the Buddha Thus were Rama Krishna and Buddha *avatars* in the sense that they represented respectively the manifestation of the virtues of devotion to truth detached action and compassion For convenience of *upasana* men took to worshipping their images and this has led to a distortion of the real meaning of the process of *avatar* in the popular mind Otherwise *avatar* does not mean the Divine descending into human form, but the manifestation of divine virtues in men And the manifestation of these virtues in men in an ascending series marks the upward progress of human society

It is sheer ignorance to think that man has reached the limits of his spiritual development and must now remain what he is The spirit has endless powers As new conditions arise bringing new problems in their wake and men intensify their quest for right solutions, more and more of these powers are brought out into active manifestation

When the English came to India and in course of time seized the political power they adopted a very ingenious device for consolidating their position They disarmed the people The Indians were thus faced with a peculiar problem They had either to bear the yoke of English overlordship meekly without any hope of ever throwing it off or they had to find out some entirely new means of fighting the alien rulership It was the demand of this peculiar situation which ultimately led to the discovery of the weapon of non-violent resistance or Satyagraha The discovery was, so to say inherent in the situation though of course Gandhiji served as the human agent for it. Thus Ahimsa came to be introduced as an active power in the field of human affairs and the world was amazed to see its capacity to solve the almost insoluble problem of the Indian independence It not only enabled the Indian people to fight successfully the mighty empire which ruled over them but also achieved the hitherto undreamt of victory of establishing love and understanding between the oppressors and the oppressed They ceased to be enemies and became friends The world history furnishes many glorious examples of struggles for freedom, but this one was more distinguished than any because it brought forth a new power of the spirit and gave a fresh start to humanity on its onward march

Now after Swaraj we are faced in India with the task of the abolition of poverty and the building up of economic freedom and equality We have therefore to manifest the same power of non-violence in the economic field also And there is no doubt that this is being done quite successfully through Bhoodan and Sampattidan

I know people would say, if they are asked about it that legislation can solve the problem quite as effectively as Bhoodan But what is legislation? Legislation is nothing but the will of the people expressed through their elected representatives. If then they will submit to the rule of law which they themselves bring into being, why would they not submit to the rule of the divine law — the law of love of which we have recurring experience in our life? Man is born through love, he grows through love, he thirsts for it even in his last moments and feels supremely comforted when he gets it. If therefore, his entire life in its beginning, the middle and the end depends upon love, if that is for him the source of his greatest delight why would he not feel prompted to participate in the Bhoodan and Sampattidan which are but an aspect of this all-embracing law of love and give to his poorer brethren a due share of what he has in land or wealth? Let those who advocate legislation ponder over this question For our part, we are convinced that if law which is at the most an indirect expression of man's will can work, his direct will as expressed in love must work better more quickly, and more easily Those who share in this fundamental faith will not be troubled by doubt. And we hold that if we would but make the society see the truth of this belief, it will certainly respond and co-operate with us in our endeavour The belief is already there rooted in his soul If it were not so no force, howsoever violent, can avail us in making him see it. But in his heart of hearts man knows it we have only got to explain it to him and he will begin to see

* From a speech at Khadigram Jamui on 3-9-53

it As it is, people have gr[illegible] within this sho[illegible] period more than we had expected

I assure you that with your help and co-operation, the demand of the times and the sanction of the Lord above, this problem is going to be inevitably solved by the year 1957

(From Hindi)

HARIJAN

Oct 24 1953

EQUALITY AND TRUSTEESHIP

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

Shri M P T Acharya writes from Bombay

With regard to your comment on 'Capitalism as a Social Trust (*Harijan* 22-8-53 p 200) I wish to point out that when a man can invest 25 lakhs and can earn even Rs 2 lakhs (although he wants to earn more) even then it will not be social trust. For why should any one earn in proportion to the money he can invest and turnover he makes, when most people do not even earn Rs 250 a month and have to maintain large families? Social trust is when the investors earn as much as any ordinary earner and no more The man who can invest more must earn more than the ordinary employee is accepting capitalism and not social trusteeship When an investor erects a palace and satisfies his whims at great expense, he is evidently making all others pay these costs on account of his vast investments These come from the employees and workmen who part with their purchasing power to pay for these. That is not social trusteeship He must get no more than an ordinary employee if there is to be social trusteeship—whatever may be the amount of his investment'

If a man invests (because he has somehow acquired) vast sums or makes a large turnover he charges upon millions of consumers a bit to maintain his paraphernalia and even puts by something after investing more of his earnings for further exploitation It is a vicious circle It is depleting the purchasing power of millions of people after which he cannot sell either

I have no difficulty in accepting the suggestion of Shri Acharya in principle For I agree, as I wrote in the said article, that "all capital is a social product and as such will be sheer misappropriation and social injustice if it is misused for personal gain and against the social purpose" According to this doctrine it must be remembered that even the two lakhs that a social economic order might allow at best are again only a trust and are not for selfish gain and for the satisfaction of individual whims To do that would not be trusteeship The two lakhs earned are only added trust money and not more private income, as I fear, Shri Acharya seems to believe Higher incomes or earnings that one might make—and surely there are bound to be differences in the incomes of various people, though these should go smaller and smaller as we build up a new order based on trusteeship—do not mean that one owns it in the sense that one can misuse it or [illegible] of self-gratification [illegible] up More income is only added tr[illegible] ing added responsibility and social or moral liability

The question why any one should earn more than another therefore, is another matter, it is one of bringing about equality, a new line of idea though worthy of our attention The doctrine of trusteeship is not a variant or a rival of any 'ism' like capitalism or communism, but it is a basic principle in social morality, it defines the real social and individual status of an individual. It refines the concept of private property by saying that whatever one has in a social order as so-called property or ownership is really not so as commonly understood, but is to be taken only as a trust given to one, and hence one is not permitted to use it merely for personal whims or pleasures One might at best take from it as much as one requires for one's earthly existence and no more, otherwise it will be misappropriation of the trust money Therefore the equality that trusteeship will naturally achieve thereby will not necessarily be in rupees, annas or pies but will be on the line of the adage—to every one according to his needs and no more Hence such a point like the one that 'a man who can invest more must earn more than the ordinary employee is accepting capitalism and not social trusteeship' becomes irrelevant Because the larger earnings or investments are not private property but only added trust, as I said above I agree that it is up to the social order and the State to devise an order whereby glaring inequalities are levelled up The basis to do it is the doctrine of trusteeship which lays down that there should be legislative regulation of the ownership of wealth and its use But even under such an equalitarian order the doctrine of trusteeship has its need, because even then it says that what one earns is a social trust, not to be used away for individual whims or asocial selfishness It must be noted that it is not the rich only who misuse their income Even a petty labourer with his small earnings might err in discharging his trusteeship though not on the score of equality

10-10-'53

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PROPER USE OF SATYAGRAHA

The Peacemaker is a bi-weekly from Yellow Springs, [illegible] U S A It is published as a medium of communication of the Peace movement In its issue of 1 10-53 number reaching us some days back, there is an editorial article on the Proper Use of Satyagraha from *Gandhi Bethak* organ of the Gandhi Mission [illegible]. The article may be said to tell us in India, who [illegible] heard and read the great Author of the Satyagraha [illegible] himself no new thing about it However its [illegible] by peace-loving friends and students of the [illegible] way in America is surely instructive specially [illegible] It notes the much-to-be-seen aberrations or pseudo-[illegible] going on around us at the present time. The [illegible] is reproduced from that article

10-53 M. P.]

Satyagraha has become a very common word [illegible] with people who have some grouse [illegible] the government They are handling [illegible] technique with such callous carelessness that [illegible] very basic principles on which this [illegible] was conceived They do not even [illegible] thought about the existence of an [illegible]

[illegible] grievance may be it is [illegible] duty of a Satyagrahi to analyse the [illegible] grievance and to weigh in the [illegible] with the pros and cons of any action he may [illegible] to remedy the defect Satyagraha surely does not help one who has other ways of doing things When you come to the stage of resorting to Satyagraha you are satisfied that every avenue has been explored and found wanting

Gandhiji took to the use of that weapon only after he had laboured for years to find solution by other means His subject was thrashed into shreds on the rocks of public opinion and he was very careful in assessing the nature and degree of possible reaction in the event of his launching the fight

Every day newspapers publish names of individuals who announce their resolve to offer Satyagraha for the remedy of this or that grievance The grievances range from the student being given lower marks than he expects to the failure of the government in recognizing the merits of certain disputes The aggrieved seem to think that Satyagraha means fasting unto death and one wonders why none of them have died though few have gained their object

The term 'Satyagraha' is misread in all these cases with the result the denouncement of all these adventures always leading them in still more difficult situations when they lose the force in their appeal and alienate public sympathy They fall into utter disrepute to escape from which they again do so many mad things and begin the vicious circle

To these and others who think of Satyagraha as the only end to their agony it is worth while to remind them that "Satyagraha presupposes the living presence and guidance of God The leader depends not on his own strength but on that of God He acts as the voice within guides him Very often therefore, so called practical politics are unrealistic to him, though in the end his prove to be the most practical politics"

Founded on this faith in the guidance of God, the Satyagrahi has always to be conscious of the *truth* on which his whole case rests He also has to remember that he does no injustice to the opponents in thought, word and deed, in his zeal to win In the process of acting with faith in God and entrenched in truth he will find the need to commandeer all his resources of patience and vigilance to guard him from the wrong step

All these are impossible of practice for one who has no lifelong training and tuning for the use of this technique Satyagraha is not the coward's way to escape from agony It is the way of the heroes who sportingly stake their all for the cause they espouse and play the game gallantly and well The sleep of such a Satyagrahi when his work is over is indeed a gift of gods

INDUSTRIALIZATION MUST BE AVOIDED

(By Gandhiji)

To make India like England and America is to find some races and places of the earth for exploitation So far it appears that the Western nations have divided all the known races outside Europe for exploitation and that there are no new worlds to discover

What can be the fate of India trying to ape the West? Indeed the West has had a surfeit of industrialism and exploitation If they who are suffering from the disease are unable to find a remedy to correct evils, how shall we, mere novices be able to avoid them?

The fact is that this industrial civilization is a disease, because it is all evil Let us not be deceived by catchwords and phrases I have no quarrel with steamships or telegraphs They may stay, if they can, without the support of industrialism and all it connotes They are not an end We must not suffer exploitation for the sake of steamships and telegraphs They are in no way indispensable for the permanent welfare of the human race

India has withstood the onslaughts of other civilizations, because she has stood firm on her own ground Not that she has not made changes But the changes she has made have promoted her growth To change to industrialism is to court disaster The present distress is undoubtedly insufferable Pauperism must go But industrialism is no remedy

India's destiny lies not along the bloody way of the West, of which she shows signs of tiredness, but along the bloodless way of peace that comes from a simple and godly life She must not, therefore lazily and helplessly say, 'I cannot escape the onrush from the West.' She must be strong enough to resist it for her own sake and that of the world

Young India, 7 10 [illegible]

CAKE, CRICKET AND COLLAR

(By Suresh Ramabhai)

[illegible] inaugurating the Conference of State [illegible] cultural Ministers at New Delhi on September [illegible] 24th last Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru gave a [illegible] remarkable speech which deserves to be [illegible] pondered and to be paid particular attention [illegible] by all public workers of the country, official or otherwise Here are some extracts from it

From *The Statesman*, 26-9-'53

> 1 The country's progress can never be measured by policy statements of Ministers or officials
>
> 2. The peasant is sought to be taught better methods of agriculture through holding these conferences and the printing of brochures. What is all this fantastic nonsense? The more I think over this the more I am amused at this way of working where the common man who is to be benefited most from such deliberations does not come into the picture at all
>
> 3. The biggest question was whether the officials, in doing their work tried to bring themselves closer to the ordinary man in India. This relationship cannot be created if Ministers and officials approach the problems of the common man with a coat and necktie and collar mind
>
> 4. Today a vast gulf separates the ordinary people from the officials. The officials do not speak the language of the common man which makes it difficult for them to convey the results of their research and labour to others
>
> You cannot reach the ordinary man until you make changes in your attitude of mind to the common man and in your dress It is not so much a sartorial problem as a problem of the head and the heart
>
> 5 The caste system had been the cause of India's ruin for [illegible] But a new caste had sprung up in India now — a caste wearing a hat a necktie and collar

Hardly any man or woman true to India can deny God's own truth contained in the above spontaneous and heart felt assertions of our Prime Minister It is more than six years now that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has been steering the ship of the Union State That a 'vast gulf should separate the ordinary man from the official even now or that a 'new caste' cutting itself from the common people should thrive is a matter of extreme grief and intense concern There must be something very wrong somewhere for the horrible and sad state in our body politic

A little reflection will show that if one single individual can be held largely responsible for the said 'vast gulf' and 'new caste' he is curiously and regretfully our Prime Minister himself Brought up in a very high and luxurious society under the guidance of an English tutor and educated in British schools and universities, he is the most cultured polished and thorough embodiment of the British way of life Though an enemy of British rule to the core he was (and continues to be) an ardent devotee at the shrine of the British tradition In popular language, he hated *Angrezi* (English) Raj but loved *Angreziat* (Anglicization) Which is why during his long tenure of office as Prime Minister he has kept in [illegible] the British [illegible] India's administration defence [illegible] education [illegible] etc and foreign [illegible] interests are far more entrenched in India [illegible] than ever before Not that he does not love the common man, nor does he feel for his country any the less. In fact India does not know a more fearless, selfless and sincere servant, patriot and defender of her interests and welfare than Jawaharlal Nehru But naturally, he cannot do things in a manner other than his own And his method is in one word, *Angreziat* Hence the woeful spectacle of the emergence of an *Angreziat*-mad community believing in hat necktie and collar and all that they imply

I wish my conclusion were wrong But day in and day out one meets solid evidence in support of this grim contention. Only on August 15th last, our Prime Minister cut the 'Independence Day Cake' with a sword at a function held in the Rashtrapati Bhawan A thing more alien to the spirit of the common man in India can scarcely be conceived

Next there was recently a cricket match between the Prime Minister's XI and the Vice-President's XI — a typically British pastime or cult Little wonder that it evoked the admiration of none but Britain's leading paper, *Sunday Times* whose observations bear repetition

> Nothing — not the stately pace with which Mr Attlee and Sir Edward Ludlow borded the Delhi plain not the thousands of miles of railway between Cape Comorin and the Cheenab not the English tongue as the *lingua franca* of the educated not even the umbrella — proclaims the deep impress left on India by the British Raj than does today's news of a sporting encagement in the capital of the Republic
>
> That Prime Minister Mr Nehru and grave and revered philosopher Dr Radhakrishnan should lead rival teams in a Parliamentary cricket match may baffle most of the rest of the world, but will seem perfectly comprehensible and admirable to all Britons and Indians

Yes to all Britons no doubt But no certainly not to all Indians, save those who have fashioned themselves according to Briton's pattern To them collar is the *sine qua non* for enjoying cake or cricket In the Rome (of New Delhi) one must do as the Romans (of London) did or do It is futile nay unjustified, to blame officers for wearing 'a hat a necktie and collar' when cake and cricket mark the order of the day in India They are Pandit Nehru's own Ministers who in the 'interests of India' import more and more of these and like articles or 'consumer goods' They must needs be consumed The ordinary man has neither any taste nor money for them

The Prime Minister's speech of 24th September is an illustrious index of the painful and pitiable struggle going on between the head and the heart of the members of the educated class or the ruling community in India With every

pass [illegible] its head and neck [illegible] going asunder Inevitably the gulf between the rulers and the ruled grows wider and yet more numbers are added unto the 'new caste of collar-wallahs' No country can afford to continue long in this morbid state

Allahabad 6-10-53

NOTES

Bhoodan Collection and Distribution

S N	Name of the State	Land Collected up to 5 10 53 (In acres)	Land Distributed Acres	Families
1	Assam	1 349		
2	Andhra	7,097		
3	Orissa	28,514		
4	Uttar Pradesh	5 11,414	24,263	3,459
5	Karnatak	1,197		
6	Kerala	6,500		
7	Gujarat	16 765		
8	Tamilnad	14,000	255	
9	Delhi	7,569		
10	Punjab and Pepsu	2,435		
11	Bengal	354		
12	Bihar	11 12,343		
13	Madhya Pradesh	56 535	928	
14	Madhya Bharat	51,221		
15	Maharashtra	8,922		
16	Mysore	1,642		
17	Rajasthan	2,20,000		
18	Vindhya Pradesh	3,467	125	
19	Saurashtra	8,000		
20	Himachal Pradesh	1,350		
21	Hyderabad	66,543	9,910	2,117
	Total	21,27,217	35,481	5,576

Note The above details are given from the authentic reports received from various Regional Committees Some States have not sent their latest reports as yet

KRISHNARAJ MEHTA,
Office Secretary,
Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh
Sevagram Wardha (M P)

Bee-Keeping Industry

[Scheme for 1953-54]

The bee-keeping industry should occupy an important place in our rural economy Besides production of honey and wax, the bee-keeping industry aids agriculture and fruit production by increasing their yields through cross pollination

There is a general lack of knowledge in India that honey bees can be domesticated and bee-keeping can be made a profitable part-time employment at one's own home

The problem of developing the bee-keeping industry relates to want of appreciation of its importance as a village industry ignorance of its technique, lack of sufficient trained and experienced staff for doing bee-keeping work, inadequacy of supply of bees improved type hives etc and absence of organisation

It is, therefore, necessary

(1) to train fieldmen,

(2) [illegible] would be [illegible] ping stat[illegible]

(3) [illegible] o stock and supply appliances etc.,

(4) to assist in marketing honey wax

(5) to maintain at a central place a unit [illegible] fact process and pack honey

(7) to provide standard type bees bee-hives and bee keeping appliances to be made available at reasonable rates and on instalment system.

There will be a selected area in a State suitable for development of bee-keeping consisting of one or more districts

The scheme is sought to be implemented in the first instance in States in which some progress has already been made for the development of the bee-keeping industry such as Madras Travancore Cochin, Coorg Mysore Punjab Uttar Pradesh, Bengal Bombay, Orissa and Assam.

The help of bodies like the All India Village Industries Association at Wardha or their stations at Sodepur or Martandam, will be taken in training apiarists etc.

(From a bulletin issued by the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board)

SCRAPPING PROHIBITION

(By Swami Sitaram)

Complete prohibition has been introduced in Madras and Bombay States It was expected that all the other States in the country would follow suit soon after and there would be complete prohibition all over the country If Mahatmaji had been alive for at least two or three years after the departure of the English, and the consequent installation of the National Governments at the Centre and in the States, there would have been such total prohibition Precept and practice of the Congress under Mahatmaji's lead since 1920 and the sufferings undergone by the Congress volunteers and the advocates of prohibition would have required the implementation of the Congress resolutions adopted from time to time during the course of a quarter of a century But that was not to be The politicians who formed the governments and directed their policies were faced by the bureaucracy with deficit budgets and were induced, at the instance of vested interests, to cry halt to this programme, and unfortunately Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the *de facto* dictator of the Congress and the Government, advised the States "to go slow"

Those States which had introduced prohibition in some modified form were led to revise their policy The prohibition policy was not strictly enforced and it led to grievous abuses Those were taken advantage of and put forward as grounds for repealing the prohibition law

If the grounds urged for repeal of the prohibition law are carefully studied, they will not hold water for any length of time If these arguments are applied to other laws in force, strange and awkward results will follow Take for instance, bribery and theft. It is admitted on all hands that bribery has increased and it is the sad experience of several people that unless

[illegible] offered, paper [illegible] from one [illegible] another or from one [illegible] another in the same office Will this then afford ample justification for repealing all the sections against bribery? Similarly crime is increasing pretty and serious thefts are also on the increase Shall we repeal the sections which make these acts liable to punishment?

Recently the question of prohibition came to the forefront in Andhra The Andhra State to be formed was said to be a deficit State and people began to canvass how best to wipe out the deficit Prohibition came handy to them and there were discussions in the Press and on the platform about the advantages accruing from the repeal of the prohibition law About 5 crores were expected from this source and people saw in it a happy chance of clearing off deficit and financing welfare schemes These friends forgot that prohibition itself was one of the best and noblest welfare schemes for the downtrodden and unfortunate people of the country They also forgot that the first Congress ministry in Madras in 1937 had introduced the sales' tax as compensation for the loss of drink revenue. This sales' tax is yielding richer and richer results every year

A study of our Constitution and the relevant portions thereof will show to an unbiased mind that an attempt to repeal prohibition in a State where it is in full force is *ultra vires* of the powers of the Government However it is a matter for acute lawyers to argue and experienced judges to decide But the constructive workers in general in the country and particularly those in Andhra are opposed to the abolition of the prohibition law

May the spirit of Mahatmaji inspire us with courage and determination to carry on this fight for the regeneration of our unfortunate brethren in this country

6-8-'53

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GODSPEED TO ANDHRA

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

On the first of this month Andhra has [illegible] State of the Indian Union May it prosper as a happy member of the Indian Family May the Andhras grow up to the great and onerous responsibility that they long wished to undertake and which thank God is now theirs in free and independent India As Swami Sitaram says in his article may they specially remember prohibition which is their national duty to [illegible] time with further success

A question has been raised whether the event is a warning to other linguistic groups or an example to them? Andhra is said to be the first State created on the popular plea of reconstructing the States on a linguistic basis Naturally therefore the event becomes noteworthy And as such, it is both an example as well as a warning To those who like the Andhras are dead keen to have their own province it says that they must be discreet to begin on the line of least resistance, viz, they might decide to have their separate State with the undisputed parts and without going into the attempts of Vishal'-ization But it must be realized that such attempts in linguism are a warning also, as they might threaten our national unity Shri Jawaharlalji has aptly smelt imperialism in it It might degenerate into linguistic Pakistanism too Further, means like fasts etc should have no place here They are not democratic nor Satyagraha. Again it must be noted that the act of creation of a new State by itself solves no problem, rather if it does not become one itself, it surely creates for it some new ones — financial, political and perhaps communal as well. And it is not certain that a new State is necessarily the better for solving them, because it is linguistic. At best, the popular sentiment which is satisfied with the achievement of a separate State might create a helpful psychology to work with zest in the new situation. All wish that Andhra has that good fortune and that it develops to be a strong and happy unit of our one country and one people

15-10-'53

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

VOL XVII No 35 AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY, OCTOBER 31 1953 TWO ANNAS

NOTES

Science and Suicide

A Research worker who committed suicide at Britain's Microbiological (Germ Warfare) Research Establishment at Porton was stated to get 'frightfully depressed over his work when evidence was given at the inquest last week

The dead man a senior scientific officer was an extremely experienced chemist He had committed suicide by taking cyanide.

Asked by the Coroner whether the deceased had a habit of drinking his wife said 'Yes he got frightfully depressed and he felt it was the materials he was working with which caused this depression. Then he drank to relieve the depression.' (From *Peace News* London 14-8-53)

So neither science nor drink could help this man out of the depression They rather helped his way to death only Such incidents show that science is not enough God and religion fulfil, do not negate science

10-10-53 M P

The Khan Brothers

Lahore Oct. 19 Dr Khan Sahib, Frontier's former Chief Minister now interned in Abbotabad, said recently that he like many other detenus in the province, was denied an opportunity to serve the country on the "false plea that we are enemies of the state"

He was answering questions in his first press interview since his detention over five years ago to a columnist of the local daily *Imroze*

Dr Khan Sahib said, it was wrong to presume that he and his former colleagues were hankering for offices. 'The fact of the matter is that we can help the Government a lot without any expectation of a return.

He criticized the Government for enlisting the aid of foreigners particularly British experts in framing a constitution for the country Dr Khan Sahib was not against basing the Pakistan constitution on Islamic principles, which according to him, constituted the highest form of socialism But the difficulty is he said, that a large section of our people—modern or conservative—do not fully understand Islam.

On the issue of a national language for the country, he said The controversy is ridiculous. Whatever the language may be even English, the real aim is education. Basic education can best be imparted in regional languages

He considered it unfortunate that some people were raising these controversies for selfish ends and spreading dissension among the people

Dr Khan Sahib declared that the Prime Minister Mr Mohammed Ali deserved all support from the people He is enthusiastic hardworking and young May he succeed in his mission —P T I

(From *The Hindustan Times* October 20 '53)

It is so good to hear again, after a long period of five years, the voice of freedom and peace that the brave Khan Brothers possess But it is really tragic that it has been still kept hushed by a Pakistani fiat of detention of the two Khan Brothers. Let us hope the Prime Minister Shri Mohammed Ali sees his way to set these brave and patriotic detenus free at the very time when they are most needed in the counsels of Pakistan affairs and its constitution making

24-10-'53 M P

A "Pocket of Unemployment"

Meghappa a weaver of Ravebennur was sentenced to transportation for life by the Additional Sessions Judge of Dharwar on the charge of murdering his two-year-old son, and to 7 years' imprisonment for attempt to murder his six-year-old son. He threw his two sons into a well, it was said, as his and his wife's income was insufficient to maintain the family The older boy was rescued but the younger one was drowned The Judge recommended reduction in the sentence, as it was a case where 'great poverty and utter distress' had caused the crime (*Evening News of India*, October 7, '53, p 8)

Rome is certainly on fire but what are the Neros doing?

V G D

[Obviously the man is punished as a murderer The ruthless logic of law can have no other classification for the man But was he a murderer in the sense in which the penal code might have desired the punishment? Surely the father did not murder the child as it is commonly understood.

Therefore should not the judiciary in its discretion see that the case deserved differential treatment at its hand? The bread-earner is to be removed from the poor family, resulting in further misery for the poor woman and her unfortunate surviving child Is it just? Is it mercy? It would be good if Government sees its way to lessen the severity of law that poor Meghappa technically called upon his miserable head.

15-10-53 M. P.]

THE LANGUAGE OF THE CAPITALIST "PRODUCER (INVESTOR)

(By M P T Acharya)

A correspondent writes The business community does not ask for any preferential treatment for itself beyond asking for a justed appreciation of its problems and complaints the frank exposition of official policy is not always followed up by appropriate action

What they call justed appreciation of their problems is only to accept their privileged position and to do what is needful to keep their privileges unimpaired

This privileged minority has managed to put in 10,692 crores of rupees in textile factories They did it themselves because they knew they could mint money by doing so They had the privilege of investing so much money — others could not bring up so much money So they think they can hold others by ransom — both wage labour and consumers — and they are doing it although they want the Government also to enrich the coffers of the "industry" (i e industrialists) so that textiles may be supplied to others at high prices

They claim they are giving bread to 7 43 000 workers and cultivators of 11 32 000 bales of cotton and therefore deserve help But they have not opened the factories to help these workers and cotton cultivators, when they make profits also out of them But they think they are only doing a service to them to be rewarded They are worried that since the advent of freedom, they have to *bear* Rs 54 crores of levies and new taxes. They are worried that the poor consumer has to pay the enhanced prices But they also consider that the wage bills are heavy In spite of all these 'cost inflation" factors they are making profits!

The millowners and their "correspondents' wrote of the 'reluctance" of the public to buy their cloth owing to which there is a heavy carry-over of the stocks In their aggressive language, they want to 'wear down" this consumers' reluctance by reducing costs, chiefly of course by making workers accept lower wages or the government "help" i e compulsion. Then they will be able to sell *perhaps* cloth cheaper to workers and consumers

Two complaints — only two of the many — That the Government has not encouraged the increase of "reserves of the industry for expediting the programme of plant restoration" and that labourers oppose rationalization' (i e increased production methods by putting more looms or spindles per man for the same wages as before) have aggravated the "rehabilitation problem"

Another complaint is that since 1950 there has been a steep fall in the export of Indian cotton goods. It was scarcely 600 million yards in 1952 of course They point out with the authority of the I L O report that it is a post-war [illegible] the Government must find [illegible] make foreign countries at [illegible] though in India we don't [illegible] Since that cannot be [illegible] magnates want India [illegible] West Germany Italy and [illegible] are subsidized with [illegible] which means by taxing [illegible] poor subscribes and incen[illegible] pay Paul [illegible] complaints from abroad [illegible] such shabby [illegible] merchants have abandoned their imports from India That is nowhere in their complaints — or plants

Their way is to sell cheaper abroad at Government and Indian people's cost with profits to themselves In that case they need not sell in India at all All losses to Government and people all profits to themselves

CEILINGS ON LAND

(By S N Agarwal)

The Five-Year Plan has made it quite clear that one of the basic principles of India's land policy ought to be that 'there should be an absolute limit to the amount of land which any individual may hold" This limit or ceiling on land holdings will naturally have to be fixed by each State in accordance with its own agrarian history and present circumstances The Planning Commission has therefore set up a Central Land Reforms Committee to assist various States in the collection of the requisite land data for the fixation of ceilings on existing land holdings The Planning Commission has also divided large individual holdings into two categories Those which are so efficiently managed that their break-up would result in fall in production and those which do not meet the required standards For the latter category the Commission recommends that Land Management legislation should be undertaken by different State Governments as early as possible

The A I C C session at Agra also resolved that the pace of progress must be quickened more specially in regard to land reform" The Committee attached the greatest importance "to the introduction of far-reaching land reforms in India While progress has been made in this direction by several State Governments much yet remains to be done in order to make the actual tillers of the soil the owners of land" The A I C C, therefore called upon all State Governments to take *immediate* steps in regard to the collection of the requisite land data and the fixation of ceilings on land holdings with a view to distribute the land as far as possible, among landless workers"

We are therefore sorry to find that the recent Conference of Ministers for Agriculture struck a discordant note and did not create the proper atmosphere for the implementation of

and policy [illegible] the Agra resolution of 1953 We are surprised to observe that the Union Minister for Agriculture Dr Punjabrao Deshmukh, openly opposed the basic principle of fixing ceilings on existing land holdings and observed that such a policy of interference with rural life would "recoil upon us" He therefore advocated that the policy of putting a ceiling on present holding should be "abandoned" Instead of impressing on various States the desirability of going ahead with the collection of land data with a view to fixing ceilings he expressed satisfaction at the fact that only two or three States were intending to put a ceiling on land holdings

Dr P S Deshmukh is, of course, entitled to hold his own views in this matter But these must be regarded as his personal opinions and not the view of the Planning Commission or the Government of India or the Congress It was thus not possible for the Agriculture Ministers' Conference to arrive at any conclusions contrary to the decisions of the Planning Commission and the All India Congress Committee They rightly left the question into the hands of the National Development Council which met in New Delhi in the first week of October

The detailed proceedings of the Development Council have not been released to the Press and we do not know whether the Council had enough time to devote to the careful consideration of the problems of land reforms We have, however no doubt in our mind that the Government of India, as well as the State Governments, would continue to give the highest priority to the introduction of far-reaching land reforms in India particularly relating to the distribution of land among the landless tillers of the soil It is quite obvious that sufficient land cannot be made available for redistribution unless a ceiling is placed on the existing land holdings It is no use satisfying ourselves by merely fixing a limit on future acquisition or resumption. It will be hardly proper to put a ceiling on future transfers without touching the existing large farms running into hundreds or even thousands of acres

We do not mean, however, that uniform ceilings should be fixed in all the States for all qualities of land The ceilings will surely differ with different regions and categories of soil We are also not pleading for a very low ceiling to begin with It will not be proper to be very strict only with landowners while glaring inequalities continue to exist in the other social and economic sectors of our national life We do not mind if the ceilings are fixed a bit liberally in the initial stages But to try to avoid the fixation of any ceilings on existing holdings is highly unfair What justification is there for landowners to still continue to possess hundreds of acres while there are 4.5 million landless agricultural labourers in this country? Land is a gift of Nature and it can neither be increased nor decreased by man. The problem of economic inequalities must therefore, be tackled on the land front in the very beginning Inequalities on other fronts cannot be left alone they will also have to be taken up and removed in other spheres of property or wealth The Estate Duty Act which comes into force on the 15th of October is the first step in this direction. It has to be followed up by other similar steps for fostering economic equality and pulling down the existing wall between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots'

While fixing land ceilings a few points may be borne in mind Special concessions may be granted for plots of land which are cultivated on a co-operative basis In order to save the joint-family system from disintegration, ceilings for land vested in such joint-families may be, say, three times higher than those for individual families As regards compensation for the land made available after the fixation of ceilings, payment may be spread over a period of 20 or 30 years through a Land Commission Moreover, only the management of land over and above the ceilings may be taken over by the State without necessarily raising the question of compensation As suggested by the Planning Commission, the State may lease out such plots of lands to tenants according to specific contracts and the cultivators may be asked to pay annual rents to the landowners through an agency of the Government According to this arrangement, it will be possible to redistribute lakhs of acres of land to the rural labourers without the need for payment of compensation

Acharya Vinoba Bhave's *Bhoodan Yajna* has been extremely helpful in creating a proper atmosphere for the enactment of suitable legislation for effecting land reforms in the country In fact the minds of the people are now fully ripe not only for a ceiling but also a 'floor' for the large farms Vinobaji is of the view that mere fixation of ceilings will not be very useful for procuring enough land for redistribution among the landless peasantry He holds that the State should now fix 'floors' for big farms For example, the State should make available, say, 5 acres of land to each family which is prepared to cultivate land through its own labour The question of a ceiling may be considered only if there is surplus land available after the redistribution of land among all the cultivating families All this meant that the country is now prepared for far-reaching land reforms and any attempt to delay such legislation will be very harmful to the cause of social and economic progress in India

(Adapted from *The A I C C Economic Review*, Oct. 15, 53)

BHOODAN YAJNA
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HARIJAN

Oct. 31 1953

SUBSTANCE OF LINGUISTIC PROVINCES DEMAND

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

The demand for the formation of linguistic provinces has recently grown increasingly insistent and may soon become an irrational clamour It is high time that we got it clear in our minds what it is exactly that we want in this matter Else there is reason for the fear that in our zeal for an otherwise admirable objective, we may lose our bearings and drift away into directions that we least expected For the forces of pride and prejudice which the controversy round this issue is fast unleashing are a growing danger to the unity of India

There are in India several major languages each of which is spoken by lakhs and crores of people It is therefore natural as also desirable that the administration including the administration of justice and education in a particular area should be carried on in the language of the area concerned This alone will enable the mass of our people to have the real taste of Swaraj and create the necessary atmosphere for their intellectual and civic development In fact Swaraj loses much of its meaning if this is not done.

This was the simple truth which came to be formulated in the shape of the demand for the refashioning of India's map on the basis of linguistic areas However the need behind the demand was as stated above And that need remains as true today when we have attained Swaraj as it was in the past That is why the people continue to cry for it

The Congress appreciated this need and organized its work on that basis from as early as 1920 21 This arrangement suited the convenience of the people and was greatly instrumental in creating and educating public opinion in favour of this idea Indeed its hold on the mind of the people soon became firmly established Not only that to some who were too intensely attached to it it almost acquired the virtue of a fetish

But the formation of provinces on a linguistic basis in the Constitution of the Congress did not mean constituting the entire area in which a particular language is spoken into one single separate State It was not based on the slogan — One language — one State ' It is very necessary today to get this fact clear in our minds For example the Congress recognized several provinces such as Bihar U P Delhi Punjab etc in the large Hindi-speaking area in the North In the same way, the Marathi-speaking area comprised Maharashtra, Vidarbha, and Central Provinces (Marathi) On the other hand, the C P which were one administrative unit comprised of these Congress provinces — Mahakoshal Vidarbha, C P (Marathi) The Bombay City constituted one separate province by itself, and there were three other Congress provinces in the Bombay Province Congress Gujarat included Kutch and Saurashtra This shows, though the Congress provinces were said to be based on language it did not mean that the entire area of a language was to be brought under one administrative unit and constituted into a separate province The essence of the principle in this regard was, as indicated above, the adoption and use of the language of the common people for all work administrative educational, judicial and otherwise

To this end in some cases, as in the then Central Provinces where it was felt necessary to demarcate an existing province linguistically, it did so But in others where the said purpose could be achieved without any formal division, it did not do so, though it followed the principle in practice The Congress did not countenance the view, which some are wrongly advocating today, that the entire area of a language should be brought within a separate administrative unit

This latter view is a distortion of the original principle and stems from the wrongly directed hopes and fancies brought about by the advent of Swaraj They represent pernicious forces which are producing conflict and rivalry and consequent bitterness among the different provinces of our nation. If only the provinces, as they exist at present would put the essence of the demand into practice, there would be no cause left for the actual separation of the provinces if the provincial limit is otherwise tenable economically administratively etc For example, there are three different languages in the Bombay Province If the administration, education and other work in each language-area were carried out in that particular language, the demand would have been met But there are difficulties in the way Some even talk of retaining English There are others who advocate the narrow-minded view that the Uttar Pradesh Hindi should be followed throughout the land The Universities and the Governments are not yet able to take a clear and definite decision regarding the language to be adopted as the medium of instruction All this creates confusion. The immediate need therefore is to restore the major languages to their rightful place in every field — in administration education and courts — within their respective areas While on the one hand this will give effect to the substance of the principle of linguistic provinces, on the other it will clarify the position regarding the redivision of the country into provincial units from

the economic geogra[illegible] relevant points of view

14-10-'53

From the original in Gu[illegible]

BHOODAN WORK IN PARDI

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

Acharya Kripalanji has replied to my article (*Harijan*, 10-10-'53) by a letter to the Editor, the contents of which are already out in the Press by now After my request to him in that article was published the Gujarat Bhoodan Committee met at Sabarmati and also requested the P S Party to help restore the peaceful atmosphere necessary for successful Bhoodan work, by calling off the movement and to use its forces for Bhoodan work The Committee in its resolution drew the attention of the people that for solving the land problem the true and proper form of Satyagraha action was only the Bhoodan way shown by Shri Vinoba, and the Committee called upon the members of the local P S Party to rejoin their hands in its work of collecting land from Pardi It is heartening to learn that the Committee is immediately sending its workers to Pardi area again where their work had to be suspended on account of the Khed-Satyagraha atmosphere Godspeed to its efforts Let us hope it succeeds in restoring amicable relations between all classes of the people in Pardi taluka and securing enough land for the landless

Acharyaji in his reply to my request touches the two points raised by me viz, that "the leaders of the Pardi Satyagraha should call it off questions of prestige should no way hamper the P S P to act in this manner" It is unfortunate that he could not see his way to getting it done by the local P S P if that was the proper authority for it

The second point was that 'the question of inquiry is such that the P S P, if it so wishes, can take it up on its own and report its conclusions both to the public and the Government' And I had added that "if it is to be undertaken at all the terms of reference for it must be clearly defined'

He has replied to both these counts in the following terms

Regarding the first he says: "You have asked me to order suspension of the Satyagraha for negotiations to be initiated You perhaps do not know the functioning of democratic parties or you would not have made the suggestion With whom are the negotiations to be conducted? The principal party is not myself but Shri Ashok Mehta and his colleagues in the local branch, under whose leadership the Satyagraha was started So far as I know Shri Mehta is in constant correspondence with Morarjibhai and as is usual with him he is constantly searching for areas of agreement Let Shri Morarjibhai do likewise and [illegible] at present [illegible] agreement and the dispute will be amicably settled. Let Shri Mehta be invited as a free man for talks and I am sure he will himself advise his co-workers and the Kisans to suspend the present Satyagraha, and help in finding a solution"

And for the latter he writes "It is really strange that you should ask the P S P to appoint its own committee of enquiry It evidently has not occurred to you that its local branch must have done this before approaching the authorities on starting Satyagraha You want the inquiry to be 'scientific and impartial' Any inquiry to be this must have on it the representatives of all the parties to the dispute Such a committee can be appointed only by the Government in consultation with the parties concerned namely representatives of the Kisans, the zamindars and some public men known for their impartiality"

I learn from papers that the P S P and the Kisan Panchayat which launched the Khed-Satyagraha have withdrawn it and a "starve-the-landlord" campaign as it is styled will take its place Under the circumstances my first suggestion does not need any further discussion I only wish the withdrawal had better been more graceful and categorical, so that the misguided Adivasis might be saved from further troubles

Regarding the other point viz the inquiry into the problem I repeat my suggestion that for a committee to be useful and effective, scientific and impartial, it need not necessarily be a Government committee Did not the Congress have, for example, the Jalianwala Bag Inquiry, the Public Debt Inquiry and many others appointed by it alone? Did not Gandhiji have his own inquiry in the Champaran which compelled the Bihar Government to take up the question? Was it not undertaken in the teeth of the opposition from Government as also the landlords?

Regarding the matter of inquiry Acharyaji further says, the local branch of the P S P 'must have done it before approaching the authorities or starting Satyagraha I beg to submit that, so far as the results of my inquiry about this go there was no such thing done and if at all there was one of a sort no formal report, so far as I know, was placed before the public. This may be done even now What is more relevant and necessary is to know the precise terms and clear objects of reference for such an inquiry I hope the P S P will demur from creating more bad blood between the landlords and the Adivasis by its new campaign of 'starving the landlord' and go into these matters of inquiry themselves and put its results before the public and the Government However, it is good so far as the overt action of breaking the law by trespass on grass lands is stopped now Let us hope the P S P workers will heed to the resolution of the Gujarat Bhoodan Samiti and begin to co-operate

[illegible] the whole [illegible] consider the cases of those, chiefly the misguided Adiwasis who had to be prosecuted for the offences persuant to the Khed-Satyagraha so that they can attend to their work awaiting them in the fields at this part of the year

26-10-53

POVERTY AND UNEMPLOYMENT

(By Prof M R Agarwal)

Leading men in the country recognize that in the present time poverty and unemployment are our biggest national problems If poverty is removed many of our problems shall vanish automatically and many others shall be considerably eased In this article we propose to give these problems a close scientific study and arrive at some obvious conclusions

An unemployed person is one who has no money to satisfy his needs and wants a job to get that money But a person who has enough money to satisfy his needs although he may be doing no work is not called unemployed The primary thing therefore, is the satisfaction of human needs and poverty is caused by non-satisfaction of these needs Money is only a medium for the satisfaction of the same

Human needs are satisfied by food clothing and shelter — by wheat, rice milk, iron lime etc Money is not used as food, clothing or as shelter but comes in the picture only as a medium to exchange goods produced by different persons

The fundamental basis of the modern industrial system is a progressive increase of material human wants and the capitalists continue to cater for them and add to their own wealth and power Man toils and works for the satisfaction of his wants but the industrial system works not for their satisfaction but for the creation of wants Thus the industrial system works against the interest of the people which is reflected in practically every sphere of our life today and is largely responsible for the growing poverty and unemployment

Anything that creates wants creates poverty and anything which removes wants removes poverty Food is necessary for the body and a person who cannot afford to buy food is a poor man But if man could live without food, the non-availability of food will no more cause poverty

We shall illustrate this very important principle by comparing the economic effects of using some of the products of the modern industrial system with some natural products

Man toils for the satisfaction of his wants but these days money is spent but wants are not satisfied but are further increased. For example [illegible] 1,000 [illegible] modern [illegible] further [illegible] old, a [illegible] age etc After some time the [illegible] coming and mounting up If he [illegible] for petrol he feels that he is very [illegible] having no car does not need money [illegible] We do not mean that a car is a [illegible] but certainly mean that it is not only [illegible] a terrible burden for a large majority [illegible] who own it

The cig[illegible] are [illegible] important product [illegible] Smoking and tea drinking [illegible] signs of respectability But [illegible] satisfy no human needs they [illegible] cause serious damage to [illegible] the people spend money on the [illegible] money to cure the diseases caused by them

Now we talk the economic effects of using two natural products say milk and honey which have been considered the basis of human prosperity from many age Milk and milk products are produced in cows and buffaloes Milk is a perfectly balanced food and man can live in perfect health on milk alone its absence in our diet is largely responsible for all the T B blindness tooth decay and other diseases that we suffer from Some benefits of milk its products and the cow are

1 These products keep the digestive organs in perfect health, the body can extract all the nourishment from the food we eat Therefore less quantity of food is needed

2 No money is spent to cure sickness and disease because the body remains in perfect health

3 The cow eats grass and oil cake and converts these to milk and ghee Cow-dung is a valuable manure and the present food shortage is the direct result of the scarcity of this manure The average yield of wheat is 12 maunds per acre these days which can be easily doubled with the help of cow dung

4 The cow gives bullocks that plough the land draw water from the wells and carry loads

5 The cow has to be bought only once and this gives birth to more cows Compared to this a car has to be bought every four or five years, otherwise the repair bills go very high

6 When the animal dies the hide is used to make shoes and the bones give valuable manure

Honey is nature's most perfect sweet and Indians have regarded it as nectar from many ages Its food value and benefits to health are well known throughout the world

The bees that produce honey serve another valuable purpose — they act as pollinators or carrying agents of fertilizing elements from one flower to another It is a scientific fact that bees

pollinates 9[illegible] [illegible] form and fruit c[illegible] [illegible] the world [illegible] unfortunate that [illegible] agricultural [illegible] India should have [illegible] alarming st[illegible] [illegible] honey bees

Canada [illegible] 16 million pounds of honey per year [illegible] India crores of rupees worth of honey [illegible] up in sun and wind because there [illegible] bee keepers to collect the [illegible] and millions [illegible] bee colonies are destroyed by unscientific methods of collection Bee-keeping figures in the class of preferential industries in foreign lands not because of honey and bee wax alone although both are important but because of the indispensable service performed by bees in pollinating the greatly increased production The benefits from bee-keeping to agricultural and fruit industries are at least 15 times those accruing in the shape of honey It is simple arithmetic that more than half the harvest on the Indian fields is lost to us because there are no bees to pollinate the flowers

The above shows that milk, milk products honey, the cow and the honey-bees satisfy a very large number of our basic needs and these fight poverty on many fronts We are becoming poor day by day because we have discarded these vital agents that bring prosperity, and have begun using the products of the modern industrial system that create poverty

Banaras Hindu University,
25 9-'53

PROHIBITION IN U. S. A.

There was a rising tide of public sentiment against everything connected with the liquor traffic in many lands that he had visited and this was also true in his own country, America stated Mr A. V Olson, Vice-President of the International Temperance Association, broadcasting from the Bombay station of All India Radio on August 23 Despite blatant pronouncements of failure over the programme of Prohibition in the United States a few years ago he said liquor interests of America had now realized that the tide was turning against them

"Dry Forces" Take the Initiative

Mr Olson said An indication of this can be seen in the number of bills being introduced in the Legislative Assemblies of the United States During the past year, approximately 1 654 bills were introduced, calling for restrictions, controls and bans on the sale, serving and consumption of alcoholic beverages The dry forces of the country were taking the initiative and putting the liquor interests on the defensive- Reports from various State capitals disclose that bills have been introduced in three State Legislatures calling for State-wide Prohibition. These States are Georgia Idaho and North Carolina. In fact Governor Umstead of North Carolina, in his inaugural message recommended a State-wide referendum as whether or not alcoholic beverages should be allowed or permitted to be sold in Northern Carolina.

No Liquor Advertisements

From one large city in the southern part of America comes word that there is a steady increase in the number of newspapers and magazines that refuse to accept liquor advertising The liquor interests are keenly aware of this fact '

India's Noble Stand

The Temperance Movement leader said that the people of India were more temperance-conscious than the people [illegible] [illegible] officials and [illegible] to be compli [illegible] in favour [illegible] [illegible] note that the [illegible] introduction of [illegible] with its deep religious [illegible] sophical background and [illegible] ok, may yet set the pace [illegible] banning of all alcoholic beverages is [illegible]

All the [illegible] countries Mr Olson said [illegible] alcohol beverage [illegible] boon as a curse and a [illegible] evil will [illegible] Westerners Outstanding Moslems in general [illegible] than had recently declared national P[illegible] ling of Saudi Arabia [illegible] banned alcoholic [illegible] from his land

U S Prohibition Not a Failure

A very common [illegible] Mr Olson said that I hear as I travel about from [illegible] country is that Prohibition was a failure [illegible] admit this to be the truth [illegible] a few facts that will speak for themselves These facts as they relate to the Prohibition programme in America have a message for the public in India today

False Argument

If wet advocates in this country think that they will solve the problem of bootlegging and the sale of illicit liquor by repealing Prohibition they will have a sad awakening if and when Prohibition should ever be voted out. We have discovered this fact in the United States During our own Prohibition days, we were assured by the repealists that all of the ills besetting our fair land would vanish if only Prohibition were repealed. All of the crime and lawlessness attached to bootlegging and sale of illicit liquor would be put to an end

Increased Illicit Distillation

Prohibition had gone but bad bootleggers and the sale of illicit liquor disappeared in America Mr Olson asked, and added "Some experts have estimated that for every legal distillery in America today there are a hundred illicit stills and that these bootlegging places are turning out illicit liquor at the rate of 18,000,000 gallons per year What is more instead of eliminating bootleggers these enemies of respectable society are being arrested at the rate of about a thousand a month

If you want to get rid of bootleggers and illicit liquor, repealing Prohibition is not the way to do it. The United States has learned from experience that such a step only causes bootlegging to flourish

My country is learning — or should have learned — some other very valuable lessons regarding the use of alcoholic beverages Among these is the fact that alcohol is a waster of human and material resources.

In 1951 the people of the United States spent $ 8 150 000 000 for alcoholic beverages. This was more than $ 1 000 000 an hour for every hour of the year '

Concluding Mr Olson said that he had presented a few facts and figures from the United States and her dealings with the liquor problem in order to hearten the people of India in their fight against alcoholic beverages "You are carrying forward he said "almost commendable struggle Right is on your side In the end you are sure to win "

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THE MIDDLE CLASS

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

[illegible] correspondent from Nagpur writes

[illegible] permit me to congratulate you on your [illegible] entitled Saving and Social Security (Vide Harijan 29-8-53) It [illegible] since it is thought-provoking

At the same time one is constrained to remark [illegible] the premises mentioned by you about the condi[illegible] of the middle classes at the role which that class [illegible] in national economy do not hold good today As a [illegible] of fact the enormous rise in the cost of living [illegible] forced their savings and brought this class [illegible] of starvation Under the impact of economic [illegible] the old family system is fast disintegrating and [illegible] difficult to find today a middle class family which [illegible] its budget in the face of increasing numbers [illegible] bring returns

[illegible] is another aspect of the social phenomenon [illegible] the middle class not only in India [illegible] and other countries. With the march of [illegible] mechanization and gradual replacement of man [illegible] the avenues of employment for this class [illegible] every day Very little middle class will [illegible] next 10 years for India has decided to [illegible] with other nations in the direction of [illegible]

[illegible] view the root cause of the trouble with [illegible] middle classes is that they fail to recognise that [illegible] really belong to the lower social strata Their [illegible] tastes and mode of living are those of the richer [illegible] while their incomes are those of the working [illegible] level many times even lower The proletariat [illegible] take to begging as a profession but middle [illegible] people can't do even that The result is moral [illegible] and many times suicide The sooner this [illegible] wholly merges itself with the proletariat class [illegible] for all.

[illegible] is perhaps true as the correspondent says, that the middle class is hard hit by higher prices and consequent general rise in the cost of living at present. But the rise affects all, including the poor working classes What might make it peculiarly hard for the middle classes is that, comparatively to the working classes, the former classes do not generally have all adult members of the family working in a gainful way, only one or two persons of a middle class family work, the remaining depending on them

And as the correspondent says, these classes live, or love to live in the manner of the upper ones This is another difficulty for them

The remedy for both lies essentially with those classes themselves Shri Rajaji a few months back had solemnly advised this class that it should take to homecrafts It is also necessary that it should adopt simplicity of life Thrift also is one of our great middle class virtues, which is unhappily fading away from our urbanized economy And I would add not only simplicity but some hearable austerity also should be the order of the day specially for the middle class. Do we not spend away good money, in these hard days after wasteful social snobbery and idle luxury in imitation of the leisured upper classes? I am told cinema, cosmetics, fashions in dress etc make disastrous claims on the hard earnings of the middle classes. Why should it be so? And who but themselves stand to be blamed then?

The correspondent at the end wishes it seems almost in despair, that the middle classes should merge in the proletariat classes My suggestion of thrift, austerity and simplicity in life added by home industries is the answer to this wish of his It is not possible to abolish the class as such, because it is a part and a necessary part of the social order as it obtains at present What is wrong is that today this class has its face towards the upper rich class and its back at the poor toiling masses This brings in, as I remarked above avoidable misery to it While it imitates and flatters the former it kicks and ignores the latter This brings about almost a class-war psychology among us today There is another thing also such a mood drives away all the revolutionary fervour from the class In the days before 1947 this class looked to the good of the poor and had its back towards the rich They have made a right turn at present and the country has lost in bargain the fervour that made it possible for us as a nation to do the great venture of achieving freedom The loss costs us heavily at present We cannot move as speedily as before in our march to true Swaraj or Rama Raj This is a national calamity greater than anything else after independence

I call upon the correspondent and therethrough all who think for the middle classes to ponder over the few remarks I have noted above

13-10-'53

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Prohibition and the Congress

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
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ENGLISH TEACHING IN BOMBAY STATE

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

The Bombay Legislative Assembly in its last Poona Session passed an epoch-making resolution after long deliberations both in the Congress Legislature Party and outside in the Press as also the teaching world. As I said some months ago:

> The question of the place of English in secondary education is not new for the State as its Government has by now already had its own policy decided on the matter. It has laid down that the study of English shall formally begin from the eighth year of a child's schooling and not earlier. In all will begin at the truly secondary stage, the first seven years being entirely meant for the primary or basic stage. This bold policy of reorganisation of secondary education in the State was revised last year to allow that the study of English in schools might be earlier by one year only, i.e. at the seventh year and that on a purely voluntary basis. Now it is abundantly clear that this step on the part of the Government was a tactical mistake if not worse and was a bad sort of appeasement of vested interests who were planning to pick a hole if they could, in the truly national principle and policy enjoined above. In the wake of that appeasement, the reaction in favour of going back upon that policy is gathering ground in some places and it seems they have succeeded in putting up their move on the official map of reorganisation suggested in the D.E.'s circular. For it suggests whether English might be further allowed to be begun from standard sixth if not earlier as before from standard fifth. That this is very bad from various points of view has been discussed in these columns in various connections. It is enough to note here that this suggestion is wholly reactionary and must be negatived by all who care to see that a new system of national education in India is born and brought about on a firm democratic basis and in the true interests of our people as a whole and not in the vested interests of a few classes as it is today. (*Harijan*, 20-12-52)

The move of reintroducing English in standards 5, 6, 7 therefore was really speaking a challenge both to the Government as also to all those who, for a few years last, were striving to see that teaching of English was shown its due and proper place, and was not allowed to continue to encroach, as it did under the British rule in India, upon other legitimate studies in our future national system of education. Shri L. M. Patel, M.L.A., Bombay, who moved the resolution in the Legislative Assembly deserves congratulations for meeting this challenge in a very successful way. The resolution that he moved and was passed by the overwhelming vote of the Assembly is as follows:

> In view of the acceptance of Basic Education as the pattern for the education of children of the age group 6-14 in recent years this Assembly recommends to Government not to reintroduce the study of English language in the 5th and 6th standards and to discontinue forthwith the study of English as optional language for the 7th standard in the Primary Schools (as well as Secondary Schools) in the State."

The resolution is also a proper reply to the reactionary suggestion of the Report of the Mudaliar Commission, that English should be introduced earlier and the basic stage of 6 to 14 years should be split up as before into upper and lower stages. It is good to learn that the Chief Minister of Bombay said in the Assembly that his Government would accept and implement this resolution in its educational policy. Let us hope it is done from the next year, i.e. June 1954 and necessary instructions are issued to schools betimes. We hope this bold lead that is given to the whole of the country will be accepted all over India and the first 8 years of a child's schooling all over India will be free from the incubus of too early English teaching.

23-10-'53

LIMITATIONS OF WORKING AN ALL-PARTY PROGRAMME

(By K. G. Mashruwala)

[While casually going through the last year's volume of the *Harijan*, I came across the following note: Socialist Support to Bhoodan by late Shri K. G. M. which bears reproduction at present in connection with the situation consequent upon the Gujarat P.S.P. Party's agrarian agitation in Parli. The note of Shri K. G. M. which is being reproduced below clearly notes the danger inherent in various political parties working together on a common programme and the requisite conditions or limitations for such an experiment to be made successful.

J.N. 53 M. P.]

In the course of a long resolution captioned "Redistribution of land", the Socialist Convention, which met at Panchmarhi (M.P.) last week says:

> 14. The Convention notes with joy the noble effort of Acharya Vinoba Bhave to draw the attention of the nation to the urgency and justice of this problem by his unique method of Bhoodan. The Socialist Party further welcomes the move of the Sarvodaya Samaj in this direction and reciprocates its invitation for co-operation.

I welcome the Socialist appreciation of the Bhoodan movement and their desire to co-operate. I hope they will work for it with the same

[illegible] point a [illegible] aspects of the [illegible] orkers [illegible] is no room in it for any class war [illegible] propaganda [illegible] slogans of that nature even as there is no [illegible] om in it for the spirit of giving or [illegible] ging alms It is a preliminary step towards the reunion of something like families separated [illegible] estate food and worship While doing this [illegible] k the e should not also be indulgence in poli [illegible] ical propaganda in favour of Socialism or against [illegible] and other political parties If we are [illegible] in our service to the poor let us realize [illegible] political labels are even worse than com [illegible] nal regional or linguistic labels

Wardha 29 5 52

Harijan 7-6-'52

ALUMINIUM ITS INDUSTRY AND USE

(*By Maganbhai P Desai*)

A Calcutta firm manufacturing Aluminium wares sent me a letter in protest to an article entitled Aluminium — A Menace to Health" (*Harijan* August 22 1953), as also an article "Is Aluminium Harmful to Health? No Definitely No" for publication in *Harijan* The article reproduced long extracts of medical opinion in support of the use of Aluminium utensils

Another correspondent has also written a letter to me He too sent a copy of an article which he says he had written some twenty years ago when he was connected with a concern manufacturing aluminium vessels He writes to me in his letter that the question of use of aluminium utensils on grounds of health is a highly controversial issue and asks why the *Harijan* papers should have taken up such a question His article voices the protest as that of the Calcutta firm

I do not think it necessary to publish these letters in the columns of *Harijan* Shri Krishna Murthy Mr Mira in his article in *Harijan* (22 8-'53), has quoted medical opinion and tried to show that the use of Aluminium utensils is harmful As is usual in such matters, here also the medical opinion seems to be keenly divided This is unfortunate, as it confuses the mind of the layman. He does not know whether or not he should use these utensils Recently we saw a similar thing on the question of Vanaspati or artificial ghee We also know that persons having interest at stake in such matters try to distort the truth and raise a false agitation In such circumstances how should the layman behave? Naturally, he will not take risk and it will be wise for him to prefer to take another course if there is any and might be helpful to him

But there is another important and conclusive point involved in this question As Shri Krishna Murthy Mr Mira said in his article, the Aluminium industry has ruined the potter's industry in villages and made him unemployed Both the correspondents are almost silent on this invasion on villages by industrialization. As Aluminium [illegible] other uses why should it be used [illegible] lly in manufacturing utensils Such [illegible] social good that is aimed that way

From the view-point of the promotion of village industries I can say that Aluminium should better not be used in manufacturing utensils If this could be stopped it will certainly help the national economy It will also cast a favourable influence on the indigenous industry of the coppersmiths

(Translated from the original in Gujarati)

THE EXECUTIVE *vs* THE JUDICIARY

(*By Maganbhai P Desai*)

An interesting case was decided by an Allahabad judge the other day It appears that two students of the Allahabad University submitted applications in a local munsif court praying for interim injunctions that the authorities of the Students Union and of the University be restrained from holding elections of some of the office-bearers of the Union or the University

It was submitted against the applications that the subject-matter of the suits concerned the internal affairs of the University Union which was an integral part of the Allahabad University a statutory and autonomous body, and as such there should not be any interference by the Court

The learned judge upheld this objection and decided that the University was an autonomous body and as such the Court should not interfere in its affairs without sufficient grounds, that the defendants were persons holding responsible positions who could reasonably be expected to have as much interest in the welfare of the students that there was no irreparable injury going to be caused to the plaintiff (*The Leader* 7-10 '53)

The decision meets a fundamental issue, viz, whether the interference by Courts in the affairs of a statutory executive body through an interim injunction of the kind to be seen in the above case is proper and legitimate It is said that in a democracy there should be no interference by the executive in the affairs of the judiciary Even the legislatures respect this and withhold their discussion in matters of which the courts might be seized at the moment This is a healthy convention Does not a similar obligation arise on the part of the judiciary that they in their discretion refrain from interfering through interim injunction, with the legitimate performance of statutory duty by the executive? Not being a vakil, I only express here as layman's question A vakil friend tells me that there is a statutory provision requiring courts not to meddle in the executive affairs of the State in this manner That is for lawyers and jurists to go into The layman's point of view is that the executive also is working under a due process of law laid down by the State The courts are competent, in their normal course, to adjudge if they are so called upon to

[illegible] whether it has been duly observed or [illegible] executive. However to interfere in [illegible] of the State with interim injunc[illegible] matter and it is a question whe[illegible] though they might be formally [illegible] to issue even *ex parte* or unilateral [illegible] in such applications, should exercise that [illegible] against statutory executive authorities [illegible] tioning to perform their legitimate duties. The learned judge in the Allahabad case has wisely ruled that generally there should not be such interference. It is up to the judiciary to institute healthy conventions on this matter and refrain itself from interfering with the executive as it is held true *vice versa* for the executive.

12-10-'53

RIFLE CLUBS

(By Mankumar Sen)

Lately Rifle Clubs are coming into being in different parts of the country. I am not well informed of other regions, but in my State of West Bengal this fashionable game of arms is gaining ground,—and for obvious reasons under the patronage of high Government officials.

What after all is expected to be achieved by these clubs? Formerly, clubs were formed district-wise; of late, sub-divisional clubs also are raising their heads. This shows, either the Government representatives, under whose patronage these are prompted and run, or the influential individuals who are the 'inspiration' at the source must have found this game gainful. We on our part do not only not find any use in such private training in arms but also notice therein a tendency which is definitely harmful and wasteful in ways more than one.

We are said to be wedded to the doctrine of non-violence; at least it is agreed by our national leaders that they do want peace to prevail and to this end pure and effective means alone is what they employ or seek to employ. One may at once denounce it by pointing out their finger to the large defence forces, police and constabulary of India; but if our President Prasad's feelings indicate anything they distinctly reveal the helplessness of the Government in this sphere amidst tremendous national and international troubles; more clearly, the army, navy and air force etc. are being maintained as a necessary evil. But is there any necessity, whatsoever, in the upbringing of a rifle-mindedness amongst our young boys and girls? I don't see any. This is playing with a fashionable menace, and that too with very little practical utility.

Generally, the members of such clubs are drawn from the 'high' families, i.e. the families of high officials or influential and/or moneyed persons. To my knowledge no general education conducive to the widening of the trainees' outlook, to the deepening of their patriotism is imparted by the clubs. And secondly, it is only rarely that the larger number of these trained men and women actually find any scope for using arms. Why then this deplorable sport with the machine of death?

If it is argued that such a trained personnel is usable for home defence, it may be respectfully replied that this is an impracticable and unfounded proposition to cover up a sinister design. Even if the Government had the desire, they have not the power to arm the people at large for self-defence. Again, there is the basic truth that such an arming venture, even if practicable, is bound to create complexities and to beget violence of which it is a symbol, and to increase interneche factitious quarrels.

With my close association with a number of schools I know the agony and dissatisfaction of the students for acute want of sports goods. India has to her credit many games which, while conveying the genius of the nation, fully cover the aspect of physical and mental development which is the ultimate objective of sports and games. Besides, Western fashion with its 'crusading' spirit has not failed to infiltrate in the field of Indian sports too. There is, therefore, actually a decline in home games and men with means are taking more and more interest in 'aristocratic' and superficial games. The rifle club-mentality is no doubt born of this fashionable outlook. This neither holds our prestige, nor furthers the cause of our sports and its indigenous variety. The defence of the country in war and peace alike depends not on the arming of a fashionable few but on the physical fitness and mental alertness of the whole body of our youngsters.

[I reciprocate the sentiments expressed by the writer above. On one occasion when I learnt that the President of the Gandhi Memorial Trust was a president patron or so of the All-India Rifle Association, I had remarked that it would not be proper for one associating his name with the Gandhi Memorial presidentship to lend the prestige of his position and name to such an institution and its ride-idea. If at all, a Charkha Club might well deserve that honour. Ultimately it is in such ways that ideas and institutions get prestige and privilege of official patronage and become fashionable and activized. Therefore it becomes a matter far almost an ethical decision for persons in high places where to lend their weight of public prestige and position. This is true for Governors, ministers and others who generally would catch the public eye. If we wish to change the order given to us by our ex-rulers, it is such things also that require to be scrupulously gone into. It must be noted that things like the rifle club create or feed in us a superiority complex and a close mentality as also is a costly luxury.

13-10-53 M. P.]

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HARIJAN

Nov. 7 1953

PROHIBITION AND THE CONGRESS

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

The following is reproduced from *The Hindu*, October 7, 1953

"Coregaum Oct. 6 The Mysore Pradesh Congress Committee concluded its deliberations last night. The important question whether prohibition had proved a success in the Kolar Gold Fields area or not was discussed, when the P C C considered two resolutions, one tabled by Mr Harnahalli Ramaswami, urging that total prohibition should be introduced in the State and the other by Mr M. C. Perumal that prohibition should be scrapped in the Kolar Gold Fields.

Mr M. C Perumal, Vice-Chairman of the Reception Committee and President, Kolar Gold Fields Taluka Congress Committee, observed that illicit distillation was a cottage industry in the area and people did not co-operate in making prohibition a success While the adjacent district of Bangalore had 'dry' it was easy for people from the Kolar district to get their liquor requirements from that area.

Mr Harnahalli Ramaswami pleaded for effective enforcement of prohibition and extending it to the other districts in the State (At present prohibition is in force in 6 out of the 10 districts in the State including the Bellary district)

Mr R Channangiramiah a former minister said that prohibition had resulted in good in several families In its actual working some defects had been however noticed Prohibition was a blessing to Harijans and to other addicts He hoped the Government would take effective measures to make prohibition a success

After some more members had spoken, Mr Kadidal Manjappa, Minister for Revenue speaking on the resolution said that much could be said on both sides Whether the scheme of prohibition was a success or not was a controversial matter People wanted extension of prohibition to the remaining districts also The scheme of prohibition could succeed only if the public enthusiastically co-operated with the Government in its implementation The Minister added, that he would consider the suggestion made for the constitution of a committee to review the working of the prohibition scheme in the State

In the light of the remarks made by the Revenue Minister the two resolutions were with the leave of the House withdrawn."

The above report in a short compass, well illustrates how both Congressmen as well as their ministers in charge of Governments at present work and think vis-a vis their duty and plighted word to the people regarding prohibition It vividly brings out the following chief points

1 There are still some people in the Congress who have a confused mind over the implementation of prohibition in the country How otherwise could a minister of State say that he had still to set up an inquiry to review the working of the prohibition scheme in the State? What will the inquiry reveal at best? It would tell him if he did not know it himself, how he failed to make prohibition a success, or it might say that the scheme had failed and should be scrapp[illegible] so irresponsi[illegible] inquiry necessary the [illegible]

2 [illegible] with prohibition by instalments of [illegible] extension [illegible] is bad policy [illegible] that the minister did not note that po[illegible] made by an ex minister nor does [illegible] the defects in actual working that some [illegible]kers told him But he seems to be careful to say that the success of prohibition was a controversial matter He does not even care to note further that he was bound under the Constitution to make it a success

3 I do not know whether in Mysore prohibition is in charge of a separate minister It is significant that the minister for revenue replied to the debate Is it a vivid indication that the question of prohibition is only a revenue matter in the eyes of the Mysore Government? It is so in all parts where it is not still introduced It is so in the eyes of the Central Government and its planners The worst part of it is that they do not even care to see that this is blatant violation of the Constitution of India and the most serious and alarming thing is that the Centre is a direct party to the disgraceful state of affairs Otherwise no State dare disregard the Constitution with impunity as seems to be almost the order of the day from the Centre

4 The Congress, which can be depended upon to see that prohibition is made a success in the whole of the country has proved to be a broken reed at the very hour of its trial If matters do not improve and the nation succumbs to this tragic evasion of responsibility by powers that be, I am sure the A I C C, its Working Committee and its President will be named by history as really responsible for it Can these bodies show to their score of resolution-making in the last post-independence years any resolution saying that prohibition should be expedited? Do Congressmen realize what a serious lapse from duty it shows? Why should not the open session of the Congress, when it meets next impeach its office-bearers for this? It is admitted on all hands that prohibition benefits the poor mass of our people Why then this unholy and almost debasing craving for the poor man's hard-earned money by tempting him to drink from a Government drink shop? For feeding or financing some fads of reconstruction as a Central minister of State spoke out at an unguarded moment at Rajkot the other day?

Thank God there are a good number of people all over the land who still remember the old promise and are not led away by the lure of tainted drink money They must mobilize and begin to assert themselves in the counsels of the Congress The rot that has set in that body on this score of a very necessary and urgent popular reform must be stopped and those who are responsible for it should be pulled up The fundamental error that has been allowed to creep in our public affairs is that consideration about

prohibition is tolerated as a matter of revenue Shri Jawaharlalji who has today the double and joint responsibility of heading the Congress as well as the Government of India, should, sooner than later, tell all Governments forthright that prohibition is not a revenue consideration, but is a reform to achieve which we have pledged ourselves as a nation and it must be done within a specific period On the people must frankly tell the Government and make it realize its duty If necessary, i e, if the Congress fails the people, the people should set up an all-India Prohibition League for this specific work to draw the attention of our Governments to this their urgent task Let us at least succeed in achieving one thing out of the many that we told ourselves to do when Swaraj came to us Prohibition is the easiest and the surest provided there is the will to do it. Let us mean business now

30-10-'53

REVOLUTION THROUGH SAMYA-YOGA *

(By Vinoba)

This being a cultural and an educational centre, I propose to speak to you about the basic idea behind the Bhoodan Yajna We call this idea Samya-yoga It consists in accepting the belief that the Spirit is immanent equally in all beings It is on the foundation of this principle that we want to build up the Sarvodaya society, that is a society which provides for full and free development of one and all The Sarvodaya society aims and works for the wellbeing not merely of the majority but of all

You perhaps know that there are three main ideologies prevailing in the world at present. The oldest of them is Capitalism It claims to promote efficiency in society Then there is Democratic Socialism The third is Communism Communism professes to arrange for an equal distribution of all necessaries of life to all

Capitalism

Let us first take Capitalism Capitalism advocates efficiency It says that some are less efficient than others they should therefore get less while some are more efficient and should therefore get more It seeks to promote efficiency in society by remunerating each for his labour according to his work and capacity It has raised the standard of life of a tiny minority to a very high level. But at the same time it has also pulled down that of a vast majority into abysmal poverty Capitalism has no remedy for this evil. Indeed it declares quite frankly that for those who are unfit there is no alternative except that they remain so It is inevitable, it adds, that those who are able should take precedence over others in enjoying all the amenities of life in this world

This is the root cause behind much of the misery of the present day world and that is why Capitalism has very few supporters today And though it still goes on in varying forms, it is doomed to die sooner or later

* From his speech at the Mandar Vidyapith in Bhagalpur Bihar

Democratic Socialism

Democracy functions through the people exercising their right of vote. This results in the rule of the majority which helps and protects the majority but not the minority Democratic Socialism makes the claim that it safeguards the interests not only of the majority but of all. But experience shows that it has no remedy for many of the ills which democracy leads to So long as the interests of the minority are sought to be protected through the will of the majority, it is not possible to achieve full Socialism.

Communism

Communism declares that equality can never be achieved unless the present upper class is totally abolished Class war and the extermination of those who hold power offer the only way to this cherished goal This much violence is inevitable and even obligatory for us.

It is obvious that such an outlook can never make for peace, because violence does produce counter-violence Not only that it also results in the depreciation of human virtues which are ultimately the only real foundation for any progress worth the name.

Samya-yoga

Samya yoga on the other hand, holds that there indwells in every man the same Spirit It therefore makes no distinction between man and man It even goes further and recognizes no ultimate difference in the spirit of man and other animals

This is the difference between Communism and Samya-yoga Communism does not accept the oneness of the Spirit in all beings Samya-yoga does and seeks to reform and rebuild the entire life of society on its foundation with revolutionary results in every field, ethical social, economic and political

People have up to the present, regarded themselves as owners of the wealth they might have. This has produced clash of interests between different groups We want to replace this idea of the private ownership of wealth by that of the trusteeship of wealth in the interest of the society. Acceptance of the trusteeship ideal will transform our entire thinking in regard to wealth and the relationship between the individual and the society All that we have is for the service of the society and not for serving our narrow selfish ends Indeed, if we would but think of it a little deeply real self-interest lies in sacrificing it at the feet of the society This moral upliftment of the people which Samya-yoga brings about, is its distinctive feature

Let us now see how the application of Samya-yoga revolutionizes our economic life According to Samya-yoga every man, who works for the society to the best of his ability, has a right to livelihood A blind man for example, has as much right to it as any other, if he exerts himself fully within his limits His quantity of work may be less than that of others who have eyes to see but that is no reason why he should get less

food to eat Food and other physical needs material things while service is a moral value which cannot be assessed in terms of material things What the son gives to his mother, the pupil to his teacher, and the Kisan to the society cannot be measured in money

Therefore all work which is an act of service to society must carry equal value The prevailing practice is just the reverse of it Intellectual work is regarded as superior to physical labour and paid more than the latter This distinction between intellectual and physical labour is entirely baseless Since Samya-yoga takes its stand upon the equality of the Spirit it cannot accept any difference of value in the different forms of social work which are all equally necessary and equally useful for social welfare There will be difference in the degree and the kind of service based on the differences between individuals and their capacities, but each individual will have to be equally cared for The different fingers differ in usefulness but they are all equally useful in that one cannot replace another In the same way there will be differences of kind in the service which individuals in society render to the whole but there can be no difference in their economic values

Every one must get full opportunity for development The students will acquire training and knowledge according to their receptive capacity But we cannot allow the present state of affairs which provides for the education of the son of a rich man but not for the son of a poor man If we do not reward every form of service equally, then we not only deny scope for development to many but also misdirect their energies in so far as they are attracted because of the lure of money towards things for which they may not have the requisite propensity or capacity Equal reward for all labour will check this tendency

The implementation of this view in the economic sphere will help the building up of self-sufficiency in the villages. They will produce all their primary needs such as, food and cloth, milk and ghee locally God has made everyone of us self-sufficient, that is the beauty of His plan Everyone has some intelligence and capacity for work That is why everyone can work for his self-development We want the same kind of decentralization in the economic sphere Unless there is economic equality domination and slavery and consequent distinctions of high and low are bound to continue

Samya-yoga will produce equally revolutionary changes in the political sphere too We want an order of society which will be free not only from exploitation but also from every form of governmental authority The power of government will be decentralized and distributed among the villages Every village will be a State in itself the Centre will have only nominal authority over them In this way gradually we will reach a stage when authority in every form will have become unnecessary and will therefore fade away giving rise to a perfectly free society

In the social sphere also there will be no caste or any other variety of invidious distinctions He who has the qualities of a Brahmana may be entrusted with work suited to his capacity but that will not give him a superior status In the same way sweepers, scavengers and cobblers also cannot be regarded as inferior to others, because they render to society a service which is not less valuable than that of the Brahmana

Thus Samya-yoga will transform the entire life of society in every field This is what we call revolution It is wrong to associate revolution with violence as some people seem to do today Revolution can be brought about only through a change of values We claim that Samya-yoga brings about this change of values because it takes its stand upon a spiritual view of things

The Bhoodan programme is as they say only the thin end of the wedge of all that we want to do We want to make people free from all attachment to wealth and material things The Bhoodan campaign is merely the beginning of this long and comprehensive plan Our ultimate aim is to make land entirely free There should be not only no individual ownership, but also no national ownership over land We do not belong to this or that nation but to the world Air, water light and land are direct gifts of God and must belong to the entire humanity

(From Hindi)

Do Machines Make Jobs ?

Q Don't machines throw men out of work in America ?

A No on the contrary machines have created thousands of new jobs in both new and old industries.

This theory of machines making more jobs is evidently absurd For machines are made to employ less hands and earn thereby more profits If in spite of this, a large number of persons are employed in U S A, it is due to other reasons, such as machine making industries vast raw material production required for machine making and manufacture by machines and a hoard of people employed to buy and sell the machines and goods besides a vast number of hands employed in parasitism such as banking insurance and advertising, all which add to the cost of the final products and require charging a high price Finally those who are employed cannot buy up all the goods and they have to be dumped abroad No country can earn all charges put upon the cost of productions — even with hand, with machines the selling problem becomes day by day more difficult to solve, — whether conducted by Bolshevik State capitalist or by private capitalists Only wasteful work which employs lots of people makes selling a little easier but cannot absorb all the goods for the cost of wasteful work is added to the cost of production

It is all chaos and lottery for which no plan or calculation is possible

If foreign markets cannot buy all industrial countries will have chaos

M P T ACHARYA

AGRICULTURE FOR NEED

[illegible] many years now *Freedom* has [illegible] to the disasters which derive from [illegible] food production tied to market economy. Anarchists have urged in this country at all events that it is in every way desirable that [illegible] population should raise its own food as locally [illegible] possible.

Several months ago we reviewed H. J. Massingham and Edward Hyam's striking book *Prophecy of Famine* in these columns. It is with some surprise, but much gratification that we see many of our cherished beliefs sedulously propagated over the years in a seeming wilderness appearing in so respected and widely read a publication as the *Listener* (3-9-53) as though they were the most natural and sensible in the world.

> The authors of *Prophecy of Famine* demand that we do no less and explain first that a start is urgent and secondly how it can be done—chiefly by the reclaiming of waste and marginal land, a very much more careful use of the soil to avoid its exhaustion, and the return of the peasant. The authors contend that Britain can be self-supporting or very nearly so provided that agricultural policy is one of mixed farming of small farms and that every available acre of usable land is properly used. This may be just possible though, as the authors are well aware, such a revolution in our way of living would involve a complete change in our existing patterns of thought, something much more than mere physical change-over would be demanded. Co-operation with the land must be the aim not that concept of an industrialized mechanistic civilization—the conquest of nature. The authors point out that this means considering always not what is economically efficient but what is socially efficient. Economic "efficiency" in farming created the great dustbowls of the U. S. A. The excuse that a certain type of farming is economically inefficient that "we can't afford it" is invalid when it is a question of seeing that the nation has enough to eat. The plain fact is that as other countries become more industrialized they require less of our manufactured goods and more of the food they once exported to us. For Britain it may be presently not "export or die" but what is exportable and where."

Particularly interesting here is the recognition that the American dustbowls are directly due to the idea of producing as cheaply as possible in order successfully to capture the world market in grain.

That such ideas are beginning to be current in intellectual circles is encouraging. But politicians are still far behind as the Socialist dream of nationalizing agriculture under large "economic" farming units shows. Nor are property owners, business men, chemical firms likely to take too kindly to the humanly right attitude towards agriculture. Its achievement is likely to remain a revolutionary task.

(Reproduced from *Freedom*, September 19, 1953)

[The achievement of this revolutionary task is the real aim of Shri Vinoba's Bhoodan movement. It calls for a radical change in the orthodox economic values which our English educated classes that dominate the Indian picture today hold true in imitation of their Western *gurus*. But we have now the queer spectacle of seeing that while the [illegible] begin [illegible] and in [illegible] undepen[illegible] aims to [illegible] industrial [illegible] village economy.

M. P.]

A SELF-SUFFICIENT AND SELF-GOVERNING SOCIAL ORDER

(*By Wilfred Wellock*)

[illegible] the *Harijan* knew Shri Wilfred Wellock [illegible] through his *Orchard Lee Papers*. In his [illegible] Creative Society he discusses modern [illegible] industrial and social order and gives his vision [illegible] which shall be self-sufficient and self [illegible] free and spiritually alive enough [illegible] society.

[illegible] country we have the problem of solving how [illegible] our villages and rebuild their small [illegible] industrial economy and on those foundations [illegible] ideal of happy village republics living [illegible] happiness and contentment, as free [illegible] communities. In a way therefore [illegible] as the urbanized West has [illegible] Industrial Revolution and then go [illegible] urbanized self-sufficient and self-governing [illegible] agro-industrial communities. But we have the question of having faith in the new ideal and not be hurtling the West in Industrialism. There are all [illegible] that lie in the present order of [illegible] pursue the Western way of an economic [illegible] and not caring to see that it has created [illegible] problems for the Western world than has really solved.

The following coming as it is from a Western observer should provoke us to seriously question the belief in industrialism and turn to a new order that the Father of the Nation called us all to strive for and establish as a [illegible] experiment in the present warring and unhappy world.

"9-10-53 —M. P.]

Today a civilization burdened with permanent war from which it can find no way of escape, with colossal military expenditures which increase its destructive power but destroy its vision with ideological conflicts which its growing materialism cannot resolve, and with a mechanistic way of life that is gnawing the moral fibre of the people and transforming them into inert totalitarian masses cries aloud for deliverance.

This civilization born of the Industrial Revolution, is nearing its end; its enthusiasms and impulses are weakening, and as it wilts, despair grows for there is no obvious alternative to it. Until recently no one dreamed that the new prosperity could require an alternative. It is now only too evident that events have moved too fast for reflection and rational action. Before a sane judgment could be passed on one invention another had captured the public imagination and outplaced the prophets, whose warnings thus fell on deaf ears. In consequence, the Western colossus of a misguided science is heading for destruction.

The Industrial Revolution is often described as a great creative era, but it is true in a very limited sense only. Throughout its history, and never more so than today, the creative functions

ol the Industrial Revolution have been performed by small groups of experts and technicians, the back room boys' etc, while the great body of workers have been condemned to varying degrees of repetitive labour The farther the 'division of labour principle was carried the more completely repetitive became the labour of the masses This is the antithesis of the creative society

A second qualification of that claim arises from the fact that the primary aim of its creative achievements was maximum saleability and profitability of what was produced and thus the capture of markets In other words, the making of money and the creation of social and political power had precedence over all such spiritual aims as the making of a beautiful world, or country, a cultured sensitive humanity and a satisfying life

In such a civilization the only reward of labour is money, whence the executive classes aspire to live in affluence with top-grade education for their children, while the repetitive workers naturally organize themselves to secure maximum economic security, the assurances of the Welfare State, and some degree of luxury and excitement as a set-off against the dreary monotony of their work-a-day existence.

Our age must therefore devote itself to the task of evolving a creative society It will be slow work because it involves supporting spiritual ideas and values with appropriate cultural, social, political and industrial forms, organizations and techniques.

The cultural basis of the new order would insure that the aim of all production was high quality Each industry would be run by a co-operative group who would share the responsibility for the design and quality of whatever was produced, and decide the kind and amount of machinery they would use As the level of taste in the community rose, techniques would change and new forms of skill be evolved

All production would strictly conform to the demands of health, as in the production and preparation of food or in the making of such things as shoes, chairs, e.g, which should take account of the human anatomy and so enable people to perform their functions with ease and pleasure

In due course these communities might achieve forty or fifty per cent of self-sufficiency. They would also think about limiting their growth, and of encouraging the development of similar communities in their areas

Having found the reasonable size for a fully integrated, largely self-governing community, the next step would be to form a region consisting of some fifteen or twenty similar communities In this area a much higher percentage of self-sufficiency would be achieved by the dev[illegible] etc. The formation of a [illegible] would greatly enrich the life of th[illegible] organization of the local econo[illegible] tute the core of community a[illegible] politics which consequently would b[illegible]ital and absorbing

Obviously a new system of local government would be called for At first, *ad hoc* Committees would work in consultation with the existing local Councils but later on quite new bodies would be needed, the functions of which would be determined by the need

These changes so simple in appearance, would constitute a revolution in the disposition of power Both political and economic power would pass from the central government to the localities, that is, directly to the people, which is where it should be in a true democracy Moreover, as in the new economy the tendency would be for the local communities and the regions to be as self-sufficient as was reasonably possible, centralized power would tend to decline This would be all to the good, as it would restrict the volume of world trade and so reduce the tensions which lead to war

These conditions would afford maximum political and economic responsibility and creative opportunity to every member of the community They would thus make possible the creative society we seek, which would overflow with ideas, aspirations and enthusiasms. These it would naturally attempt to express in every form of production and in every art. Each Regional Council would found a cultural centre where various regional festivals would take place, and where special training would be available. Every village would also have its cultural centre Boundless opportunities would thus exist for the fullest expression of the human spirit while the religious and cultural institutions would expound the doctrine and the values of self giving

(To be continued)

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 14 1953 TWO ANNAS

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ASIA'S FUTURE ECONOMY

(By Khandubhai K. Desai)

[From the report of his speech at the ILO Asian Regional Conference, Tokyo September 16, 1953.]

It must be realized by us who represent the Asian masses that the pivot on which our future economy depends is land and agriculture, the main basis of our wealth. I am firmly convinced that unless agricultural production, of both food and industrial raw materials is stepped up immediately there is no hope for economic prosperity in this region. Our region is, as I have already stated, essentially agricultural, and the prosperity of the large masses comprising no less than 75-80 per cent of the whole population depends upon production on the land.

Our rural population are also bulk consumers of manufactured and other goods and I am therefore of opinion that unless very close attention is paid to the welfare and needs of our village communities during the next few years and considerable purchasing power created among them, thereby giving them incentives to raise their standard of living any steps in the direction of concentrating large-scale industries are bound to prove suicidal.

I also believe that economic and industrial activities to be undertaken in most of the countries in the Asian region should all be such as would contribute to the welfare of our rural population.

The economic thinking to which we have all been accustomed during the last 200 years, which was a period, as far as we are concerned, of political and economic subjugation, was more or less of the traditional colonial type which brought industrial prosperity to the ruling nations through exploitation of the masses, in this region particularly. It is obvious that no country in Asia can re-enact the history of the last two centuries in order to build up an economic and social structure based on what we are witnessing in the West. It has, therefore, to be an economic structure somewhat different from that and one which could fulfil the needs of our people.

During the last few years most of the countries of the Asian region have attained their independence and they are now in a position to think and plan for their future economic prosperity according to their resources — both human and material. What we want is freedom to develop in our own way so as to raise the standard of living of all the people inhabiting this large part of the world. It must be realized by all that prosperity and peace are indivisible and that the world cannot be happy and at peace unless at least the minimum requirements of food, clothing and shelter are made available to every human being.

We always welcome assistance and guidance from our wealthier sister-nations of the world. But it must be clear that any aid or guidance given to accelerate our economic progress should be consistent with our culture, solidarity and self-respect. It should not be such as to worsen the existing employment situation and retard the growth of initiative. We do not want any free gift from anybody. We know that the road to prosperity leading to a higher standard of living for millions of our people is an uphill one and the present generation has got to work very hard. But, at the same time, I would like to submit very emphatically that any undue privations inflicted upon the already half-starved millions of this region for the purpose of imposing standards suited to Western economic structure would be fraught with grave consequences.

As I stated earlier the peasant cultivator is the basis on which the whole economic structure of this region should be built up. The peasant, though a hard-working man, remains unemployed for the greater part of the year and his labour is not utilized for any gainful economic activity, which is the essential need of every country in this region. It is a matter of gratification to note that the attention of the governments in all the countries recently liberated from the imperial or colonial yoke has been drawn definitely towards agrarian reform. Even though it may look a little medieval to the modern mind fed on the literature and dazzling prosperity of some of the industrially developed countries, I must in humility state that the question of poverty, unemployment and lack of purchasing power — which in ultimate analysis is the same thing — can only be solved in our region by building up an economic structure which would give importance

[illegible] Director-General [illegible] is also [illegible] that any future economic development [illegible] region will have to rely more on [illegible] production than on capital-[illegible] production Such production by its [illegible] also eliminates to a considerable [illegible] problem of the distribution of wealth [illegible] the concentration of wealth [illegible] As far as the Asian nations are [illegible] own interest, they will have [illegible] beaten track of 19th century [illegible] and its violent reactions wit[illegible] the last forty years We have got [illegible] entirely new economic structure of [illegible] in which everybody is a co-worker for the common good of the community and nobody is permitted to concentrate the national wealth for the purpose of exploitation through either land or large industrial organizations. This in my opinion is the foundation upon which the structure of the democratic and peaceful progress of our countries can be built up

During the course of our meetings here we will of course, discuss the various questions on the agenda regarding wages, housing and the protection of young persons While dealing with all these questions it would be worth our while not to forget the fundamentals which I have just placed before you If we ignore our vast agricultural population our conclusions will be futile We will be committing a great mistake if we blindly imitate the money standards of countries which have a different economic background and a different national economy

Let us not forget our objective All along I have been telling you that the producer of wealth should not be ignored when we undertake the task of distributing wealth In other words, we do not want exploitation in any shape or form We want everybody to have an equal opportunity to develop himself and we want everybody, through his development, to contribute towards the progress and well-being of society This can be achieved only if we have goodwill, understanding and love for each other Mahatma Gandhi the Father of the Indian nation taught us the way to overcome our enemies with the weapons of love and goodwill. I wish that all of us might learn to use these weapons Let us hope that we may achieve this objective in the near future

A RIGHTEOUS STRUGGLE

By Mahadev Desai

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[illegible] WORLD GOVERNMENT '

[illegible] *(Manibhai P Desai)*

[illegible] the reform of the United Nation[illegible] [illegible] the greatest World Government [illegible] [illegible] when U nations in Copenhagen [illegible] [illegible] August 22 to 29

[illegible] [illegible] dispatch of revision of the U N [illegible] [illegible] for renewal in two years time [illegible] [illegible] that a reformed U N be granted

[illegible] [illegible] enforce United Nations law

[illegible] [illegible] the process of disarmament and [illegible] [illegible] prohibition of atomic energy

[illegible] [illegible] basic human rights,

[illegible] [illegible] United Nations elections

[illegible] [illegible] responsible for the administration of [illegible] self-governing territories,

6 Promote food production and economic development,

7 Provide relief in outbreaks of famine, serious epidemics or natural disasters

8 Administer world territory,

9 Raise revenue for all or any of these purposes

The proposals were prepared by a Joint Commission on UN Charter reform established by Federal Union and the Crusade for World Government They have been published in pamphlet form, price 6d from 9 Buckingham St London, W C 2

The proposals virtually turn the United Nations into a World Government with its own Legislature consisting of two Houses of Parliament, Courts of Justice and police

The U N police force would enforce the decisions of the U N courts and in addition to other duties, act as an inspectorate to ensure that disarmament provisions were not violated.

It would have power to station its members who would own exclusive allegiance to the United Nations anywhere in the territory of member States.

The production of all weapons of mass-destruction including atomic weapons, would be prohibited.'

The above is from *Peace News* London, August 14 1953 We hope the aim will be to have the whole world government, and not a partial or divided one as the U N is today And before the U N aspires to be a world government, is it not more proper and wiser as well that it at least fulfils the smaller task that it has undertaken under the existing charter? That will be both its qualification as well as its earnest for undertaking the larger task of growing into a world government The latter can come, if at all, only when all the peoples of the world — without any distinction of colour or creed race or region, caste or culture etc. — come to feel themselves as One World — one family The working of the U N amply shows that such a thing is a far distant cry, perhaps, a mere slogan belied by the international life we are living today, — let apart the question of our quarrelsome intra-national life all over the world Enough unto the day are the evils thereof

15-10-'53

TOOLS OR MARKETS ?

(By Maurice Frydman)

I have before me a letter from a friend who [illegible]tes

' He (a village industries research worker of long [illegible]nding and great achievements) has no weakness for [illegible]centralizing the factory as such He says It is a good thing but not good enough for me He is definitely of the view that arming artisans with modern [illegible]chnique places the backward artisan (of whom necessarily there are going to be more) at a disadvantage [illegible] example yarn from the Gupte type of spinning [illegible] hunc does not make Khadi but only a sort of *ersatz* [illegible] stuff Unless you ply the wheel, you do not make Khadi He has simply no patience when we bring in the analogy of the Singer sewing machine More [illegible]tious than that The Wardha *ghani* costs some Rs 600 The Japanese type hand baby expeller plied by hand costs Rs 350 is made in Delhi and gives the same efficiency as the big expeller He is sorry for the development! He says he is not interested in it and also that so many of the parts go out of order'

I do not blame him for his back to the wall fight ' He wants the greatest good of the greatest number and sincerely believes that Government have given him the power to protect the artisan with crude implements or no implements e g that zones of influence will be demarcated for the village craftsmen and machine industries But such a line of thought obviates the necessity for any research. He says very very accurately that the problem is not technological but one of providing a market,—presumably at all cost

That is an example of defeatism at its height ' But I believe that people of such frame of mind fail to realize that far less drastic political action is called for in protecting a more developed community by providing cheap and easy credit for improved tools and working capital

I feel too young for such a defeatist compromise I would decentralize everything and start village (production) units and make villages self-sufficient So much political action is needed to organize things at the village front and guarantee security to every villager But that is far easier than propping up a sinking man with cornmine *ad nauseam*

This letter hardly needs comments The problem is simple Have the village industries a chance in the long run, if they have to depend from year to year on enormous State subsidies and artificially created, centrally managed and elaborately organized markets? In fact, while the current Government schemes encourage decentralized production the marketing was made highly centralized

As a temporary measure, just to set things going, it may be all right but, unless freedom both in production and in marketing is restored to the village craftsman, he will be forever in danger of having his lifeline cut off Surely an arrangement which does not set free, but rather enslaves is not a lasting solution To work for ever for distant emporia is not an inviting perspective. To monopolize local markets through legislation will create so many internal frontiers with all the corruption and violence following

And what about the consumer's interest in stretching his rupee to the utmost ' Through [illegible] he g[illegible] closed markets [illegible] his purchasing power

Is [illegible] with the village produce [illegible] served? In which State fu[illegible] productively ' The only way that you can think of leads through greater efficiency of the village craftsman. In the long run it is surely cheaper to train, equip and service the individual producer, than subsidize him indefinitely at the consumer's and taxpayer's expense

The Indian villager is cultured, intelligent and skilful As he mastered the bicycle and the sewing machine so can he understand, operate, maintain and repair any simple piece of machinery The mechanical genius is undoubtedly there, but is not given a chance to manifest itself

Once when I was organizing a factory in South India, there was no skilled labour to fall back on Villagers came in abundance and in no time became intelligent and skilled workers The brain the eye, and the hand go well together with our people and there is no fear of any inherent incapacity to operate more complex tools and equipment A little training, competent assistance in the initial stages, and a service station nearby, is all that is needed

A question may be asked whether a craftsman given cheap power and efficient tools, will be able to compete with factories in an open market? The reply is Yes, if he can buy the raw materials and sell his finished products at the same rates as the factories do Some co-operatives on the Danish lines will be necessary But the State will be only indirectly concerned, concentrating primarily on education and on making available cheap industrial credit for the small producer

Small but highly efficient tools need not be costly Manufactured in single product factories on a mass scale, they can be made unbelievably cheap

No doubt, it will take time to equip and develop village industries to the point where they can compete with factories on equal terms , in the meantime, subsidies and reservation of markets may be just the right thing But it is not the final and therefore the permanent, the self-perpetuating solution We must aim at an order which is self-balancing and self restoring

A Correction

Shri Lele of the A I Khadi and Village Industries Board, Bombay, writes to say that the reference to the Khadi Board on p 266 of the *Harijan*, 24-10-'53, in Shri Vinoba's speech, ' Some Questions about Bhoodan ' that ' the Board has appointed 500 workers ' is not right the Board has only 50 to 75 workers today

5 11-'53 M. P

HARIJAN

Nov 14 1953

GOOD NEVER DIES

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

I would like to share the following letter from New Delhi from a reader of the *Harijan*

"I have read with interest Standard of Railway Administration' by Shri Mejmudar in your *Harijan* of 3rd instant. In this connection, I would like to make the following observations

There is a limit to everything and when that limit is crossed even intolerable things begin to appear tolerable Exactly that seems to have been the case in regard to corruption nepotism blackmarketing untruth etc. in India these days Here these have reached the stage when persons addicted to them feel proud of these evils instead of being ashamed.

The poor may have some reason for being dishonest but the rich certainly have none Yet the vicious circle seems to start from them and the poor gets entangled into it merely due to forced circumstances Before Independence our leaders thought Rs 500/ a month would be good enough for them but what did we find in actual practice ? Even ten times of that amount could not satisfy them Ministers wanted fat salaries in addition to as many things free or at a nominal cost How could the poor resist copying them ? They started blackmarketing stealthily what the rich did openly

I am now 62 and have seen enough of life It pains me to say that I dont recollect to have ever found the morale of our people at a lower level than what it is today Dishonesty cheating falsehood and other evils, seem to be met everywhere. Honesty truth, simple habits are being ridiculed. Formerly there used to be some fear of justice from somewhere at least Now the lordship of the strong over the weak, in all spheres of life is the rule of the day What a pity that human beings should have been degraded to a state worse than brutes at a time when we have our own Government The evil having reached its zenith ordinary remedies won t prove effective. Imposition of fines none seems to care The blackmarketeers know for certain that this can be more than compensated quickly by continuing their line of action and prefer their own course to being poor by following straight path for that lowers them in public estimation wealth being the thing that really counts

Facts are facts and have to be faced. A house on fire is sure to harm others in the vicinity and that is actually happening Is life worth living under such circumstances ? If so how to carry on day to day work, when one has to struggle so hard for living straight life at every step ? These are some of the questions which need serious thinking Persons who were expected to set good example are doing just the reverse If strong action is not taken against the evils to set things right in time, Nature of course, which is Imperial will"

I would only add to what the good friend says above that the gloom and moral darkness that seem to envelop us all around is no cause for dismay nor defeatism , it is a challenge to each one of us in our individual and corporate life to meet with faith in the ultimate goodness and courage to live it in spite of baffling odds and alluring temptations

A word regarding the question whether we have been worse today than ever before Man I believe is what he is from the time he was on this planet , his nature is an interesting mixture of good and evil and the eternal combat between the two ever goes on At times evil surely seems to us to be winning in a certain way and from a certain point of view , but it is always a question whether that way and that point of view in life are truly helpful and beneficial to us in the ultimate analysis It is in this connection that wise men in the past all over the world have said in simple but most telling words that only the good and the true helps and benefits , those who are first shall be the last and vice versa

It is said that we are in an atomic age and in an age of science and happiness that can be ours through plenty That might be as it may But surely we are in an age of fear, and all our boastings of science and plenty only deepen and spread the grip of fear all over the world and in diverse ways The dishonesty, cheating, falsehood and such others are a deadening brood of that devastating demon of fear Humanity must muster all its strength and vigour to demolish this fearful product of our ugly civilization The State and such other authorities of social control and direction can help it only to an extent and none further Ultimately the revolt against fear must take its birth from the heart of man which is ever sound Let us one another therefore exchange a word of hope and cheer in this great opportunity to vindicate our real dignity as ones created in God's image.

18-10-'53

"THE WEAKER SECTIONS OF THE PEOPLE"

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

The reader is requested to refer to two previous articles on this subject, viz "Backward Classes and the Constitution" (*Harijan*, 22-8-'53) and 'The Scheduled Castes and Tribes" (*Harijan* 12-9-'53) I now wish to discuss one more point in the same connection

The Constitution of India has taken special care to see that the interests of weaker and backward classes and sections of our people are safeguarded and specially looked after by the State And it should be noted that the State here includes all the Governments and all the Legislatures and all local or other authorities within the territory of India or the control of the Government of India (Arts 12 36, Constitution of India)

And a special officer has been provided for in the Constitution whose duty it is to investigate all matters relating to the safeguards provided for by the Constitution and he has to report to the President the working of these at intervals in the discretion of the President. (Art 338)

As we know, the chief backward classes named by the Constitution are the Scheduled

Tribes and the Scheduled Castes And it is laid down that the President will specify by public notification, castes races or tribes or parts of or groups within castes, races or tribes which shall be included in the Scheduled Castes similarly he will also specify the tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within them which shall be included in the Scheduled Tribes (Arts. 341 342 Constitution of India)

Thus so far as the socially and educationally backward classes (Article 15 16 of Constitution of India) among the Castes and Tribes are concerned, the Constitution has laid down the method and machinery for specifying who will be included in those Schedules

There is a further point in the Constitution which requires to be clarified It is given as a directive principle of State policy Article 46 says that "the State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the *weaker sections of the people*, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation" Evidently the article points to further sections of the people other than and additional to the castes and tribes scheduled under the President's order under Article 341, 342 These castes and tribes are described in this Article 46 as *weaker sections* The same are also described as "socially and educationally *backward classes* of citizens" in Article 15

While Article 15 notes backwardness of a social and educational nature article 46 notes the weakness of an economic and educational nature The educational aspect is common to both, it is the *social* backwardness and *economic* weakness that are distinctive in the two articles

Again, while the backwardness is noted in relation to *classes of citizens*, the weakness is in relation to *sections of the people*

And further there seems to be made no provision in the Constitution as to who will be considered 'weaker sections' and whether they will be scheduled in the same way as the castes and tribes or if so, who will do it and on what principle It is not clear whether the Backward Classes Commission that has been appointed by the President under article 340 will go into this question of 'the weaker sections of the people' and decide who they will be and how they will be named and scheduled for special care and protection.

It might be presumable that there is obvious *social* backwardness on account of untouchability and tribalness, it may consequently result, for the sections or classes of our people who suffer from these social disabilities in economic and educational backwardness too, though there might be and are citizens of these castes and tribes who [illegible] to do and hence no [illegible] backward [illegible]ically and educationally [illegible] schedules for [illegible]es and castes that stand at present do [illegible] individuals but go by groups like castes and tribes, — which is objected to by some in the name of equality of all citizens though the Constitution specifically provides for making such an exemption for the backward classes (Article 15 of the Constitution of India)

But what about the educational and economic weakness of the sections of our people? What are these sections? What will be the norm of deciding who they will be? Such sections might be found in all castes and classes of our people again they will be changing from time to time

And are these sections also provided for exceptional treatment under Article 15 as backward classes other than the scheduled tribes and classes?

Over and above these exceptions to the principle of equality of all irrespective of class or creed, race sex etc which is a fundamental doctrine of our Constitution [Article 15 (1 2)] there is a further exception in case of women and children [Article 15 (3)], which says that the State is not prevented from making any special provision for them We may say that these are an instance of weaker sections of our people, as it would not be proper to describe them as backward classes and therefore under Article 46 they are entitled to have special care and protection from social injustice and exploitation Thus for example the State can give preferential treatment to women in education employment etc I may quote an instance which I have come across in my work as the Chairman of the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation School Board

Among numerous applicants for primary teachership there is found a good number of Hindu widows or such others who are almost widowed on account of desertion or second marriage by their husbands They have to find out some gainful employment, if they should be economically independent or helpful to their family Under the Primary Education Act there are certain rules according to which selection of candidates is made The Backward Classes have for them a certain percentage of reserved places They are preferred to others provided they have a minimum standard of efficiency laid down by the rules Similarly, the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation has always considered the cases of unfortunate women cited above and they also are preferred if they possess the minimum standard of efficiency under the rules As a statutory authority under the State, it is permitted I might say it is required to have such consideration for these weaker sections of our people under Article 46 of the Constitution of India The Hindu women of certain castes who do not remarry or are deserted under a peculiar social system are a

weaker section of our people and they should be therefore protected in due manner.

It is hoped the Backward Classes Commission will clarify the meaning of Article 46 of the Constitution

5-11-'53

THE JAPANESE METHOD AND CHEMICAL FERTILIZERS

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

Writing about the Japanese method of rice cultivation in the *Harijan* of 29-8-'53, I had remarked that if the use of chemical fertilizers was a necessary part of this method then it was its serious drawback

In this connection I have received letters from the Kora Centre, Bombay which has successfully tried this method and a correspondent from Palgarh an Agricultural graduate, who write to say that the use of fertilizers is not indispensably necessary, the cow-dung manure will serve the purpose quite as well

The manager of the Kora Centre in his letter summarizes the salient points of this method as follows

> There is a lot of misunderstanding regarding this improved method of rice cultivation. It is therefore necessary that people are correctly informed about its main points which are as follows:
>
> 1 Raised beds for preparing the seedlings
>
> 2 Seedlings to be transplanted in a straight line spaced at distance of 8 to 12 inches and at the rate of two seedlings per hill
>
> 3 Manuring in three instalments and inter-culturing three to four times
>
> These operations are an important part of the method and should be specially remembered."

He says further

> 'There is no need of chemical fertilizers in the experiment as we carried it out at Kora. Moreover there are no extra expenses involved in it. We recommend in our propaganda campaign the use of as much organic manure—green manure and night-soil manure as may be available
>
> "All these operations which we have referred to above as an important part of this improved method are in use in different parts of the country severally. In this method they have been collected to form one whole and it is hoped that its adoption will lead at least to doubling our rice yield without any extra expenses. It will also result in addition in a saving of a maund of seeds per acre of land at the average'

The readers will appreciate that the saving in seeds, healthy seedlings prepared at the right time weeding and interculturing, and dressing the soil through manuring and watering are all valuable improvements Good Kisans in different parts of the country have always practised some or more of them It is now necessary that they be adopted as the normal method of paddy cultivation throughout the country

Nobody would think of opposing these improvements But the use of chemical fertilizers is a different matter and in the article referred to above what I said was that this aspect of the Japanese method should be re-examined If cow-dung and compost manure of which we can get as much as we need from the abundantly available organic waste matter in our country—if that can serve our purpose why was there any talk about the indispensability of the fertilizers? The new civilization that is making headway on the strength of modern industrialism and commerce is a veritable evil, which affects scientific thought even See for example the case of Vanaspati Aluminium utensils etc I hope there is no ground for similar fear in regard to the fertilizers factories, due to the Government Sindri Fertilizers Factory interests misguiding us

If we want to preserve the health of our land and agriculture and of our people, and if we want to organize and use these our greatest resources for the common good of all we should concentrate our attention on the organic manure and not the chemical fertilizers These fertilizers which are manufactured in factories as business propositions will only strengthen the process of the destruction of our villagers, if they are allowed to get established for then the villagers will continue to decay with dirt and disease as they are doing today

(Translated from Hindi)

SELF-SUFFICIENCY AND LIVING STANDARDS

(By Wilfred Wellock)

[An agro-industrial and decentralized economy on the basis of maximum local self-sufficiency and self-government, compatible with the wellbeing and happiness of the whole,—such an economic basis of social organization only can be a sound one and tend to a creative and peaceful society This was the thesis that we saw propounded in the previous instalment of Shri Wellock's article This is evidently almost the same as our ideal of Sarvodaya placed before us and the world by Gandhiji

In our own country and outside this is falsely equated with anti machine ism, drab puritanism and is described as anti progressive and what not by our modernists There are some among them who believe and say that poverty will not be removed if self-sufficiency is the basis They believe that industrialism will help increasing production and richness of the material life but naively imagine notwithstanding history saying otherwise, that all will be well thereby and social justice will be made more possible that way While on one hand with industrialism they create and extentuate inequality, competition, jealousy exploitation, on the other hand they smugly believe that with taxation etc they will level up these inequalities. But they shut their eyes to the fact that a constant state of tensions intra-and inter-national becomes the order of the day for such a society This is the chief thesis of Shri Wellock which we saw in his first instalment (*Harijan* 7-11-'53), in this concluding one he tries to answer the other point—viz self-sufficiency is no way lowering of living standards

1 11 '53 M. P.]

It will be asked Would not the new economy result in lowering living standards? Possibly at first, but probably not, later and when everything is taken into account Considerable economies would be effected. The substitution of a local for a national economy would cut out one two and in some cases even three middlemen's profits Latterly such profits have risen beyond all reason

Substantial savings could be effected by cutting out much long distance transport. Today many productions

ira drawn [illegible] than
e-distribut[illegible] from [illegible]
nur By s[illegible] two tra[illegible]
e of two [illegible] be eliminated

A [illegible] the high cost [illegible]
[illegible] The larger the firm
the g[illegible] man employed In self-
controlled small group [illegible] located in villages where
ground rents and rates are low overheads are exceed
ingly low Moreover responsibility and a powerful com
munity consciousness stimulate one to do ones best
whence minimum overhead expenses would coincide with
maximum production

But perhaps the most important labour-saving factor
would be that of substituting qualitative for quantitative
production as it would develop individual taste and judg
ment and so weaken the hold of fashion on the public
mind. The cultivation of creative habits would stimulate
homecrafts and handicrafts enormously while this would
gradually draw people from the habits and extravagances
of the cash nexus including the enslavements of fashion
and the necessity of keeping up with the Jones These
healthy tendencies would be stimulated by the aim of cul
ture to encourage people to make their maximum contri
bution to the public good in the enrichment of the local
life Incidentally this economy would abolish the neces
sity of maintaining high levels of consumption in order
to keep mass production factories running at full speed
The resultant savings in cash and labour would be
immense

The significance of a qualitative economy is worth
careful study It was brought vividly to my mind some
years ago in a conversation I had with one of our finest
furniture craftsmen Edward Barnsley of Frocfield Fakers-
field I had just been examining and admiring some of
his magnificent productions exquisite alike in design and
execution, and then, in his unique home close by we dis-
cussed the economy of craftsmanship Of course the cost
of a piece of furniture of this order is high but it is a
valid and not a profiteering cost The economic perspec-
tive completely changed when Mr Barnsley told me that
he made all his furniture in the hope that it would be in
use for several centuries, so it should be if given reason-
able care It is all made for users, not dealers for like
all craftsmen, he likes to maintain the personal contact
between the user and producer of whatever is made and
to feel that it will be handed down to the next generation
with greater pleasure and satisfaction than handing down
the money that was paid for it. Moreover furniture of
this order possesses qualities which no fashion can out-
date its lines and proportions possess a timeless beauty
In the long run, therefore, the ledgers of this economy
show a favourable balance in time labour, material, cash,
and satisfaction Thus the economy of fewer things but
better is sound from every point of view

In this limited space I cannot deal adequately with
such questions as financing the new economy and the dis-
tribution of repetitive work On the former issue I would
say two things First that multi-purpose co-operatives
offer a big opening for the development of small industries.
They have wrought miracles of social transformation in
Nova Scotia in the Scandinavian countries and in Fin-
land and are now beginning to do so in India and
Second, that the inevitable breakdown of the Western
economy will cause much money to be transferred to the
new economy

In regard to repetitive labour its extent would be
greatly reduced under the new economy but it would still
be considerable However small self-governing communi-
ties could easily organize a system of dual occupations
especially as a certain amount of repetitive work is good
for one, and is a social necessity The recognition of these
facts would add dignity to jobs that a false sense of values
has caused to be regarded as below one's dignity Cleaning

[illegible] called jo[illegible]
[illegible] well [illegible] as to recog-
nize that [illegible] to take on such jobs
part-time

Another point to [illegible] emphasized is that the new dev
lopment must be organic must spring from the mind and
heart of the communi[illegible] themselves and not be imposed
from the outside While it may be the case that satellite
towns like Stevenage cannot be avoided owing to the
urgent necessity of depopulating many of our giant cities
everything must be done to avoid resort to blue-prints
drawn up by experts, with parks pubs clubs churches
community halls cinemas etc all rounded off and com
plete like a doll's house — a robot's paradise erected by
someone who was able to anticipate all one's wants and
even the bounds of one's spiritual horizons There is
something frightening in these through tickets to
El Dorado, with nothing omitted nothing left to the imag-
ination and nothing to hope for We find fragment man's
minds and then build an artificial world to suit their de-
humanised condition.

Many people will regard this partial abandonment of
quantitative production as putting the clock back whereas
in my view the people who have put the clock back are
those who have robbed human beings of their finest rights
and thus reduced them to a sub-human status.

What has America to say on this vital theme?

The United States stands at the apex of the mass-
production countries During the last six years I have
spent eight months in that country on two extensive lecture
tours, travelling from North to South and East to
West and addressing every kind of audience I was
invited to lecture on the theme dealt with in these Papers
I accepted with some misgiving and expected to be
derided or even laughed down The very opposite hap-
pened To my surprise I found everywhere a profound
fear of the future of a world-shattering war, or a world
shaking revolution arising from a feverish struggle for
higher living standards, which was heightened by the
wealth-devouring armaments caused by that fear Many
agreed that it would be better to have fewer goods with
peace and contentment than abundance with growing
tensions and perpetual cold war Others confessed that
they were happier in their pioneering days than they are
today Indeed I discovered that one had not to rub the
skin of the average American very hard to come at the
pioneer and that an appreciable number of Americans
had a piece of lead tucked away somewhere probably in
the area of their American origins After careful observa
tion I gained the impression that the creative life of pio-
neering in the Great Trek West is probably the strongest
of the underlying forces in American life today Nor will
it surprise me if ere long that submerged America embarks
on a new trek to the spacious Middle West, there to build
a creative civilisation on the foundation of small agro-
industrial communities.

The migration of population from the countryside to
the city is nowhere more marked than in the U S On one
occasion I travelled from the Gulf of Mexico to Chicago
through Texas Oklahoma Kansas and Iowa, an area seven
times greater than that of Britain, yet with a population
no greater than that of the three cities of New York,
Chicago and Philadelphia combined This country-to-city
migration causes spiritual starvation and decay of both
lands and if Western civilisation is to survive, the process
will have to be reversed, not only in America but in Bri-
tain and Europe also Many Americans are beginning to
realize this and what a magnificent opportunity beckons
them!

In any event, the supreme crisis of our age approaches
The civilisation of the Industrial Revolution is fast run-
ning down Either it will end in war or be superseded
by a new creative era, the foundation of which will be
the creative genius that is in every man.

THE FIRST BHOODAN

[illegible] d I by him who gave)

[illegible] was the first in India to [illegible] ik is a lv grateful t the [illegible] ous Landlord of Telangana H [illegible] chbourer of the great Bhoodan [illegible] ally described below which is re- [illegible] the *A I C C Economic Review* of [illegible]

[illegible] ago Acharya Vinoba Bhave [illegible] ge Pachampalle We all knew [illegible] to [illegible] m l antly person, an illus- [illegible] nous dis [illegible] Mohatma Gandhi Vinoba addressed a [illegible] of our villagers He asked them about th [illegible] and about the difficulties they had to suf [illegible] then a group of Harijans said that they want [illegible] Vinoba just said to the villagers [illegible] How much can I give you land ?

For some time p [illegible] I had been thinking of [illegible] ultimate part of my land to the Harijans Without [illegible] sec [illegible] I thought [illegible] if prompted by Providence I to [illegible] the words we want land' reverberated in me and I said I will give you land I will make a gift of 100 acres from my land

Vinoba looked at me as if he had heard something strange and asked me to repeat what I had said Slowly but firmly, I said that I would give away 100 acres And if people did not believe what I was saying, I was prepared to make a written declaration there and then

"The meeting was over and Vinoba called me aside and asked me if what I had said was really true I repeated what I had said twice

"Vinoba went into his hut and retired for the night Early in the morning he sent for me and asked me once again and I produced a written declaration

"Then the party went to the next village where Vinoba spoke about my land-gift and asked whether there was a landlord in that village who would also give away a part of his land In that village also Vinoba received a land-gift. Then he went to a third village where he simply said he had come for Bhoodan and the movement was born

"As I look back upon it and go over the sequence of events I feel that I could not have done otherwise. Nobody had compelled me, the gift had not been given in a fit of generosity, for I was thinking of giving away land to the Harijans even before I met Vinoba But Vinoba made me feel the logic of the situation and made me realize what my moral duty was towards those who had no land

"Some people say that the whole thing is done by working on emotions, but this is not true, at least in my case Others say that moral pressure is brought to bear but I ask, what is wrong with it ? Is it not better to realize your [illegible]

[illegible]

Illusion Created by Words

The article on Wages and Bonus [illegible] appeared in the *Harijan*, (August 8 195[illegible] [illegible] or Partnership ? ') shows that the trade union[illegible] are helping the employers to mulct consumers, including the workers who are consumers themselves Thus the workers receive bonus on one hand to pay it back to the employers when they go as buyers They gain nothing by the bonus — except an illusion They cannot live with more earnings which are not real increases

When the economists trade unionists and politicians talk of workers they mean only organized workers who are only a small percentage of all actual workers in any country Most of the workers in all countries are not organized at all or are organized only in small unions which are ineffective against employers and Government. In India there are supposed to be only 3 million workers in industry, while a vast majority of actual workers are not organized at all Thus there are millions of unemployed who are not organized at all and lots of office employees also are unorganized All these pay for the conspiracy of the employers and trade unionists when they go as buyers — in order to keep up the illusion that there is increased payment of wages. These unorganized and unemployed workers and employees are the most exploited and sweated, but they don't count as workers in trade union and Government meaning of the word, workers And what about landless day-labourers who are legion ? They don't count either for the Governments or trade unions

M P T ACHARYA

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A Fundamental Question

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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THE CONSTRUCTIVE POWER OF BHOODAN *

(By Vinoba)

Ours is a big country with an ancient civilization Agriculture which is our main industry has been practised here from times immemorial and people have lived mostly in villages There are cities, no doubt, but they are only a few and most of them are of recent origin. As at present, so also in olden times, the vast expanse of our land was dotted all over with villages Cities were very few and not so important Men in India have always lived in the villages and the village has been held in high esteem A Vedic text, for example, says, "May our villages grow and prosper and be strong" We thus find the village ideal being upheld in India from very old times. Every village in those days was a State in itself It was ruled by a *panchayat*, that is a village council consisting of five elders representing the five *varnas* The members of the *panchayat* worked with one accord like the five fingers of a hand What the five said was for the people, as the proverb has it even today, the word of God.

There were then no schools in the present sense of big buildings and paid teachers The pupils sat for their lessons in the cottage of the teacher, or a corner of the village temple or under the shade of the trees and were taught by men of real learning who then preferred to live in the villages They did not demand any money for their service which was for them a duty and a labour of love Today, however, everyone who has passed some kind of an examination wants money like the *bania* demanding the price for anything that one may purchase from his shop It means a double loss to the society which pays for their education and is again required to pay for providing them with a comfortable living Learning has been stripped of its glory and converted into a commodity for sale and purchase Men of learning in olden days were men of renunciation They did not hanker after material wealth. All that they required was a small cottage for shelter, a piece of cloth for apparel, and just enough food for keeping the body which they obtained by begging Imparting of knowledge in those days was regarded as a sacred duty to be performed by those who were fit for it in the spirit of utter selflessness.

The village provided for all its needs both intellectual and material locally It was for all practical purposes a self-contained unit Every village had its carpenters, cobblers and weavers. They too did not get money They served the peasants in their different ways and received an adequate share in the produce. The share increased or decreased according to increase or decrease in the year's production The artisans were thus members of the village community on the same level as the peasants. The land and the produce were owned and shared by the community as a whole

Things have changed since and today we find that though the villages still produce all the raw material, they depend for most of their wants on cities They grow cotton but buy cloth, they grow sugar cane but buy sugar, they grow oil-seeds but buy oils Formerly when a man was in need of oil he went to the *ghani*-man who readily pressed his oil seeds There was no need of money He took the oil and left the oil-cake with the *ghani*-man. But now money intervenes in everything that we do This money is a great cheat. There is no constancy about it Its value changes from day to day The same rice which sells today at 9 seers a rupee, sells tomorrow at 2 seers a rupee! It is really amazing why we have put the management of our affairs in hands of this cheat This is the reason for the destruction of the villages Lands have passed from the peasantry to those who own money Formerly there was no occasion for the wealth of the village to go out of it But now the villagers purchase most of their wants from cities with the result that they have been reduced to slavery It is argued at times that it is not possible to distribute lands to all because they are owned by Zamindars and we cannot dispossess them How then do they propose to solve the unemployment among the landless? They would perhaps say that we will solve it by providing them with other occupations. We will only like to know whether these occupations are to be

* From a speech at Medinnath Bhagalpur

provided w[illegible] are dead

We need to do three things for [illegible]gorating the village-life First we must change the system of education, next we must start village industries and thirdly land must be redistributed Individual ownership in regard to land is absurd for land is, as we call it, Mother Earth. It is the support the ground of human existence and life.

Both wealth and poverty are diseases like other diseases and people should be helped to get rid of them so that they may regain normal health It is not true, as is generally believed that the rich are happy and the poor alone are unhappy Both are unhappy each in their own way one by their excessive wealth and the other by their abject poverty contribute to the weakening of the Indian nation

We therefore appeal to those who have more than enough land to give it away Indians are by nature a grateful people They forget the wrongs done to them. If the rich against whom they have many just grievances act in time and give away their excess land and wealth to those who need it the latter will not only forgive them but love them and be ready to die for them

We have set our target at five crore acres It is indeed a large order and some people find it hard to believe that we can fulfil it. We say that God will find ways to get it done, meanwhile let each one of us do his part of the work. If he has six acres let him give only one acre God will give him ample return for his having done his duty Those who have 100 or 150 acres should give more then a sixth, while those who have less than six acres may give only a fraction of an acre Sudama and Shabari were paupers without any resources but they did find something to present to the Lord, Even so the poorest amongst us shoud share the urge to offer something to this great Yajna Lord gave to Sudama in ample measure but not before Sudama had made his gift to Him. That is why we ask even the poor to bring their offerings to the Bhoodan Giving is a *punya-karma* i.e an act of merit — why should the rich have a monopoly of it? An act of merit is a duty and all alike have an equal right to it

(Adapted from the original in Hindi)

The Ensuing Hindustani Examinations

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For details write at the address given below

Hindustani Prachar Sabha
Wardha

Amritlal Nanavati,
Secretary

GANDHIJI AND CONVERSION

By Maganbhai P. Desai

An English friend and well wisher of the [illegible]*tian* writes to me as follows

I am somewhat puzzled at your point of view (regarding) Gandhiji and Conversion I see that in a recent number of the *Guardian* you quote what Gandhiji said about our wishing a Hindu to be a better Hindu and so on. Yes, indeed! But surely that is not all that he said. More than once, referring to the forcible conversions to Islam Gandhiji, in his after-prayer speeches drew a sharp distinction between such forcible conversions and a genuine 'heart conversion' from one faith to another for which there must always be due place Let me give an example from the English Hindu sadhu who live near Almora One of them told me this summer that he was brought up in the Anglican Church but it all meant nothing to him Then he had a true religious experience in India because a Hindu Dr was Mr Chakravarti, who so to speak, led him to God Later when he was in England he discovered that the Anglican ritual was built on the same experience. But he remains a Hindu because it was in Hinduism that he first found the life of God Such things do happen and will happen though no doubt they are not very common Most of us find the light in the tradition in which we have been nurtured

It was in answer to a similar complaint from a Christian correspondent in the *Guardian* that I was required to reply to him through that journal which the English friend refers to above I had said in it as follows

> Mr [illegible] says that it is wrong to say that Gandhiji was against conversion and that I have done injustice to Gandhiji in this matter I do not know how he concluded this way I have quoted Gandhiji himself wherein he says that we should never wish that any one should be converted but our immanent prayer should be that a Hindu should be a better Hindu a Muslim a better Muslim and a Christian a better Christian.

The English friend cites the case of an English Christian who became a Hindu But he is careful to note that the Christian friend could as well have come to the spiritual awakening through his own Anglican Church Therefore it would be, even spiritually, far better to call himself a Christian even while profiting from a Hindu co-aspirant to true life. Why narrow down the conception of Christianity by giving it up?

Only a few days back I came across an instance in a daily paper (I forget which) It is also noteworthy in this connection I reproduce it below

> Why must it be impatiently demanded an earnest American tourist, "that you will not convert other peoples to Hinduism? You have such a beautiful religion, and yet you keep so many struggling souls out of it. If you say 'Yes' I will be the first to become a Hindu!"
>
> But why came the counter question do you want to change your religion? What is wrong with Christianity?"
>
> Taken aback but not daunted, the tourist said 'I cannot say what is wrong but it has not given me satisfaction.
>
> Indeed it is unfortunate, was the reply, but tell me honestly whether you have given it a real

[illegible] and [illegible] religion of [illegible] according to it? Have you been a [illegible] not found the religion wanting?

'I am afraid I cannot say that sir'

Then we advise you to go and be a true Christian first Live truly by the word of the Lord and if even then you feel unfulfilled it will be time to consider what should be done

The sage who thus turned the doubting Christian back to Christ was His Holiness Shri Chandrasekhara Bharati Swami of Sringeri Peetha

To put the puzzled American at his ease the sage explained

'It is no freak that you were born a Christian God ordained it that way because by the 'samskara' acquired through your actions (karma) in previous births your soul has taken a pattern which will and its richest fulfilment in the Christian way of life Therefore your salvation lies there and not in some other religion. What you must change is not your faith but your life '

Than sir exclaimed the American, beaming with exhilaration 'Your religion consists in making a Christian a better Christian, a Muslim a better Muslim, and a Buddhist a better Buddhist. This day I have discovered yet another grand aspect of Hinduism and I bow to you for having shown me this Thank you indeed '

Gandhiji's position is very well illustrated by this story He surely believed that man does have spiritual rebirth or conversion. I may say, every human soul should have it as that is his spiritual destiny and avocation on earth But it is a matter between him and his God It is a purely spiritual activity and therefore should not be allowed to vulgarize itself to be a socio-political one of proselytism Therefore Gandhiji deplored all missionary efforts of conversion from one faith to another It was therefore that he always said that none could have the business of converting others to one's faith, but should always wish to see everyone to be better in whatever faith he belonged to

There is a deeper reason also why Gandhiji's position is true He held that all religions are equal, and none of them should assume or arrogate any special superiority over others Missionary activity surely presupposes and assumes a kind of the sense of superiority and unique or exclusive possession of Truth. This is, to say the least, the most disturbing assumption on its part This is more so in the context of present world tensions, racial, religious and political. Gandhiji, I think, is the first in our times to proclaim and raise his voice against this a-spiritual assumption of superiority It was born — it came to him, from his own lifelong spiritual experiences lived in the thick of our modern social life and its conflicting problems This great truth of the equality of all faiths is the real basis of a secular or modern State, whether it may be Hindu, Muslim Christian, or Buddhist. It does not negate religion nor propagation of one's faith But it does say no institutionalization of conversion as a social missionary activity To quote from Gandhiji —

'There is a proper evangelization When you feel that you have received peace from your particular interpretation of the Bible, you share it with others But you do not need to give vocal expression to it. Your whole life is more eloquent than your lips Language is always an obstacle to the full expression of thought How for instance, will you tell a man to read the Bible as you read it, how by word of mouth will you transfer to him the light as you receive it from day to day and moment to moment? Therefore all religions say — 'Your life is your speech' If you are humble enough you will say you cannot adequately represent your religion by speech or pen Language is a limitation of the truth which can only be represented by life

'Life is its own expression I take the simile of the rose I used years ago The rose does not need to write a book or deliver a sermon on the scent it sheds all around, or on the beauty which everyone who has eyes can see Well, spiritual life is infinitely superior to the beautiful and fragrant rose, and I make bold to say that the moment there is a spiritual expression in life the surroundings will readily respond

"There is no desire to speak when one lives the truth Truth is most economical of words There is thus no truer or other evangelism than life

"I should like to see all men, not only in India but in the world, belonging to different faiths, become better people by contact with one another and, if that happens, the world will be a much better place to live in than it is today I plead for the broadest toleration, and I am working to that end I ask people to examine every religion from the point of the religionists themselves I do not expect the India of my dream to develop one religion, i.e to be wholly Hindu or wholly Christian or wholly Mussalman, but I want it to be wholly tolerant with its religions working side by side with one another

Tolerance does not mean indifference towards one's own faith, but a more intelligent and purer love for it. Tolerance gives us spiritual insight, which is as far from fanaticism as the north pole from the south. True knowledge of religion breaks down the barriers between faith and faith. Cultivation of tolerance for other faiths will impart to us a truer understanding of our own." *

11-11-'53

* Quoted from *The Mahatma and the Missionary*, pp. 1?9-30 31

HARIJAN

Nov. 21 1953

A FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

A correspondent from Bombay raises the following poser while discussing the Pardi Satyagraha He says " While a few landlords and capitalists who are socially conscious and responsible may respond to Shri Bhave's appeal to share lands with landless peasants, the majority of them will not easily respond to such appeals " Such a doubt and want of faith is patent and fundamental, mainly with those who are Marxist in their ideology Some of them have chosen to be with Shri Vinoba in his Sarvodaya and Bhoodan campaign in the same way as they were with Gandhiji in truth and non-violence during the fight for Independence

The poser raises a fundamental issue in the social philosophy of Marx and Gandhiji To the orthodox Marxists, it is not a doubt but is a certainty that the have-nots as a class will have to give battle to the haves The Neo-Marxists or say the Gandhian Marxists in India say that even such a battle should better be non-violent. This is a leaf from Gandhiji's book that they wish to take for the Indian Marxists

It is a question whether the Gandhian technique of non-violence can be grafted on the Marxist ideology The Marxian social philosophy of two classes in society warring against each other and the technique of class-war which is its direct derivative are different from the Gandhian ideology of social trusteeship and class-collaboration based on it The whole concept of property and ownership under the latter ideology is radically changed from its orthodox meaning which Marxists hold in common with others It was no mere rhetoric or vain sentimentality which made Gandhi say that all property belongs to God which in modern language means the State, i.e the people ; man is only a trustee unto Him for what he might be allowed to have under a social order The doctrine gives us a dynamic of non-violent social action Both individually and socially it disturbs the *status quo* As an individual he has to be answerable to God , i e in modern language it means, as a citizen he can own property only as a trustee under the State. Socially he becomes a part of the whole and not of a class or a section only The basis for such a doctrine is a spiritual interpretation of society It was therefore that Gandhiji said that Satyagraha was not possible without belief in God, which to him was another name for Truth and Love On the other hand, the Marxist, in the ultimate analysis,is a materialist The belief in the [illegible] inherent conflict of class interests is fundamental to him.

This difference in the two ideologies is necessary to be noted, specially at a time when Shri Vinoba's Bhoodan movement is also fast becoming a plank in some Marxist groups' programme Some theorists of these groups say that if the common appeal to the people fails, the next thing is to organize and use the strength of the landless classes , if that also fails there is no way left for us This distinction of the whole — *Sarva* — as against the part — class (*varga*) — is where Marxism differs from Gandhism. According to the latter there are two ways only — the violent and the non-violent and the non-violent way is based on the spiritual interpretation of man and society, unlike the violent way which is based on a materialist interpretation

Coming to the immediate question raised by the correspondent, I may only quote Gandhiji. In the Aga Khan Jail Shri Mirabehn asked Gandhiji ' How will the land be distributed after Swaraj ? '

Gandhiji replied Land will be owned by the State I presume the reins of Government will be in the hands of those who have faith in this ideal A majority of zamindars will give up their lands willingly Those who do not do so will have to do so under legislation." (*Harijan* 10-10-'53, p 250)

We must realize that the power of legislation is also a potent weapon in the hands of a democracy We have still to learn how to use it successfully and well But that cannot warrant us to ignore the use of democratic weapons if we care to work through non-violence The ultimate sanction of these weapons is Satyagraha or reliance on truth and its assertion The point is that the Truth has to be the Truth of the whole people and not of a class or section however big or important ' It is सर्वोदय that we aim at and not वर्गोदय to coin a new word to express what Marxism would say To speak in terms of our ancient philosophy, Satyagraha is a doctrine of oneness — *adwaita* of the whole people , the Marxist doctrine is one of the duality — *dwaita* of the people — the haves and the have-nots, the owner and the serf etc etc The difference between the two is as fundamental as between spiritualism and materialism democracy and dictatorship non-violence and violence

13-11-'53

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A SATYAGRAHA STRUGGLE

(By Gandhiji)

[The following paragraphs are from Shri N K Bose's [illegible] *on from Gandhi.** They will provide the reader [illegible] instructive material on *satyagraha.*]

1 A *satyagraha* struggle is impossible without capital in the shape of character

2 The leaders of every clean movement are bound to see that they admit only clean fighters to it

3 Those who claim to lead the masses must resolutely refuse to be led by them, if we want to avoid mob law and desire ordered progress for the country I believe that mere protestation of one's opinion and surrender to the mass opinion is not only not enough, but in matters of vital importance leaders must *act* contrary to the mass of opinion if it does not commend itself to their reason

4 A leader is useless when he acts against the prompting of his own conscience, surrounded as he must be by people holding all kinds of views He will drift like an anchorless ship, if he has not the inner voice to hold him firm and guide him

5 An able general always gives battle in his own time on the ground of his choice He always retains the initiative in these respects and never allows it to pass into the hands of the enemy

In a *satyagraha* campaign the mode of fight and the choice of tactics e g whether to advance or retreat offer civil resistance or organize non violent strength through constructive work and purely selfless humanitarian service are determined according to the exigencies of the situation A *satyagrahi* must carry out whatever plan is laid out for him with a cool determination giving way to neither excitement nor depression.

6 A wise general does not wait till he is actually routed he withdraws in time in an orderly manner from a position which he knows he would not be able to hold

7 Having fixed one's minimum from which one may not recede one may stoop to conquer the whole world

8 In a pure fight, the fighters would never go beyond the objective when the fight began even if they received an accession to their strength in course of the fighting and, on the other hand they could not give up their objective if they found their strength dwindling away

9 Indiscriminate resistance to authority must lead to lawlessness unbridled licence and consequent self-destruction

10 Non-co-operation when its limitations are not recognized becomes a licence instead of being a duty and therefore becomes a crime

11 Some students have revived the ancient form of barbarity in the form of 'sitting *dharna*' I call it 'barbarity' for it is a crude way of using coercion It is also cowardly because one who sits *dharna* knows that he is not going to be trampled over It is difficult to call the practice vio- [illegible] fight our opponent, we [illegible] ble him to return the blow But when [illegible] challenge him to walk over us, we *know* [illegible] he will not place him in a most awkward [illegible] humiliating position I know that the overzealous students who sat *dharna* never thought of the barbarity of the deed But one who is expected to follow the voice of conscience and stand even single-handed in the face of odds, cannot afford to be thoughtless Non-co-operation, if it fails, will fail only through internal weakness. There is no such thing as defeat in non-co-operation It never fails its so-called representatives may so badly represent their cause that it may appear to the spectators to have failed. Let non-co-operationists therefore beware of everything they do There must be no impatience no barbarity no insolence no undue pressure If we want to cultivate a true spirit of democracy we cannot afford to be intolerant Intolerance betrays want of faith in one's cause

* Price Rs 4/ Postage etc Re 1/

PLANNING FROM THE BOTTOM

(By S N Agarwal)

One of the Directives of the Indian Constitution is that ' the State shall take steps to organize Village Panchayats as units of self-government" Gandhiji also laid great stress on the desirability of decentralizing economic and political power in India through the revival of Gram Panchayats His dream of true Swaraj consisted in the creation of "self-sufficient and self-governing village republics" throughout the country

Village Communities in India have formed an integral part of our national life from times immemorial It was mainly during the British regime that these Village Panchayats gradually died down owing to excessive centralization of administration and economic organization

It is being recognized by all the leading political and social thinkers of the West that modern democracy in order to succeed as a practical measure of socio-economic organization, must be decentralized ' If men's faith in social action is to be revivified" states Prof Joad, " the State must be cut up and its function distributed.' Di Boodin also regards ' small, closely-knit republics to be the true moral units of civilization " Modern Sociology upholds the principle that ' man is happiest when living in small communities" Analysing the drawbacks of modern States Prof Adams wants us " to go to the root of the trouble and pursue a bold policy of devolution, of decentralization" Lewis Mumford, the well known American Sociologist, recommends the building up of "small balanced communities in the open country ' In modern America the small communities are yet playing a very important role in the revival of rural life and co-operative effort. *Kentucky on the March* is a romantic story of men and women working together for the common good of all in a small locality Prof Richard Peston in his book entitled *Small Town Renaissance* emphatically asserts

that vigorous small communities provide the only atmosphere in which democracy can thrive and remain a powerful force" Dr Borsodi has been trying the same experiment of decentralized, small-scale community in his School of Living near New York Dr Morgan's work at Yellow Spring, Ohio, for the organization of community life is also a heroic attempt to preserve and stabilize the democratic way of life

The idea of Village Panchayats is, thus, not a medieval conception, nor is it a relic of tribalism As Dr Radhakrishnan remarks, 'going back to villages is not to become primitive, it is the only way to keep up a mode of existence that is instinctive to India.' Dr Radhakamal Mukerjee in his *Democracies of the East* points out how the village communities "will furnish the basis of a new type of polity which in its co-ordination of diverse local and functional groups will be more satisfying in the State coostructions of the future than the centralized structures of the parliamentary pattern"

Instead of being old fashioned and out-of-date this pattern of rural Panchayats as the basic units of administration and economic organization is in accordance with the spirit of this age of scientific progress Science, with all its modern technological achievements, should make for decentralization rather than for centralization It is also not right to think that Village Panchayats will lead to isolationism Even in ancient times there was well-organized co-ordination at all levels In fact the progress of science and democracy must inevitably promote devolution of economic and political power in modern times

The ancient traditions of Village Panchayats in India have been in the direction of composite' democracy as against the present type of "party democracy The voice of the *Panchas* was always considered to be the voice of God' *Panch Parmeshwar* was the ideal of these rural republics Elections to the Panchayats were mostly unanimous; whenever it was not possible to achieve unanimity election was completed by means of lots drawn by the youngest child in the village If we desire to rebuild the country from the bottom on sound foundations of democracy we must resuscitate our Panchayats on the traditions of composite democracy It is but proper that the Congress Working Committee has instructed the Pradesh Congress Committees that as far as possible Congress should not try to contest the Panchayat elections on a party basis The Praja Socialist Party is also of the same view It is hoped that other political parties in the country will consider this matter seriously and solemnly decide not to make the Village Panchayats an arena for party politics We must all co-operate whole-heartedly in revivifying our ancient Panchayat traditions on the model of a broad-based non-party non-communal and enlightened democracy Only then can we hope to reconstruct India according to the real genius of the nation

(Adapted from the *A I C C Economic Review* 1 11-53)

THE BULLOCK-CART vs THE MOTOR-BUS

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

A 'correspondent from Kandhvali writes as follows

Not long ago every house in the village had full employment throughout the year which provided it with enough income. An average peasant owned 5 to 10 *bighas* of land, necessary agricultural implements, a pair of bullocks and a cart. He worked on his land and on those of others for which he received wages in cash. Occasionally when he was free he plied his cart for the transport of crops or passengers and earned a good deal by way of cart hire In this way while attending to the work on his land he made an additional income of three to five hundred rupees in the year Along with that he also kept a cow. Then there were marriage parties going from his village to other villages and passengers who had to be conveyed to and brought back from the railway station All this provided a very good source of income to the owner and the driver of the cart This in its turn benefited the village carpenter and village smith. And so it went on quite smoothly and peacefully in the manner of a perfectly organized economy

Presently there appeared on this scene of peace and plenty a monster in the shape of the motor-bus which shattered the even tenor of the village life by depriving the villagers of one of their main sources of employment For, to illustrate what a single village has lost and is now — because most of it goes out of the village) on this one machine

The railway station is one and half miles from our village There are six passenger trains stopping at this station The number of passengers going to or coming from the station is on the average 250 per day At the rate of 0-8-0 per passenger the total conveyance charges will amount to Rs 45-14-0 for a day Rs 1 406-4-0 for the month and Rs 16 875-0-0 for the year The driver and cleaner together get about Rs 100-0-0 per month that is Rs 1 200-0-0 in the year Deducting Rs 1 200 and Rs 3 000 as the yearly profit of the owner of bus we find that a huge sum of more than twelve thousand rupees goes out of the village for petrol tubes and tyres and other necessaries of the bus There is another bus in our village operating on the road to Navsari a distance of five miles only I have made thorough calculations in regard to this bus also and find that it drains about sixty eight thousand rupees from the village in the year In this way the village is sending out Rs 80 000 every year which could have been easily conserved in the village if the cart and not the bus had continued to be means of rural transport.

Another very undesirable result was that the small landholders stopped keeping bullocks and cows because they were now no longer economic to them Could nothing be done to stop this wasteful outflow of village-money? It is the State Transport which is now operating all these bus-services and yet the waste continues as before

This plea for a bullock-cart might appear absurd to a certain class of readers How dare anyone to object to a motor-bus in this machine-age? — they will say

One is welcome to exclaim like that, but the question which the correspondent has raised is far too serious to be dismissed in that off-hand manner It demands a satisfactory answer There is no denying the fact that the introduction of the motor-bus has led to the disruption of the village economy Those therefore who are all for enjoying the blessings of this much-vaunted

invention [illegible] show how [illegible] unknowingly can be made up

One may add here that the small capitalist who owned a bus might get a good share of the income But that would be centralizing the [illegible] transport Thus the bus transport industry whether private or state-owned suffers from evils of centralization

The central fact about the life of the village peasant is that he lives by working on his small plot of land for which he needs bullocks If he keeps a cow, he not only gets milk and ghee for his children but also good manure for his fields and bullocks If he also keeps a cart, it helps him in his agricultural work as well as provides him with a good source of income in the shape of cart-hire If *charkha* were also added to these, there will be full employment for him throughout the year This is the only way in which he can make his small holding economic as also save himself from unemployment and under-employment.

Moreover this helps other village industries to be organized around it and all together make a system of economy which would keep both the agriculturists and the craftsmen gainfully employed

Now if one introduces into this picture a flour-mill an oil-mill a tractor, a motor-bus, a milk-dairy like the Aarey Colony, it just evaporates into thin air Even assuming for a moment that this does not matter, the advocates of the machine economy must point out quite clearly how they propose to redraw the new picture The policy of *laissez faire* will most certainly not do because it can only result in enriching the few and impoverishing the rest, with the inevitable danger to the security of the society And nothing can be allowed to endanger the security of the society

It is at times argued that if Western countries were able to organize their economy through machines why should not we? Even big economists and reputed planners are found to use this argument But they forget that the course of economic development in the West has been altogether different from ours The rise of the newly-invented technology in the 19th century set Europe going on the road to industrialization and all that it has meant to it and the rest of the world Europe is now making frantic efforts to preserve the structure which it built up so laboriously over more than a century and a half but the 20th century is thwarting it. Apart from that despite all this industrial advancement and seeming prosperity, it also suffers from the evils of unemployment, inequality between different groups, and the conflict and bitterness which it breeds What then it has achieved through the machine if all these economic problems remain unsolved? There is conflict not only between groups within the nation but also between different nations on account of rivalries for getting raw materials and markets The situation has so far deteriorated that the Western nations are at present living in a state of perpetual tension alternating between [illegible] with each other [illegible] should not be [illegible] a fixed [illegible] Transport Department [illegible] and do the needful

[illegible]

(Adapted from the original in Gujrati)

HEALTH AND CIVILIZATION

[The following is adapted from an article in a cyclo styled journal *The Life Natural*, organ of the Indian Institute of Natural Therapeutics, May and June, 1953]

Civilization (नागरिकता city life) has grown up as a resultant of a mixture of human motives, chief amongst which was the love of pleasure As the indispensable means of pleasure, first wealth and then money as the means of commanding wealth, have overshadowed and enslaved human life The apparent rulers, the professional politicians, are far from indifferent to money, and hence they owe their allegiance, never to the people whose votes put them into the places of power, but to the Money Bags who have unlimited means of subjugating even the incorruptibles, sooner or later

During the last few centuries an important ally has come into being, to serve the cause of the Money Bags, namely Science Science is nowadays venerated and submitted to far more than God ever was in the past At one time Science was an unassuming branch of philosophy, it had no name of its own, because it was treated as a part of philosophy Now it has superceded both philosophy and religion and reigns supreme over the civilized peoples of the earth, itself subject to the inexorable dictates of the Money Power, secretly of course

Money Power has taken over full control of nearly the whole of human life It has invested untold millions in every single means of money-making that capitalistic ingenuity could discover Many of these businesses intimately concern our health and happiness, and even our lives Education and acquisition of knowledge are now fully dominated by this secret sovereign.

The so-called science of medicine is also now completely dominated by the money-makers

[illegible] serum trades and these are far from being without influence on the secret trends of medical practice. Only those procedures are allowed to flourish which make for the success of the financial ventures, in which the medicos are subordinate partners, deriving a great part of their earnings by serving as tools of these concerns

The procedures, called vaccination and inoculation in which the products of disease, vaccines and serums are put into living bodies, under the pretext of conferring immunity from diseases, are logically incapable of doing anything of that sort They add to the foulness in the body and thus convert tendencies to acute disease into chronic states of ill health, thereby conferring an undesirable kind of immunity — immunity by the presence of much more serious disease But even this often miscarries, because of Nature's severe disapproval, and tragic consequences follow

This line of exploitation has incidentally resulted in establishing as a legally permitted procedure the practice of unlimited cruelty upon innocent animals — dogs, cats, rabbits, guinea-pigs, monkeys and so on — which are not even given the benefit of anaesthetics This heartless cruelty consists in inflicting tortures of great variety for weeks or months, until they die of agonies This is glorified *as research* The people are fooled into acquiescence by being told that great discoveries are going to be made, which will be utilized for the cure of human ills

Money-making is such a sacred calling, that the law and its administration are deliberately crippled so as to let it go on unhindered The trade in depressant poisons, like alcoholic liquor, tobacco, opium and so on is encouraged The newspapers derive a great part of their income from advertisements paid for by the dealers in these items. Hence efforts to put the people wise about these health-destroyers are not allowed to be made in their columns Trade must flourish though the Heavens may fall !

We have on many occasions dealt with the denaturing of foods, due to Big Business taking over the right of distributing them over to the consumers The sieving and bleaching of wheat flour, the use of poisonous chemical preservations to keep the foods 'good' — only apparently so — till they are sold to the consumers, the refining of sugar, the manufacture of Vanaspati out of the oil of groundnut, these are a few examples of how good foods are allowed to be robbed of its health-value, so that Business may prosper.

Even the soil on which our foods are raised has suffered through the unholy alliance of Science and Big Business I refer to the use of chemical fertilizers, which have taken the place of natural manures The chemicals have succeeded in winning a stronghold over agriculture [illegible] that [illegible] displace them, even though it has [illegible] demonstrated scientifically, that they are really ruinous to soil health exhausting the soil so that it becomes desert land in a few decades

Sir Albert Howard demonstrated by his work at Indore that the proper way to maintain the fertility and health of the soil is to use organic compost-manure Also it is known that the gritty substance of rocks, washed down by the rains, is valuable for increasing fertility But the so-called agricultural scientists who serve under the governments are still for the artificial fertilizers and it is reasonable to suspect that the fertilizer trade has something to do with their indifference to natural manures

The soil whose health has been undermined by the artificials, produces weak crops, which attract parasites To kill them, poisons are sprayed on the crops Thus fruits and vegetables are covered with a layer of poison, which needs to be washed off before they are consumed DDT is one of the deadliest poisons that Science has given to Business and this is used on fruit and other foods It is said that if the soil be redeemed in a natural way, the pests would cease to attack the crops But there seems to be no chance of this being done

Quite a lot of our food comes from afar in tins. These foods are no food at all, because of the mere lapse of time, as well as other causes The manufacturers take care to make the contents tasty But there is no knowing whether or not stale or rotten foodstuffs have been used in preparing them. It is said that stale eggs are freely made use of in preparing the foods in the place of fresh ones Tinned foods should as a rule be eschewed

Civilization has thus greatly contributed to our loss of health. This is proved by the almost universal decay of dental health. Faultless teeth are rarely to be found, except among savage peoples There are other telltale evidences — constipation, indigestion, neurosis, a vast increase in mental disease, and even moral decay, — these and a great many others are incontestable proofs that civilization has taken a heavy price for the doubtful blessings it has conferred on us Certainly it has not made mankind happier or morally better

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1629

RIGHT TO EMPLOYMENT

(By Gandhiji)

Every human being has a right to live and therefore to find the wherewithal to feed himself and where necessary to clothe and house himself But for this very simple performance we need no assistance from economists or their laws

'Take no thought for the morrow' is an injunction which finds an echo in almost all the religious scriptures of the world In well-ordered societies the securing of one's livelihood should be and is found to be the easiest thing in the world Indeed the test of orderliness in a country is not the number of millionaires it owns, but the absence of starvation among its masses.

Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi III Edition Natesan & Co., Madras page 3.0

The hungry millions ask for one poem — invigorating food They cannot be given it They must earn it And they can earn only by the sweat of their brow

Young India, 13-10-'21

Imagine therefore, what a calamity it must be to have 300 millions unemployed several millions becoming degraded every day for want of employment devoid of self respect devoid of faith in God I may as well place before the dog over there the message of God as before those hungry millions who have no lustre in their eyes and whose only God is their bread I can take before them a message of God only by taking the message of sacred work before them It is good enough to talk of God whilst we are sitting here after a nice breakfast and looking forward to a nicer luncheon but how am I to talk of God to the millions who have to go without two meals a day? To them God can only appear as bread and butter

Young India 15-10-'31

To a people famishing and idle the only acceptable form in which God can dare appear is work and promise of food as wages

Young India, 13-10-21

We should be ashamed of resting or having a square meal so long as there is one able-bodied man or woman without work or food

Young India 6-10-'21

[illegible] the idea of [illegible] person who has [illegible] honest way and if I [illegible] Sadavrata [illegible] has engaged the [illegible] idleness, [illegible]

[illegible] 1953

[illegible] the poor on [illegible] entitled [illegible] — the [illegible] who [illegible] whose [illegible] to [illegible] and the cripple and the [illegible] of [illegible] doles to [illegible] to our eternal [illegible] that [illegible] the message of [illegible] whole country [illegible]

ECONOMIC PLANNING AND SWADESHI

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

During the Gandhi Jayanti Week on [illegible] I happened to visit Baroda There in the Nava Manav Hall I had the good fortune to see a village in [illegible] Swadeshi exhibition inaugurated that morning by Shri Vaikunthlal Mehta One [illegible] from seeing it, [illegible] only encourage them and [illegible] our doors It was a clear proof of [illegible] until living untapped in our [illegible] to better our economic life [illegible] various processes, small things of bamboo and baskets fans etc made [illegible] were displayed there [illegible] we began to make [illegible] use of cheap mechanized goods [illegible] which have grown [illegible] the distress [illegible] to do so?

[illegible] of handicrafts [illegible] institutions, [illegible] printing print and embroidery, [illegible] specimens [illegible] bags etc [illegible] their [illegible] two months

[illegible] repr[illegible] resolution

[illegible] do not [illegible] seem to [illegible] a little [illegible] and [illegible] lack of [illegible] con- [illegible] the time [illegible] much [illegible] nor [illegible] this [illegible] gains [illegible] as [illegible] This will [illegible] of [illegible] those [illegible] would [illegible] out the [illegible] nce [illegible] and [illegible]

[illegible] — let us [illegible] it — we [illegible] a good number [illegible] daily use are [illegible] these goods [illegible] patriotism and [illegible] country at large he in [illegible] avoid seemingly [illegible] ultimately aggravate our [illegible] that the cheapness [illegible] sort of suffering general [illegible] starvation If we do not [illegible] will die of starva- tion [illegible] ment and those few [illegible] victims of jealousy and [illegible] terrible calamity If [illegible] it will have to [illegible] then have to be of [illegible] interest only But [illegible] the interest of [illegible] such people and Gove[illegible] is urgent need to [illegible] structure on Swadeshi and [illegible] This is the only way to over- [illegible] ment and starvation and promote [illegible] It will be good indeed if our policies are revised accordingly and in time This is now the main task before the Government and the people for some years to come

(From the original in Gujarati)

THE AGE OF FRIENDLY LOVE*

(By Vinoba)

The days of kings are past, and so are those of the zamindars The present age has no use either for the kings or the zamindars The world of people belongs to the people whose voice will henceforth be supreme The rise of the people in the affairs of the world signifies that the present age demands equality — equality as between friends The relationship among different [illegible] constituting the society must be [illegible] friendly love It is we might say, the [illegible] friendly love

The relation between Arjuna and Lord Krishna was that of friends They worked as equals Lord Krishna was a repository of vast knowledge Arjuna's knowledge was limited He was brave and skilled in the art of war but here too his power was limited while that of Krishna was unlimited However the relation between them was that of friends and therefore of equality Arjuna had great respect for Krishna, but the relationship between them was on a basis of equality

There had been another age before that of Arjuna and Krishna — a great and noble age which held up the ideal of loyalty — loyalty as that of a servant to his master There was no lack of love between the master and the servant The master looked after the wellbeing of the servant and the servant served the master with perfect loyalty This was the age of Hanuman He served Rama with the devotion of a servant.

The present-day world however, has set its heart on friendly love Not service, but comradeship is its ideal It does not mean that those who deserve respect will not receive it Excellence will certainly receive due respect, but the relationship between individuals will be that of friendly equality

The society in the days of Hanuman was organized on a different pattern. There were dominating personalities who gathered round themselves loyal servants and followers They bore sincere love to one another but one was the master and the rest were his loyal followers It meant that social progress in those days could not go beyond that stage

Today however, the master-servant relation even though it may be based on love, is disappeared This is because there were times in the past when the masters degenerated into tyrants and servants lost all respect for them

*From a speech at Kiajori in Monghyr (Bihar)

[illegible] find a few cases [illegible] tions of an ideal kind [illegible] is the friendship type of [illegible] servant type does not [illegible] of the new age It was found [illegible] been finally rejected

[illegible] why when today we go to a pro[illegible] we do not say, "You are [illegible] or that "You are our master Kin[illegible] nething, we will be very grateful [illegible] " We are all brothers give us [illegible] We conceive *dan* [illegible] charity, as an [illegible] tribution of one's riches If someone [illegible] two acres out of his hundred or [illegible] house to accept the offer If our [illegible] been that of the servant, we would [illegible] even two acres We would have [illegible] and been grateful to him for his [illegible] but we do not do so because we [illegible] the donors not as servants but

[illegible] order of society will not accept [illegible] friendship as the principle [illegible] pattern of relationships among [illegible] even the teacher and the pupil [illegible] each other They will love each [illegible] will teach the pupil and the [illegible] will teach the teacher Each will give to [illegible] what he has and both will be mutually [illegible] Thus the teacher and the pupil, the [illegible] and the workman, the master and the [illegible] will be equals to one another in respect [illegible]

[illegible] time when the wife looked on [illegible] as a deity to be worshipped and [illegible] as a slave to him This kind of [illegible] good points and the times [illegible] practised are not to be condemned, [illegible] have gone a step further ahead [illegible] wife will be devoted to her husband [illegible] and will be devoted to his wife Both [illegible] each other as deserving of his or her [illegible] Any special ability, whoever of the two [illegible] it, will receive due respect from the [illegible] But they will be equals

We have to build our society in accordance [illegible] the demand of the age We must realize [illegible] old values cannot last in their old forms [illegible] values and norms which obtained when [illegible] wrote his Ramayana cannot be accepted [illegible] in those days a *brahmana* was considered [illegible] superior but today he cannot claim [illegible] priority as a right We will now respect [illegible] wherever we may find them, but the [illegible] in every case will be based on [illegible]

[illegible] example in the factories there will be [illegible] and workmen The former will excel in [illegible] and organizational skill, while the latter [illegible] their capacity for physical labour So there will be no occasion for the workman to say that the manager was his master and he was a servant [illegible] and [illegible] The [illegible] equal [illegible] ity [illegible] and [illegible] also [illegible] to past [illegible] in the [illegible] his old [illegible] superior an [illegible] will [illegible]

[illegible] that we [illegible] owner, [illegible] in the way [illegible] collect it According to the [illegible] an equal [illegible] of produc[illegible] of the age [illegible] work so [illegible] What is [illegible] of the [illegible] ity with [illegible] has [illegible] ne people ever [illegible]

[illegible] labourer, [illegible] ice but [illegible] be brave [illegible] ight cause [illegible] at ligence, [illegible] ns strong [illegible] there[illegible]

[illegible] oint of [illegible] in ex[illegible] Had it [illegible] ed land [illegible] ones in [illegible] of their [illegible] uld have [illegible] to every [illegible] to everyone [illegible] him quite [illegible] And We [illegible] ift deeds [illegible] er out to [illegible] l duty in [illegible] ou have [illegible] ou [illegible] will have [illegible] Proportion [illegible] It is not [illegible] ly this [illegible] collect [illegible] that this [illegible] they will [illegible] ceed [illegible]

HARIJAN

[illegible] 1953

[illegible] WAY FOR INDUSTRY

[illegible] ty School [illegible] to an [illegible] and [illegible] which [illegible] for [illegible] or [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] our [illegible] n [illegible] of [illegible] ing [illegible] an [illegible] It [illegible] our [illegible] co-[illegible] matter [illegible] willing [illegible] e land [illegible] ship [illegible] but [illegible] equa [illegible] ns of [illegible] who hve [illegible] apply a [illegible] ion of ques- [illegible] ween [illegible] ust and [illegible] ft ways [illegible] in the [illegible] and [illegible] in the [illegible] but [illegible] of [illegible] ions [illegible] own [illegible] interests o [illegible] As I said [illegible] eviously, the question there- [illegible] ould be made to function as [illegible] hoodan suggests that there [illegible] ut How can we do that in [illegible] It is the question that really [illegible]

[illegible] h a change is given to [illegible] doctrine of trusteeship [illegible] this idea in his discussion [illegible] putes and for re-establish- [illegible] the investor cum-owner of [illegible] and the spirit of private [illegible] gers of industry The idea [illegible] ly meant to do something [illegible] Essentially it is a call [illegible] capital in industry in [illegible] less labourers who really [illegible] ree and independent of [illegible] ess Like absentee land- [illegible] lding which modern [illegible] n banking and finance [illegible] be surely liquidated. [illegible] would require us to see [illegible] nc cons nt and willing co- [illegible] pital-holder Like the first [illegible] Reddi, we should have a first [illegible] egin this new movement [illegible] of *Sampattidan* is helpful [illegible] y The following are a few [illegible] g that

[illegible] must be given over to [illegible] for a co-operative effort on [illegible]

[illegible] ge the industry must limit [illegible] bearing a reasonable propor- [illegible] of labour,

[illegible] us system of Managing Agency [illegible] d captains of industries — the [illegible] d give up their rights in favour [illegible] trial co-operatives,

[illegible] state must, to begin with, put a ceiling [illegible] trial profit and agency commissions; [illegible] to work the industry as skilled or un- skilled labourers or as technical or managerial [illegible] must be put on a reasonable monthly [illegible] ba is

[illegible] unhappy thing today is that our ideas [illegible] e commerce and industry as also finance [illegible] and planning are running in a [illegible] t direction which inevitably leads to [illegible] ns and strifes Unless we revolutionalize [illegible] there is no way out of the capitalist *status quo*

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[illegible] AND SCIENCE

(By [illegible] that P Desai)

The [illegible] a news item [illegible] Vol [illegible] Colombo 6 1953

[illegible] — The French physicist [illegible] and last night that [illegible] the result would [illegible] greatest number of [illegible] meeting of the national co[illegible] ment Prof Curie said [illegible] reduce would [illegible] for new weapons [illegible] developed and produ[illegible] destructive powe[illegible] atom bomb [illegible] hydrogen bomb [illegible] as he been [illegible] Nobel [illegible] the president of [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] huge [illegible] human de[illegible] Those who [illegible] inferia[illegible] the undo[illegible] ity But [illegible] exonerate[illegible] guilt?

In our [illegible] scien[illegible] asked to [illegible] for [illegible] weapons of [illegible] how a popu[illegible] might [illegible] and eco[illegible] paid [illegible] charge of [illegible] the good [illegible] and their [illegible] pains These are to [illegible] the end[illegible] of a social order which [illegible] generally [illegible] nalism It is [illegible] creasingly [illegible] in the West [illegible] war and cut thro[illegible] poverty and [illegible] ploitation [illegible] massacre on a global level are inl[illegible] and [illegible] It is science that [illegible] about Can it therefore [illegible] ethical questio[illegible] raised above?

If the world is to [illegible] and out of the slough of [illegible] and moral decay in [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] the existing order as also [illegible] and [illegible] of the

[illegible] and Life

[illegible]

[illegible] to stu[illegible] said [illegible] in [illegible] thing is [illegible] study is [illegible] partially [illegible] the one [illegible] other [illegible] science [illegible] the maintenance [illegible] system unco[illegible] those classes retain [illegible] privileges [illegible] is pleasantest are su[illegible] as satis[illegible] sity do not demand [illegible] mental [illegible] can be practically [illegible]

[illegible] including [illegible] philosophi[illegible] the existing order as also [illegible] and [illegible] of the

[illegible] that [illegible] to [illegible] and [illegible] ble [illegible] last [illegible] and [illegible] — [illegible] ry [illegible] — [illegible] of [illegible] — [illegible] tulfil their [illegible] righteousness [illegible] arrange [illegible] while the [illegible] pies itself [illegible] with tech-

[illegible] se divi[illegible] is harm-[illegible] use it con[illegible] people's percep-[illegible] se de[illegible] also by its [illegible] occupying the ground which [illegible] It does this harm, [illegible] to approach the study [illegible] es one of life, must first [illegible] which have for ages [illegible] the most essential [illegible] and which are propped [illegible] human ingenuity

[illegible] — the one of which [illegible] particularly proud, and [illegible] people to be the [illegible] ful in that it diverts [illegible] portant subjects to [illegible] directly harm-[illegible] tem of society which [illegible] ifies and supports, [illegible] ans of science are [illegible] to the injury of [illegible]

[illegible] — ch science as [illegible] pect which is now [illegible] one (the least im-portant) [illegible] — is not at all of this kind [illegible] in knowing what we should and [illegible] not believe, in know-ing how the [illegible] l life of man should and should not be constituted how to treat sexual relations, how to educate children how to use the land how to cultivate it oneself without oppressing other people how to treat foreigners, how to treat animals, and much more that is important for the life of man

Such has true science [illegible] rotten and such it should be And such science is springing up in our times but, on the one hand such true [illegible] ence is denied and refuted by all those scien-[illegible] the people who defend the existing order of [illegible] ociety and on the other hand it is considered [illegible] ority unnecessary, unscientific science by those who are engrossed in experimental science

The great majority of men in our times lack [illegible] and sufficient food (as well as dwellings and [illegible] thes and all the first necessities of life) And [illegible] his great majority of men is compelled, to the [illegible] of its wellbeing to labour continually be-[illegible] its strength Both these evils can easily be [illegible] ved by abolishing mutual strife luxury, and [illegible] ous distribution of wealth — in a [illegible] the abolition of a false and harmful [illegible] establishment of a reasonable human [illegible] of the [illegible] ence considers the existing [illegible] immutable as the move-[illegible] planets and therefore assumes that [illegible] ed to elucidate the [illegible] no to arrange a new reas-onable [illegible] but to do the existing order of things [illegible] body and enable all to be as idle [illegible] ing as es living depraved lives, now are

And meanwhile it is forgotten that nourishment by corn vegetables, and fruit raised from the soil by one's own labour, is the pleasantest healthiest easiest and most natural nourishment and that the work of using one's muscles is as necessary a condition of life as is the oxidation of the blood by breathing

To invent means whereby people, while continuing our false division of property and labour, might be well nourished by means of chemically prepared food and might make the forces of nature work for them, is like inventing means to pump oxygen into the lungs of a man kept in a closed chamber the air of which is bad, when all that is needed is for the man no longer to be confined in a closed chamber

Such false ideals could not exist if science were not on a false path

It is to be hoped that the work I have tried to perform concerning art will be performed also for science, that the falseness of the theory of science for science's sake will be demonstrated that the necessity of acknowledging Christian teaching in its true meaning will be clearly shown and on the basis of that teaching a re appraisement be made of the knowledge we possess and of which we are so proud; that the secondariness and insignificance of experimental

[illegible] of reli-
[illegible] will be esta-
[illegible] and that [illegible] will not, as
[illegible] shift to the [illegible] upper classes
[illegible] will fo[illegible] of all free
[illegible] not in agree-
[illegible] their despite,
[illegible] real choice of life
[illegible] Tolstoy — *What is Art?* Chap. XX)

PROHIBIT VIVISECTION

1st November, 1953

[illegible] Editor of *Harijan*

[illegible] find that a bill to prohibit vivisec-
[illegible] experiments on living animals),
[illegible] Shrimati Rukmani Devi Arundale
[illegible] the Indian Legislature; and
[illegible] would if you would allow me to
[illegible] on this.

[illegible] coins its freedom after a long
[illegible] there is a tendency for it to
[illegible] knowingly some of the ideas
[illegible] rulers. I have watched
[illegible] quiet India's adoption of the
[illegible] and the steady increase in
[illegible] research vainly conduc
[illegible] finding cures for human
[illegible] which are the inevitable re-
[illegible]

[illegible] unlimited experiments
[illegible] practice has become
[illegible] difficult to combat. The
[illegible] in India and if
[illegible] can be
[illegible] brought into the bet
[illegible] can be stopped
[illegible] ways to health
[illegible] compulsory animals I
[illegible] that Mrs Arundale's
[illegible] success. If they are
[illegible] able to the whole

[illegible] Tyldesley,
Secretary,
Anti-Vivisection Society

[illegible] says above, specially
[illegible] for (us) to continue
[illegible] ideas and practices of
[illegible] great cost and worry
[illegible] other spheres of our
[illegible] the bureaucracy is
[illegible] inner by the change
[illegible] in its old ways
[illegible] past dilatoriness
[illegible] restrictive laws and
[illegible] the hard type of
[illegible] revolution that
[illegible] more way in this
[illegible] circulation are the
[illegible] Government
[illegible] in this respect.

—M. P.]

SATYAGRAHA — BLACKMAIL

(By Courtesy of the Peacemaker)

[*The Peacemaker*, [illegible] interesting letter from [illegible] letter from another [illegible] assertion that Gandhiji [illegible] glorified forms of the [illegible] every child [illegible] August 3 issue of the paper [illegible] says as follows.

8-11-53 —[illegible]

This assertion (in the [illegible] *Peacemaker*) seems to [illegible] of Satyagraha — that [illegible] the social [illegible] methods [illegible] the public [illegible] conscience thereby [illegible]

Since the public [illegible] — as carefully [illegible] followers [illegible] cannot be [illegible] basis of acc[illegible] those toward whom [illegible] bear little [illegible] wilful child — [illegible] without [illegible] strike [illegible] an example of [illegible]

(The [illegible] instructed [illegible] and [illegible] for the [illegible] to understand [illegible] of the [illegible] purpose which [illegible] deteriorated [illegible] *sent* to [illegible]

The [illegible] of [illegible] Weekly [illegible] highly points [illegible] and violence the spirit [illegible] concern [illegible] never failed [illegible] that [illegible] Gandhi used this [illegible] "endurance" educationally [illegible] arresting public attention [illegible] conscience by forms of [illegible] — of which fasting was only one.

Surely the [illegible] of such sacrificial action — the [illegible] — could not be classified [illegible] 'blackmail' — yet its pu[illegible] same — the dwel[illegible] humanity by the method [illegible]

The [illegible] lonely [illegible] immediate [illegible] he seems to have been [illegible] sacrifice as a symbol [illegible] for the failures of [illegible] appeal to the conscience of [illegible]

[illegible] OF YARN HANKS

[illegible]

[illegible] yarn hanks—[illegible] the idea of having [illegible] *Khadi*. The [illegible] constructive [illegible] hanks [illegible] a mount [illegible] sent to me [illegible] they were [illegible] used it for it sh[illegible] had taken root [illegible]

[illegible] out a [illegible] from all [illegible] out of which [illegible] done ha[illegible] thousand [illegible] have [illegible] to collect [illegible] yarn hanks [illegible] popula[illegible] on [illegible] with [illegible] For [illegible]

[illegible] realize [illegible] Five-Year Plan [illegible] not from [illegible] republics but [illegible] employment [illegible] as "Khadi [illegible] struggle for [illegible] the symbol of [illegible] spirit [illegible] independence [illegible] It has one [illegible] that [illegible] It means that yarn [illegible] now not only from [illegible] Workers should [illegible] ology of the p[illegible] lies in the [illegible] hanks—a yarn land [illegible] hood of yarn off [illegible] edwa S[illegible] its registers. But [illegible] has [illegible] They [illegible] kers will m[illegible] or should attach [illegible] is name and full [illegible] his age too. All [illegible] and aged per[illegible] all therefore be [illegible] present but also a [illegible]

[illegible] will ordinarily use [illegible] from which they [illegible] been considered [illegible] dedicated to [illegible] 10 lakhs yarn [illegible] Yarn hanks [illegible] ary I hope all [illegible] ideology will [illegible] work.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] *Chronicle* I [illegible] a victim of the [illegible] the corner[illegible] Forces Insti[illegible] shington. The [illegible] from the bomb [illegible] stone of the [illegible] October 20. The [illegible] of extra thick [illegible] to the admini[illegible] floors below [illegible]

[illegible] burying its [illegible]

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[illegible] ACKMAIL [illegible] Erle 311

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FEARLESSNESS, EQUALITY AND DEVOTION TO SOCIETY *

(By Vinoba)

Mankind has been continually moving forward ever since it came into existence. It has been taking up and discarding one quality after another in accordance with the call of the age. The spirit has innumerable qualities—as innumerable as the stars in the sky or the grains of sand on the earth. Every age draws forth as it were one of these according to its need and brings it into prominence with all the ardour that it can command.

For example there was a time when people realized the importance of cleanliness. They then raised it to the position of a supreme virtue and tried to implement it in their life. At another time their attention was drawn to the need for control of the carnal passion. There were so many other different forms of marriage prevalent. Among those there was a question which of them to adopt. Finally they chose one of these and [illegible] with great sanctity. So the [illegible] became the generally [illegible] form of marriage and has remained so ever [illegible]. This was a great step forward in the direction of [illegible] to this instinct or that they [illegible] it but speaking about [illegible] we might say that they have lessened the [illegible] of it rather proper control. In olden times it was [illegible] for the kings to have more than one [illegible]. To [illegible] to the extent of capturing the [illegible] of their unequished rivals for their harem [illegible] barbarities are now almost extinct.

The human society in the course of its onward [illegible] look upon certain interests and practices as [illegible] and [illegible] institutions as useful means to the end they had in view. Some of these [illegible] true [illegible] and must necessarily be scrapped now. [illegible] have [illegible] critical and introduced [illegible] institutions and realize the quality [illegible] which is one of the greatest [illegible] virtues.

[illegible] consider what are the qualities which are [illegible] fearlessness have been [illegible] the [illegible] of the appropriate [illegible] society is established [illegible] and go forward. [illegible] that of [illegible] more than anything else [illegible] equality and [illegible] [illegible] urgent [illegible] efforts whether [illegible] to be [illegible] their [illegible].

[illegible] in a state of [illegible] greater and [illegible] The [illegible] bombs [illegible] those wealth [illegible]

* From a speech at Moughyr on 20-10-53.

reserves is perhaps the greatest in the world. But even America has not escaped this general malady. America is afraid of Russia. The military fear overshadows the entire world. Russia is similarly afraid of America. America feels [illegible] afraid of Pakistan and Pakistan is afraid of India. Not only are individuals living in fear, but whole peoples, or the nations are gripped with this debilitating fear, and in consequence compelled to devise elaborate and extremely destructive weapons in a vain attempt to destroy it.

The Republic of Indians and for over a century until Gandhiji appeared in the scene the Indians were afraid of their rulers. But if absence of arms were the source of fear why should America be afraid? America is well-equipped with the most modern arms and yet it shows a state of fear. It means that fear has [illegible] the mind and what is required is get rid of this feeling by a complete recourse to arms but an attempt to root it at its source in the mind.

An American friend a few days ago asked me for a message to the world. I said: I do not think I am competent to give such a message to your country. But since you have asked me I must say something. You are piling up [illegible] of armaments and you say that this keeps the peace. [illegible] I will not therefore ask you to stop the [illegible] but I might say. You might even expound it [illegible] the real cause unemployed and give work to everyone. But Russia is also doing the same and for the similar reason. There some day you will both collide. Your aeroplanes will destroy theirs and their rockets will destroy yours. I therefore suggest that instead of [illegible] them be destroyed by the other party you should both agree to slash them. In the see yourselves on the Christmas day. This will ensure both work for all [illegible] and peace for the world.

[illegible] the quality of fearlessness was [illegible] necessary for all the Indian State. Every [illegible] fearlessness. He should [illegible] to [illegible] injustice. Even [illegible] done to him he should have no [illegible] because there is *dharma* on his side and he [illegible] finally *dhar* to be bound to prevail.

[illegible] we need to cultivate at present [illegible] society was divided into [illegible] and [illegible] This arrangement was designed [illegible] to provide opportunity education to every [illegible] willing to it capacity. They thought that those [illegible] actually incapable of profiting by education [illegible] without it. Every class should [illegible] with the type of work and service for [illegible] assigned. So they entrusted some with [illegible] of the government of the country [illegible] to engage in agriculture and trade [illegible] charge with rendering manual service to the entire society. In the context of the modern [illegible] we are apt to think that this [illegible] by the privileged few with the [illegible] the weaker sections of society [illegible] of [illegible] illegality and ignominy. I

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ly agree
workers
we can
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tice

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A [illegible] H

SHALL WE CONTINUE TO PROSELYTE?

(By Ralph Richard Keithahn)

Recently a Christian leader responsible for a [illegible] area wrote asking for the assistance of a Rural Welfare Officer saying that if such aid was [illegible] there was a likelihood of even caste [illegible] becoming Christians. He was making a plea for my assistance on the basis of getting people to become Christians. When I reported this to the Bishop concerned he said that such temptations would not be tolerated and that if he knew that such was being done he would [illegible] our Rural Welfare work.

Now comes to my hands A Scheme for rural development. This application includes the following paragraph "Already there is a move among the shoe-makers community towards Christianity and this project in addition to Adult Education work will stabilize the movement and bring it to fruition." Surely this is nothing but real proselytization. If the Rural Welfare work which we are beginning to develop in our Churches is to be this, then we had better stop [illegible] once.

[illegible] years ago I came across this same [illegible] material temptation to get Hindus to become Christians. High quality cocks were given [illegible] Promises were made for further [illegible] benefits. In one village over 100 people [illegible] in one day. A few Hindus ran [illegible] village on that day to escape for [illegible] so they told me. Later they [illegible] to continual petty prosecution because they did not become Christians.

There is a growing reaction on the part of Hindus to this kind of religious activity [illegible] work cannot go on as quietly as it once did.

[illegible] longer [illegible] Christi[illegible] cause of [illegible] position [illegible] realize the [illegible] when [illegible] up with [illegible] that there will be [illegible] religious expression as well [illegible] and reaction against an evil [illegible] extreme

[illegible] clean up their own house [illegible] has a special responsibility [illegible] workers that there may be [illegible] offered for people to be[illegible] In fact we ought to lean back [illegible] others In other words, if there [illegible] help to be given to others it [illegible] basis of need and never on the [illegible] creed. Christian leaders have [illegible] when they have been distributing [illegible] fulfil their promise to distribute [illegible] yet there has been a tendency [illegible] help through our own institu[illegible] own Christian villages Even this [illegible] We should go out of our way [illegible] through all trustworthy institutions [illegible] village.

[illegible] government is giving special help [illegible] Christians are ever objecting and [illegible] that all needy receive similar con[illegible] Christians should set the example and [illegible] without discrimination I know this [illegible] and yet I also know that all too [illegible] very largely to Christians and [illegible] In these days when more [illegible] projects is coming from other [illegible] the more important that our [illegible] organisations especially the Diocesan [illegible] of Christian Councils and the [illegible] Council should be extremely [illegible] could be rendered where [illegible] communal terms [illegible] regarding a Mis[illegible] seem to be fostering [illegible] National Welfare Agen[illegible] develop a spirit of [illegible] outsiders though [illegible] at this point then how [illegible] Hindu will be sensitive to our [illegible] is trying to develop a free

[illegible] 53

[illegible] DESAI'S EARLY LIFE

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[illegible] Postage etc As 5

[illegible] PUBLISHING HOUSE

[illegible] Box 105, AHMEDABAD-9

BHOODAN FIGURES

(Up to 20-11-53)

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Sarvodaya Samaj

There will be [illegible] enrolment of the *Sewakas*, i e the members of the Sarvodaya Samaj from after [illegible] December 53 till the next Sammelan [illegible] busy during that period with [illegible] connection with the next Sammelan [illegible] in this regard was already made earlier in July

Those who have very recently received their Sewak number after the Council Sammelan will please note that their name [illegible] on the Sewak Register

Those who want to be enrolled as *Sewakas* will therefore please write to us for the application form and send it back duly filled in so as to reach us before the [illegible] December

It is not usual to send more than one form to one individual

Sarvodaya Samaj
Sevagram 12-11-53
(From Hindi)

VALLADHA SWAMI

HARIJAN

[illegible] 5 1953

[illegible] REPUBLIC OF PAKISTAN

[illegible] *Maganbhai P Desai*)

[illegible] of constitution a free country [illegible] for its people is, generally speaking [illegible] concern Normally speaking, other [illegible] have no say in the matter much [illegible] reference However, Pakistan's constitution-making stands on a little different foot [illegible] because of the peculiar relation [illegible] between India and Pakistan The two [illegible] are separate States today were only [illegible] one people under one constitution [illegible]

[illegible] agreed to part as two separate States [illegible] they left each other giving [illegible] their future policy they [illegible] own people certain things in [illegible] polity such as, cordiality [illegible] friendship and goodwill [illegible] towards the minorities [illegible] at the present time when [illegible] constitution, naturally the [illegible] drawn to observe it, even as [illegible]

[illegible] Minister of India referred [illegible] in a public way, which is [illegible] taken in its proper [illegible] the matter is not a mere pri- [illegible] State but it is so vital that it [illegible] a wider effect and im- [illegible] Asian world, at least for [illegible]

We [illegible] living in a world [illegible] from what it was [illegible] days of theocracy and [illegible] of religious isolationism Not only our [illegible] and patterns of culture and civilization, [illegible] and religion, but also of trade and com- [illegible] are assuming international shape and are [illegible] increasingly governed by a world outlook which [illegible] a peculiar product of our modern age [illegible] and internationalism. Therefore the matter of constitution making in Pakistan does become a question of deep concern especially to us in India who are its neighbours

The Constituent Assembly of Pakistan in its last session took certain decisions which are of vital importance even to its own people, chiefly the minorities who are naturally deeply disturbed by these For instance, it has decided that the new State will be called the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Its President shall be a Mussalman. There will be separate communal electorates No law will be passed in any of its legislatures, which is repugnant to the Koran and the Sunnah There will be a State Board of Islam, whose [illegible] repug- [illegible] a Board [illegible] idea, but [illegible] These [illegible] communal [illegible] apparently [illegible] in theory [illegible]

[illegible] Hindu minority [illegible] these clauses but [illegible] argued against it that [illegible] two nation theory, that [illegible] were two separate [illegible] could persist in the [illegible] However did not [illegible] Pakistan was a separate [illegible] between Muslims [illegible] on the basis of [illegible] the other States In [illegible] not a word of [illegible]

[illegible] the article of [illegible] will be ex- [illegible] according to the [illegible] reason is obvious [illegible] interest [illegible] the mone- [illegible] State, its [illegible] day Rent, [illegible] a vital part of modern [illegible] Pakistan cannot live [illegible] modern world The [illegible] necessary and [illegible] be acknowledged that the [illegible] also should be exempt [illegible] For example, why should they not [illegible] from the operation of the [illegible] State compulsion? Why [illegible] State be a Muslim and [illegible] its defence that more [illegible] are Muslim therefore [illegible] or objectionable in that [illegible] If it is obvious, there need be no [illegible] provision Even so, why should the Constitution debar any Pakistani national from being [illegible] President on the plea of his religion? Will it not create two classes — the privileged and the unprivileged the faithful and the infidel, the chosen and the non-chosen? Does it not undermine the very fundamentals of democratic rule

The main question is does Pakistan choose to be a theocratic State? What will be the nature of Islam that will be recognized as State religion? How will other Muslim States look at it? Will such a State be a tenable proposition in the modern world? This is a question that Pakistan must answer to itself before launching on its theocratic journey

Again a religious book is not a code of common law though the Koran is said to contain it, but that is or can be for the faithful only, not for

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NOTES

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(Original in Gujarati) M. P

Being Both Wet and Dry

A reader of the *Harijan* from Cochin sends me a cutting of a government advertisement from the *Hindu* of 10-11-53 which says that the State hotel in the 'tourists' paradise Periyar wild life sanctuary' will have the following inviting amenities

"three hundred square miles of tropical forests for sikar Ten square miles of Periyar lake placid as a sea for boating and rowing The double-storeyed hotel with single and double rooms all modern comforts and excellent cuisine and bar ideal spot for restful, zestful stay"

The correspondent naturally brings to my notice "the bar" that will give 'zestful stay" in the "tourists paradise He remarks to bring out the dismal contradiction in the State policy which on the one hand prohibits drink in some places while on the other it provides for a State hotel another This is really blowing hot and cold —being wet and dry at the same time What a tragedy it is that this topsy-turvydom feat being perpetrated under Congress Government auspices and a Constitution that swears that prohibition will be the State policy!

11-11-53 M. P

UNEMPLOYMENT: NO PROBLEM

(By J C Kumarappa)

We are constantly hearing discussions about the problem of unemployment from top ranking leaders right down to students but hardly any one realizes that this problem is really no problem at all In reality the problem is a disease that should vitally concern each one of us

Man has several requirements to make his existence possible The fulfilment of these requirements is part and parcel of his life When he is engaged in obtaining what are essentials for him he is gainfully employed A bird picks up a fruit and eats it Then in the natural course the seed is deposited elsewhere and that begins the work of planting a new life The bird is gainfully employed through unwittingly both when it picks up the fruit and eats it and also when it deposits the seed In the same way, in human life whatever we do to fulfil our needs and how we dispose of the results forms what is generally known as work If there is an absence of such fulfilment or occupation it results in what we call "unemployment" Unemployment results when we do not get our requirements in a co operative social order by our own efforts Such fulfilment is not a function of society but it is a part of our very being life meaning Without it we move towards death Unemployment is not a problem but a disease If one overeats and as a consequence suffers from a stomach upset such upset is not a problem by itself but a result of our action There is no separate "solution" for it. The remedy is simple Stop overeating and control the palate.

In the final analysis, such a co-operative social order cannot be universal It can only

y mat [illegible] h our pos [illegible] ayment [illegible] equipment [illegible] in the form o productive. Hence [illegible] imports of finished [illegible] ing treating unem [illegible] affairs is not [illegible] avenues of [illegible]

labour saving [illegible] unutilized [illegible] necessary [illegible] problem only [illegible] of the pro [illegible]

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(Young India and Journal [illegible] 1931)

SAFEGUARDS FOR KHADDAR

[illegible] Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru used to [illegible] of 'freedom'. It is more. It stand [illegible] and behaviour. It is the epitome [illegible] hood of the lowliest and the [illegible] hope brought to the st [illegible] it signified the rise of [illegible] its revival as [illegible] poverty and want [illegible] the growth of other [illegible] which it one [illegible] in handicraft and [illegible] kept in economic pla [illegible]

[illegible] mixed with [illegible] It is [illegible] claims [illegible] khadi [illegible] the [illegible] made [illegible] [illegible] Khaddar [illegible] weave [illegible] from yarn [illegible] brought und [illegible] Market [illegible] any other [illegible] of khadi [illegible] any [illegible] the sale of khadi [illegible] provisions of [illegible] Governments [illegible] innocuous

A FEW PERTINENT QUESTIONS

(By Vithaldas Bodani)

[illegible] all who think for the middle classes [illegible] anxious and sincerely ponder over th[illegible] made by Shri Maganbhai D[illegible] — and causes thereof — of the [illegible] would surely agree with him [illegible] suggestion of thrift austerity [illegible] in life added by home industr[illegible] (*Harijan* of 31 10 53 p 280)

[illegible] of *Harijan* would bear with me [illegible] humbly submit here that

[illegible] plight of the middle class people is [illegible] not solely because their [illegible] not compete or cope with the [illegible] fundamentally because the [illegible] is mounting [illegible] which mechanical indus[illegible]

[illegible] that [illegible] come [illegible] of those who take [illegible] professions or voca[illegible] of [illegible] in the [illegible]

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

VOL. XVII No. 11 AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY DECEMBER 19 1953 TWO ANNAS

DIGNITY OF LABOUR *

(By Vinoba)

[illegible] whole world depends for its existence on [illegible] of its workers. The Puranas say that [illegible] on the head of Sheshanag—the [illegible] Who is this Sheshanag? My to[illegible] figure would seem to stand for the [illegible] millions [illegible] themselves out with [illegible] and day but and produce all [illegible] for the maintenance of mankind [illegible] workers who keep the world going [illegible] the Lord has called them Karmayogis [illegible] one cannot become a Karmayogi [illegible] long hours. Workers in India [illegible] various occupations: they work [illegible] on the fields in the railways and so [illegible] sweat in the sweat of their [illegible] earn their bread honestly [illegible] *de facto* [illegible] [illegible] life. He himself [illegible] the sweat and dip into [illegible] One would expect that a [illegible] should be a shining [illegible]

[illegible] that we have of [illegible] It tell the [illegible] tally to see [illegible] not [illegible] including [illegible] Karmayogis [illegible]

I shall [illegible] Karma[illegible]

* [illegible] Monghyr D[illegible]

[illegible] that this was not anything to be happy about. [illegible] without work was not good luck [illegible] fortune in that it corrupted our [illegible]. It is true that the government of the country was in the hands of the English but [illegible] need not to the English but to our [illegible]. You must [illegible] to make a [illegible] contribution to the society. Happily the [illegible] soil the point. They demanded work from the [illegible] started doing it quite willingly. The whole demeanour of the [illegible] was transformed from that of an arduous jail-life to that of a joyous *ashram* life.

Let us consider seriously where this love of idleness and hate of work is leading us. Nowadays village [illegible] are demanding that their boys and girls should be provided with education. Education for what? Not because they want the [illegible] of knowledge or require the ability to read and write [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] with right thought [illegible] to get good [illegible] that not that their boys and girls should be [illegible] to spend themselves in [illegible] work. It is [illegible] feeling [illegible] towards work is spoiling [illegible] and [illegible] the [illegible]

[illegible] Prasad [illegible] [illegible] well-[illegible] [illegible] they [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] to earn ten times more than [illegible] will not however think of putting [illegible] work They can only think of [illegible] accounts and putting an addi- [illegible] figure of their income As for *pandits* — men of knowledge, it is held very bad if they should have to work They can only eat and confer blessings on their devotees If someone takes to grinding corn as the first thing to do in the morning he it would be said, must be a mere labourer and not a *pandit*. The popular mind hugs the absurd belief that a *pandit* or a *yogi* should never work The old are, of course, to be left out, as also the children, — it is cruelty to put them to work This makes quite a big list of idlers the old, the children, the *yogis* and *pandits*, traders and merchants, students and teachers and many others who are supposed to pursue learned professions This could have been tolerated if all these would have abstained from eating too But not only do they eat but they eat more than others Now in a society where so many are allowed to live without work, it is but natural that the labourers too should tend to dislike work A society such as this can never produce Karma-yogis and must deteriorate not only economically but also morally

We look down upon those who do manual labour in spite of the fact that they render very useful service to society. If scavengers do not work even for a day the entire village would be stinking So indispensable and so valuable is the service they give us But we dare to treat them with contempt and keep them tied to poverty and ignominy Not only that we treat our women-folk our mothers also with contempt. The scriptures say that a mother is a thousand times superior to father who is ten times superior to the teacher Our scriptures hold woman in the highest esteem But we treat her as an inferior being We do not give the same wage to a woman-labourer as to a man In fact, they are entitled to a higher wage because even while they work for the wage they do not disregard their usual work at home They have to look after the children But nobody cares to consider these facts and give womenfolk their due wages and due respect. They are even considered a burden. It is said against them that they do not do productive labour they merely cook food But is not cooking food productive labour? All that goes by the name of productive labour consists merely in changing some raw material into an article, which may be of good use to man It is all change of form and not production in the sense of creating something entirely new which only God could do And judged thus, cooking food is as good an example of productive labour as making a chair out of wood or a pair of shoes out of leather But perhaps we would not consider anything productive labour until we have to pay for it It would then seem that all that is required to invest this lowly [illegible] with the dignity of productive labour [illegible] brothers and sisters to demand adequate [illegible] work

All this is [illegible] needs to be remedied as early [illegible] what is the remedy? Firstly [illegible] never his station and calling [illegible] do some body labour To eat without [illegible] labour is to open one's life to sin. [illegible] every type of labour must get an equal [illegible] This is the only way to restore labour to its [illegible] place in the economy of life

(Adapted from the original in Hindi)

THE FIELD OF SCIENCE

A century or so ago the enthusiasts of science very nearly all agreed that the mysteries of life and nature would sooner or later be all cleared up by scientific progress Philosophy, as the love of and search for truth was disparaged as little more than fruitless speculation, while the experimental approach was hailed as the way to the promised land

Today disillusionment has set in No longer do we find grandiloquent praise of science as the means by which the misery and unhappiness of mankind will be left behind by the triumphant march of discovery and invention Further very few scientists of today are willing to make any claims at all about the "knowledge" science makes possible Instead the great majority of men engaged in research speak the positivist language of scepticism toward anything which is grandly termed "knowledge"

In illustration of this point of view we have a letter from a reader who has this to say

> I do not think that it is the function of science to understand the secrets of the universe or learn the ultimate structure of matter Its function, as I see it, is to make valid predictions and, incidentally to discover what classifications and generalisations are useful in making such predictions Since models aid in thought, and since these classes are given names this latter function leads to the illusion that the classes erected have necessarily some physical reality
>
> The question "What causes two masses to attract each other?" is to my mind, on a par with the question asked of a parent of my acquaintance "What makes water wet?" He could if asked by an adult have answered that it was due to the dipole moment of water which causes it to be attracted to most substances He would then have been asked for an explanation of the dipole moment which could be answered by an explanation of the difference between hydrogen and oxygen atoms As you can see this can go on forever I am led to the conclusion that such questions are unanswerable and hence meaningless in the scientific context
>
> I don't know if they are answerable in any context or whether cause really has any meaning when used in such a way I believe I am paraphrasing Aristotle when I say that when a process is considered as a thing a mystery is created which is beyond solution and I personally find his efficient cause sufficient for my normal thinking

This statement (by a practising scientist) discloses nothing to quarrel about — representing rather a helpful candour, — so long as we recognize that science on this basis, is little more than an advanced form of technology Perhaps this is all science as usually conceived, should ever attempt to be but there is no denying that in the past science has gained much prestige as [illegible] arbiter of religion in the field of declaring what is knowledge and what is not

We are [illegible] from sure what questions a [illegible] of scientists would agree are [illegible] of being answered in a [illegible] context but there should be no difficulty in [illegible] questions which science, as [illegible] is incompetent to answer For [illegible] scientist *as* scientist would discuss [illegible] the following Is there any reason [illegible] law of justice pervades the [illegible] experience? Would the hypo[illegible] world of mind or intelligence lies [illegible] universe of matter and force [illegible] to entertain? Does the [illegible] man is a soul living in [illegible] very likely survive the [illegible] body have any supporting [illegible] notion held by countless [illegible] generates a groundless specu[illegible]

[illegible] anyone trained in the modern [illegible] would say that a scientific [illegible] for examining these [illegible] unimportant" questions? [illegible] might say, 'unanswerable"? We should like to maintain that such questions may not be unanswerable and further, that they are well worth inquiring into although at the same time, insisting too, the claim that answers may be possible need not indicate pretensions to *knowing* the answers

But how after all can it be proved" that questions about the soul and its possible relationships with the universe are important questions to consider? This is unsure ground. One who understands this a garment is in the same position as Plato's philosopher, in the allegory of the Cave Having been out in the sunlight and accustomed his sight to the brilliance of the day's full glory he returns to his fellows, still bondsmen to flickering shadows wondering how he can convince them that a greater light shines outside What shall he say? By some, no matter what he tells them he will be taken for either a fool, a lunatic or an imposter with a collection box up his sleeve or an interest in the real estate of some fraudulent utopia beyond the cavern's walls But he returns, taking his chances with the cynics the pessimists and those whose hearts are sour with the bitterness of lifetimes spent in semi-darkness

Is it then vain to talk of these matters? It may be although we suspect not since those who have made the greatest mark upon history — the founders of religions and the shapers of cultures — have often spoken both brightly and darkly of such things Further, there is an invincible tendency in human beings to strive after the unknown, to have a commerce with the infinite It is as though human beings have always striven to break through some veil of self-deception some *maya* of the senses, and to press into the outward field of vision the inchoate longings which rise in the heart How vague, how impalpable! as Lao-tse would say, yet how irresistible is this movement of the mind toward secrets which seem to violate the very laws of thought and all our common certainties!

One may suspect, on looking back over these reflections, that there comes a time in a man's life when his deepest intuitions, his noblest convictions are somehow fused into a serene certainty — when he is as the Brahmanas say, 'twice-born", or as the Greeks put it, "initiated" into the mysteries Call it what you like, this transformation at least gives some explanation of the extraordinary lives of men like Buddha, Jesus, and several others It is they, at any rate who help to keep alive the idea of *knowledge* — which amounts, in modern terms, to the functional harmony of a free intelligence working in its environment, even though that environment be made up of unimaginable complexity, of all shades of good and evil, totems and shams, and the wreckage of human hopes It is an adaptable intelligence which roots almost anywhere and supports itself with whatever nourishment happens to be available — as Gandhi, for one, worked, leaving behind the legacy of a pair of spectacles, a loin cloth, and a revolutionary idea which changed the lives of millions and brightened the hopes of many millions more

Perhaps, with religion stripped of its bland pretension that a doctrine" is the same as knowledge, with science tempered by the humility of positivist criticism, we are ready to think anew about the larger meanings which religion misrepresented as 'beliefs" and which science ignored as metaphysical nonsense

This, at any rate, is what we should like to think, and have found no important reason, as yet for not doing so

(Adapted from *Manas* August 5, 53)

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[Land gift Mission]
By Vinoba Bhave
Pages viii + 134 Price Re 1-8-0 Postage etc As 6
NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD - 9

HARIJAN

Dec 12 1953

A SELFISH DEMAND

(By Vaghubhai P. Desai)

[illegible] of Indian Chambers of Com[illegible] has replied to the Taxation [illegible] questionnaire. The reply [illegible] a capitalist body like [illegible] It asks that the policy [illegible] the private sector to [illegible] should play is described [illegible] altruistic manner. It says [illegible] to provide more em[illegible] contribution to the national [illegible] increased production, [illegible] it is difficult to believe [illegible] in which private enterprise [illegible]

[illegible] to the argument of the [illegible] that increase [illegible] that the private sector should [illegible] to perform its [illegible] risk by [illegible] the present [illegible] according to the [illegible] must not be conceived of [illegible] only but as a [illegible] of saving [illegible] in social justice [illegible] results that [illegible] be taxed [illegible] private sector [illegible] hold enough [illegible] private [illegible] the latter [illegible] to meet [illegible] the larger capital [illegible] place [illegible] economic [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] reducing [illegible] more and [illegible] and [illegible] more and [illegible] their investment [illegible] reckless and in[illegible]

considerate enough to demand that the poor man's salt might also be taxed. Thank God, it is discreet enough not to overtly mention drink duty also. It also demands that rate of taxation on higher income slabs be lowered, that there might be preferential treatment for investments in approved undertakings by way of exemptions from income tax or estate duties etc.

The reader will get sufficient inkling into what the Federation means to say to the Commission and through to the country from the above short summary. The ring of utter selfishness that is patent in all that is quite obvious. Do the Federation and those classes whom it represents realize that the private sector is to be as much of the general good as the public one? If industry and commerce are not to pay the taxes, who else in this country can or will do it? Is a cry for savings when most of the Indian population cannot even foot the bill for basic national equitable, honourable, or even [illegible] a plea of equitable incidence of taxation [illegible] that [illegible] the poll tax [illegible] that those classes will gladly [illegible] and long-duty also. When [illegible] they not see that they ask to [illegible] — those to [illegible] quite unknown, [illegible] for even a [illegible] for imposing [illegible] coming from oneself [illegible] mindedness that [illegible] of the development of [illegible] Does the Federation [illegible] the country on [illegible] they are [illegible] in a previous [illegible] Indian capital and [illegible] Bhoodan way [illegible] and [illegible] that commerce [illegible] are not governed by [illegible] that the ex-British [illegible] and that they [illegible] of modern business [illegible] promotion through [illegible] A [illegible] voice will [illegible] and I admit, [illegible] But we will not despair, the [illegible] upon [illegible] our structure [illegible] economic policy the [illegible] national duty of [illegible] will not be beguiled [illegible] which the Federation asks [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] to see [illegible] (*Harijan*, [illegible]) which [illegible] on the same subject and about the question of tax policy in India.

BRITISH COLONIALISM STIFFENS

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

When our British ex-rulers introduced provincial autonomy by their 1935 Reforms Act [illegible] they had expected thanks to their [illegible] in devising it that the Indian National Congress would not come to power and that there will be smooth sailing for them in the Indian political waters for a few years more But the election results were as we know a total surprise for them and they were baffled in their political game to thwart the onward march of freedom in India A similar thing seems to have happened to them in British Guiana

This small British colony in South America is inhabited by about 4 31,000 people of whom 1 [illegible] are Indians as against 1,53,940 Africans, 8 712 Portuguese and 3 86 other Europeans Therefore apart from our aversion and antipathy to colonialism we are interested in a way in the future of this colony.

I learn that about 30 years ago the Government of India had sent an I C S officer of theirs to the colony to report on the condition of the Indian community living there He had said,

> There is nothing to prevent the Indian community from controlling the political activities of the colony if they wish to do so" It is evident that the observation contained a truth which has materialized at present

The colony under the leadership of its People's Progressive Party has availed of the first opportunity to seize power whatever little it may be, that came to it by the Reforms Act a few months ago and has it seems spring a surprise, like the one we had in 1937 on its British rulers And the latter have reacted to it in a similarly surprising way After giving India freedom, it seems colonial or imperial opinion in England is too molten hardened to allow a wise and liberal outlook in such matters Otherwise the English would not have done what they did to meet the challenge of the People of British Guiana It is surprising that the Labour Party also could not or would not do anything deserving its liberal outlook It seems they wanted to take the time by the forelock so that they might stem the tide of the urge of freedom and independence of those people Not heeding to their own saying that time and tide wait for nobody they suspended the Constitution that brought the P P Party to power and set up the Governor's rule

The leader of that Party, Dr Cheddi Jagan is at present in India on a goodwill mission and the other day he addressed the members of our Parliament wherein he said that they derived inspiration for their programme of action from the American and British ideals of democracy and freedom rather than from Communism and Soviet Russia and the bogey of Communism that was raised against them was a part of the usual colonial policy Even supposing that the charge against the P P Party is true, one is at a loss to understand why the Constitution should have been scrapped? Does it not expose the [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

in the [illegible] ad pre-
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[illegible] Japan today a ce
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overtook the
[illegible] of the seven-
[illegible] years' trial of
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[illegible] l at last dis-
[illegible] nly with wars
The Western
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[illegible] turk.
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[illegible] m of letting
[illegible] it under suspi-
[illegible] l interests
[illegible] The Jesuits
[illegible] nal and irre-
[illegible] fered the
[illegible] l to India
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[illegible] divorced from
[illegible] in China,
[illegible] ing chapter of
[illegible] our historical

[illegible] —[illegible] to [illegible] ue)

THE PHANTASY OF LEISURE

(*By Winifred Wellock*)

[illegible] from his *Orchard Leaf Papers* No 10 [illegible] Good Life)

I

[illegible] ith becoming the keystone of Western [illegible] for gateway to life and the yard [illegible] ick or good fortune is measured [illegible] to understand since work [illegible] creative function has become [illegible] ful that its victims turn ele-
[illegible] The concept that work is a form of [illegible] cal mental and spiritual growth [illegible] ental condition of the satisfa-
[illegible] ing is out of harmony with the [illegible] ic function of work is now le
[illegible] leisure and pleasure which

[illegible] n of leisure commences in the [illegible] th the rapid extension of repeti-
[illegible] the following decade lively [illegible] Society and in socialist [illegible] of qualitative versus quan-
[illegible] shorter working week.
[illegible] ured qualitative pre-
[illegible] but the idolatry of creative labour far

[illegible] of b[illegible] enous labour [illegible] and Shan[illegible] [illegible] act [illegible]

[illegible] has b[illegible]

II

[illegible] many ca[illegible] age [illegible] had [illegible]

[illegible] it of these [illegible] have gr[illegible] ing is [illegible] that too [illegible] long [illegible] becom [illegible] nothing [illegible] time [illegible]

III

[illegible] means d[illegible] lectricity b[illegible] the all [illegible] net is [illegible] and [illegible] labo[illegible] station.

[illegible] is new [illegible] pope

All [illegible] is have [illegible] labour an[illegible] mortgages of [illegible] few d[illegible] office w[illegible] professions a[illegible] ds

IV

[illegible] Industrial [illegible] d in of w[illegible] ence to h[illegible] [illegible] come [illegible] Some [illegible] D[illegible] W[illegible] gadget [illegible] hundred [illegible] club but [illegible] [illegible] is p[illegible] [illegible] hour [illegible] [illegible] ridge [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] POLITICS

[illegible] *Desai*

[illegible] *f* [illegible]

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[illegible]

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[illegible] when [illegible] is not go [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] litorial remarks
[illegible] s statement that
[illegible] x is not fair to

[illegible] quotes C R from
[illegible] uld as well have
[illegible] Gandhiji's wri-
[illegible] the point and
[illegible] ough unpalatable,
[illegible] regarding both
[illegible] Christianity does
[illegible] very often [illegible]
[illegible] doctrinal bigotry
[illegible] er you are with
[illegible] y to the Indian
[illegible] to be functioning
[illegible] nt It is no answer
[illegible] nism It is there-
[illegible] uld not occur to
[illegible] it occurred to a
[illegible] like Nehru who
[illegible] does stand for
[illegible] nd do have re-
[illegible] C R is quoted
[illegible] is that
[illegible] and makes
[illegible] nd not for a
[illegible] p culiarly
[illegible] d by *Life*
[illegible] e really
[illegible] both as
[illegible] ions

[illegible]

In Memoriam

On the 15th [illegible] we will be remembering the [illegible] departed from [illegible] midst that [illegible] The years [illegible] such questions [illegible] us of him [illegible] to [illegible] feel that [illegible] is no more [illegible] when he [illegible] country had [illegible] lower the [illegible] I think it was [illegible] with us any long [illegible] Gandhiji and he [illegible] so far as the [illegible] could what Gandhiji [illegible] good for us If at all [illegible] some time after Gandhiji [illegible] force of his indomitable [illegible] he saw lay before [illegible] should be finished [illegible] have way and he [illegible] of his omni [illegible] ing to hear [illegible] the [illegible] tities — his abundant [illegible] capacity of [illegible]

12 M P

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The World "An Awful Muddle" Reg No B3092 Licence No 13

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor MAGANBHAI P DESAI

VOL XVII No 12 AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY DECEMBER 19 1953 TWO ANNAS

SEX EQUALITY

(By Gandhiji)

Q. Some people oppose a modification of [illegible] to the right of a married woman to [illegible] property on the ground that economic [illegible] women would lead in the spread of [illegible] among women and disruption of [illegible] What is your attitude on the [illegible]

[illegible] would answer the question by a [illegible] Has not independence of man [illegible] property led to the spread of [illegible] among men? If you answer 'yes' [illegible] also with women And when [illegible] of ownership and the rest like [illegible] found that the enjoyment of such [illegible] for their voices of their [illegible] open [illegible] the help [illegible] woman has not much to [illegible] only is footed in the purity [illegible]

[illegible] Congress is reluctant [illegible] on large scale [illegible] necessary [illegible] into the various [illegible] with the question?

[illegible] equality of any [illegible] Men should [illegible] has been [illegible] the century custom [illegible] equal to [illegible] It would [illegible] on [illegible] and [illegible] Western [illegible] much [illegible]

ECONOMICS OF STUDENTS' TURMOIL

(By S N Agarwal)

All that happened in Lucknow during the last few weeks requires serious thought and consideration by those who are vitally interested in the promotion of peaceful and democratic traditions of public life in this country The whole trouble is supposed to have arisen out of a comparatively minor matter Whether the membership of the Students' Union should be compulsory or optional is a subject over which there can be honest difference of opinion Both in India and abroad different types of constitutions for students organizations prevail in different Colleges and Universities We must realise after all that Students' Unions are not like Trade Unions where the workers are organised to safeguard their economic interests against the mill-owners they are in fact meant to be in the nature of extra-curricular or co-curricular activities to supplement academic studies In India relations of teachers with their pupil have been from times immemorial of the most sacred and sublime nature It will be nothing short of a great tragedy if the teacher-pupil relationship is in any way reduced to the level of Trade Unionism in the economic or commercial sense

It is however not enough to condemn those events and to try to study the basic causes of unrest and turmoil among the student [illegible]

I can say with confidence that the Indian [illegible] way inferior to the students of other countries in the world from the point of [illegible] intelligence resourcefulness and hard [illegible] Our [illegible] also played an important [illegible] in the history of freedom struggle in this [illegible] They have been acquitting themselves [illegible] various fields of technology [illegible] to the programmes of economic [illegible] development in India We [illegible] their achievements and have [illegible] their potentialities If they are in [illegible] due to a variety of [illegible]

[illegible] is partly due to political [illegible] a few party-men try to exploit [illegible] for furthering their political ends

[illegible]

NOTES

Peace Army

A [illegible] organisation has just recently [illegible] Japan in regard to a [illegible] in Japan. This is to [illegible] with the direction [illegible]

[illegible] appreciate the terrible [illegible] Workers in Japan must be [illegible] Their Constitution [illegible] Yet they are [illegible] interests in [illegible] However [illegible] must [illegible] are striving for peace.

[illegible] peace is not yet as it [illegible] talked of "Shanti Sena" [illegible] been written about them [illegible] done. It is to our [illegible] Shanti Sena' has not been [illegible] and in many other places [illegible] the greatest needs in the world

[illegible]

Why Force Human Medicine?

Po[illegible]

The [illegible] compulsory [illegible] [illegible] from the [illegible] [illegible] If [illegible] thing, it would [illegible] It would [illegible] wine needs [illegible] says and [illegible] to compel its [illegible]

[illegible] Wallace [illegible] that [illegible] protection [illegible] [illegible] dangerous [illegible]

[illegible] comes on the [illegible] who are politically [illegible] and unwary [illegible] with [illegible] rights. Very [illegible] people in [illegible] countries [illegible] rightly [illegible] to other systems [illegible] as Nature Cure Homoeopathy Ayurved [illegible] etc. Medical freedom cannot be separated [illegible] political and religious freedom.

54 Worlamose Road SOLABJI K. M[illegible]
Colaba Bombay

Smoking — A Tale from Bihar

According to a news item in the Pa[illegible] daily *Tegatatto* a young man of village B[illegible] [illegible] in Lauriya Police Station of Moti[illegible] district conducted a survey regarding the consumption of *bidis* in his village. He estimated that the total sale of *bidis* in the village amounts in one year to Rs 6,000. This expenditure on *bidis* is to be viewed in the background of the total village population which is only 1,650. Of this population 150 adults belong to such orthodox families where smoking is taboo.

Assuming annas two to be the cost of a *bidi* it follows that the village consumed in a year nearly 12,00,000 *bidis*. As already stated 150 adults belonged to families which did not smoke. We may also include the womenfolk and children among non smokers. This calculated the amount of *bidis* consumed by an average smoker of village. Dhanmuja would work out it quite a high figure. *Bidis* [illegible] no repetition do intense harm to the lungs and their consumption on such a scale by our villagers cannot be viewed with equanimity.

H. D. M.

(From *A. I. C. C. Economic Review* 1.12.53)

[illegible] STRY

[illegible] Industries

[illegible] As 14

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HARIJAN

Dec 19 1953

THE WORLD "AN AWFUL MUDDLE"

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

This is how Sir Winston Churchill described the world today To discuss ways and means for extricating the world from this 'awful muddle', some of the big Powers are talking to meet in the near future It is difficult to say how and when they or who of them will meet, and if at all what is how much good will come out of it

W N Ewer, the diplomatic correspondent of the *Daily Herald* London, discussing the proposed * Bermuda meeting clinches the world issue when he says —

> There are at the moment serious even dangerous tensions between the countries of the free world which are of great concern to the three Powers (U S A Great Britain and France) There is tension between Italy and Yugoslavia tension between Israel and Jordan These the Communists point to gleefully as evidence of the contradictions of Capitalism which they confidently expect to bring about the conflicts and imperialist wars Stalin prophesied as a prelude to the final victory of Communism
>
> "In fact they have nothing to do with Capitalism or Socialism or Communism. In a world of free independent nations there are bound to be clashes of interest or emotional dislike between countries especially between neighbours That is as inevitable between free nations as between free individuals
>
> The problem of our time first seriously attacked when the League of Nations was founded is to devise ways in which such conflicts can be settled without resort to armed force And it is no easy one since in a free world no dictatorial Power can decide and enforce a settlement
>
> There are three as well to remember many aspects of the awful muddle which have nothing to do with the Soviet Union or Communism There are economic stresses as well as political stresses The world has to live in a constant state of readjustment and the process is one in which though all have to co-operate if it is to be peaceful the great Powers must unavoidably have a special responsibility

That is true Not only the great powers but all the powers great or small have a responsibility, because ultimately it is the world peace which is at stake and the world today is one and is growing increasingly interdependent, unfortunately not due to human love of brotherhood, but because of greed and selfishness backed up by armed strength of only a few of them Surely these few are the few great Powers that Mr Ewer names

Mr Ewer is also right where he says that the world tensions today have nothing to do with any of the 'isms' viz Capitalism Socialism, or Co[illegible] [illegible] the hu[illegible] and [illegible] ame natu[illegible] those tens[illegible] ch creating [illegible] that they [illegible] therefore is [illegible] one [illegible] of [illegible] nchronizing and [illegible] the latter following [illegible] ruthless se[illegible] so called [illegible] becomes [illegible]

[illegible] as [illegible] Sept [illegible] is [illegible] in this [illegible] of respon[illegible] at war of the [illegible] quo[illegible] [illegible]

And the [illegible] in the following way

[illegible] circle [illegible] and [illegible] truth and [illegible] a position of this so[illegible]

To apply the [illegible] that there seems to [illegible] West approaching [illegible] inwardly troubled by [illegible]

* After this was written the three Powers have met at Bermuda.

HAVE FAITH IN PEOPLE*

(By Vinoba)

[illegible] next thing that we have to do after the [illegible] of political freedom is to secure econo[illegible] and economic freedom as well as [illegible] and social freedom for all our peo[illegible] to struggle for political freedom for [illegible] years when at last we came upon [illegible] which helped us on to [illegible] political freedom represents only [illegible] nations march towards pro[illegible] full fruit only when it is [illegible] and social freedom. [illegible] and social freedom is [illegible] People will not and [illegible] freedom until the [illegible] how. As we know, [illegible] talking now it is that [illegible] improved even after six [illegible] reason is not far to seek. [illegible] and carry on a big [illegible] which involved tremendous [illegible] of thousands over long [illegible] will have to be made for [illegible] freedom too they would not [illegible] nothing. Not only that, [illegible] freedom was in a [illegible] while that of economic [illegible] comparatively hard [illegible] purification [illegible]

[illegible] were called [illegible] but there [illegible] of a favour[illegible] made our task [illegible] our capacity [illegible] However the pre[illegible] social freedom [illegible] We will need [illegible] and every [illegible] to contribute [illegible] the trans[illegible] be achieved [illegible] seven crore [illegible] constitute [illegible] not doing [illegible] on of the [illegible] be is not [illegible] in action by [illegible] some for[illegible] and wealth [illegible] to go for

[illegible] saying that we [illegible] among the [illegible] they now [illegible] would not [illegible] then land are [illegible] we are receiving [illegible] but in a steady [illegible] changed — why?

[illegible] in Bhagalpur District.

[illegible] exemplify the [illegible] is always [illegible] on the out[illegible] sectors but [illegible] the same, [illegible] as often [illegible] Lyers [illegible] in their [illegible] faith [illegible] for it [illegible]

TEMPLE [illegible] HARIJANS

(From [illegible] Harijan)

[illegible] (priests) of the [illegible] Bihar on [illegible] had entered the [illegible] equest but were [illegible] the Lord's [illegible] Harijans in the [illegible] It awakened [illegible] thy into our [illegible] had crept [illegible] appiest conse[illegible] thinking [illegible] linger on in [illegible]

[illegible] that some of [illegible] are yet [illegible] to and [illegible] temples of [illegible] Benares [illegible] Puri [illegible]

[illegible] community [illegible] here [illegible] Maha[illegible] could [illegible] sulled in [illegible] Poly[illegible]

[illegible] Dr. [illegible] a friend of [illegible] companied [illegible] He is an old [illegible] me that his [illegible] at the treat[illegible] I had said [illegible] all concer[illegible] quite alive to [illegible] few amongst their [illegible] bad) who did not [illegible] He added that [illegible] fair and foul means [illegible] in order to betray the [illegible]

[illegible] Those who [illegible] cannot [illegible] struments [illegible]

The [illegible] the w[illegible] One [illegible] them w[illegible] only [illegible] ever way [illegible] the [illegible] A man [illegible] He [illegible] and [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] must have [illegible] the people [illegible] never don[illegible] fulfil all that they may ask [illegible] the Gita [illegible] whatever w[illegible] to do [illegible] to the [illegible] the same with the people

For example, the Communists [illegible] no such faith will not get any land. They believe in the change of heart, they [illegible] cut off the heads of their supposed opponents and Marx cut off their heads to convert them to his point of view? Is it not that they just read [illegible] were struck by the correctness of his theory, thought over it and became converted to

[illegible] presided over by [illegible]

[illegible] in and [illegible]

[illegible] measure of [illegible] eliminate the [illegible] country [illegible]

[illegible]NUAL EXPENDITURE OF A VILLAGE

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

A correspondent from Upleta in Saurashtra [illegible] me an estimate of expenditure that the [illegible] village goes annually. Undoubtedly it is not [illegible] result of a scientific economic inquiry [illegible] intends to be a rough working estimate [illegible] arrived at by a broad survey based [illegible] can be collected from various sources [illegible] However it might well serve as a [illegible] very generally though, the [illegible] village economy.

[illegible] of annual expenditure he has [illegible]

[illegible]	In Lakhs
[illegible]	7
[illegible]	7
[illegible]	14
[illegible]	7
[illegible]	2
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	3
[illegible]	2
[illegible]	1
[illegible]	1
Total	14 [illegible]

[illegible] population of the town is [illegible] annual expenditure in [illegible] or Rs 10-12-0 per [illegible] calculated miscellaneous [illegible] condiments fire- [illegible] in round figures that [illegible] bill for an individual [illegible]

[illegible] bill of tea drinking to [illegible] amount [illegible] Again the tea-bill is [illegible] home and the hotel [illegible] profession hotel [illegible]

[illegible] tobacco is [illegible] bill — a [illegible] avoidable and [illegible]

[illegible] cloth need [illegible]

[illegible] low. The [illegible] based on any [illegible] an item that [illegible]

[illegible] for medi- [illegible] preventive [illegible] medical bill [illegible] spend some [illegible] which must [illegible]

[illegible] DEVELOPMENT

[illegible] for 1953-54)

[illegible] the [illegible] pattern [illegible]

It [illegible] confine[illegible] and We[illegible] Central [illegible] extent [illegible]

[illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] have [illegible]

[illegible] most [illegible] slow [illegible] [illegible] become [illegible]

[illegible] expenditur[illegible] [illegible] Hence [illegible] schemes and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

The Long and Short of Humanity

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, DECEMBER 20, 1952 TWO ANNAS

NOTES

The [illegible] Crash

[illegible] hours when [illegible] conscientiously [illegible] the eyes of an air [illegible] and he [illegible] forgotten [illegible] was [illegible] card that [illegible] very pro[illegible] Bangalore [illegible] moment of [illegible] our [illegible] light [illegible] Shri Hanumanthaiah [illegible] We truly sympathize [illegible] the [illegible] of great [illegible] to the [illegible]

M. [illegible]

Pakistan's Plea [illegible]

[illegible] about the [illegible] — but [illegible] —

[illegible]

[illegible] shall be [illegible] [illegible]

This must be considered [illegible] the Constitution [illegible] the two countries [illegible] by Prime Minister [illegible] — [illegible] will [illegible] other [illegible] well. Will [illegible] honour it? It is hope[illegible] that has [illegible] decided [illegible] to keep the [illegible]

17-12-52 M. [illegible]

BHOODAN WAY FOR THE PRINCES

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

We remember the conditions under which almost all privy purses contracts were made with the Princes [illegible] years ago. At the time [illegible] to a question [illegible] the Government [illegible] with [illegible] problem [illegible] from the rule to Swaraj [illegible] the rulers unhesitatingly agreed to [illegible] of the British rule [illegible] people [illegible] the people.

The problem was [illegible] is rapidly and [illegible] [illegible] Princes.

[illegible]

[illegible] sails [illegible]

In [illegible] States [illegible] not [illegible] [illegible] Con[illegible] [illegible] ment [illegible] Pa[illegible] phone [illegible] is of [illegible] possi[illegible] purely a [illegible] Bhoo[illegible] eve[illegible] peculi[illegible] and m[illegible] Ve[illegible] the P[illegible] occasion [illegible] name in the [illegible] New [illegible] realize that the soon[illegible] tus of a commoner [illegible] well as their mot[illegible]

9-12-33

INVASION OF WESTERN CULTURE THROUGH TECHNOLOGY

(By Arnold Toynbee)

II

[The first instalment of the article was [illegible] in the previous issue of 12-12-33. This concludes the article.]

There seems to be something like [illegible] psychology of encounters and this is a subject of practical interest and importance to lay, when the [illegible] annihilation of distance through the achievements of our Western technology has brought here to face at point-blank range half a dozen [illegible] of which until yesterday [illegible] live in its own way almost as [illegible] as if each society [illegible] on a planet of its own instead of [illegible] the [illegible] world with the other representatives of [illegible] kind.

Here we have an example of something that seems often to happen when the culture ray of a radioactive civilization hits a foreign body social. The assaulted foreign body's resistance diffracts the culture-ray into its component strands, just as a light-ray is diffracted into the spectrum by the resistance of a prism.

When a travelling culture-ray is diffracted into its component strands — technology, religion, politics, art and so on — by the resistance of a foreign body social upon which it has impinged, its technological strand is apt to penetrate faster and farther than its religious strand, and this law can be formulated in more general terms. We can say that the penetrative power of a strand of cultural radiation is usually in inverse ratio to this strand's cultural value. A trivial strand arouses less resistance in the assaulted body social than is aroused by a crucial strand, because the trivial strand does not [illegible] to cause so violent or so painful a disturbance of the assaulted body's traditional way of life. This automatic selection of the most trivial elements in a radioactive culture for the widest dissemination abroad is obviously an unfortunate rule of the game of cultural intercourse, but this premium on trivia- [illegible] The [illegible] which [illegible] essence [illegible] atens to p[illegible] the life of [illegible] dy social is [illegible] penetrated [illegible] of a diffrac[illegible] culture ray.

III

[illegible] en from physics and medicine [illegible] illustrate this point. Since our [illegible] trick of splitting the atom we [illegible] in lost that the particles com- [illegible] some inoffensive element cease [illegible] and become dangerously corro- [illegible] have been split off from the [illegible] particles of which an atom is [illegible] have been sent flying by them [illegible] engineers of their own. We [illegible] — not to our own cost in this [illegible] st of the once secluded surviving [illegible] Primitive Man — that a disease [illegible] mild one for us because it has been [illegible] long that we have developed an [illegible] tance to it may prove deadly to [illegible] islanders who have been exempt [illegible] suddenly exposed to it by the [illegible] them of its European [illegible].

A [illegible] cultural radiation like [illegible] a [illegible] contagious disease may [illegible] deadly when it is [illegible] from the system [illegible] which it has been functioning hitherto and [illegible] free to range abroad by itself in a [illegible] milieu. In its original setting, this culture-[illegible] or bacillus or electron was restrained from working havoc because it was kept in order by its association with other components of a pattern in which the diverse participants were in equilibrium. In escaping from its original setting, the liberated particle, bacillus or cultural strand will not have changed its nature, but the same nature will produce a deadly effect instead of a harmless one, now that the creature has broken loose from its original associations. In these circumstances "one man's meat" can become another man's poison.

The truth is that every historic culture pattern is an organic whole in which all the parts are interdependent, so that, if any part is prised out of its setting, both the isolated part and the mutilated whole behave differently from their behaviour when the pattern is intact. This is why "one man's meat" can be another man's poison, and another consequence is that one thing leads to another. If a splinter is flaked off from one culture and is introduced into foreign body social, this isolated splinter will tend to drift on after it into the foreign body in which it has lodged, the other component elements of the social system in which this splinter is at home and from which it has been forcibly and unnaturally detached. The broken pattern tends to reconstitute itself in a foreign environment into which one of its components has once found its way.

If we want to see how, in the game of cultural intercourse, this process of one thing

[illegible] ice let us [illegible]
[illegible] es
[illegible] President At[illegible]
[illegible] the Mahatma [illegible]
[illegible] intercourse one [illegible]
[illegible] Gandhi saw that [illegible]
[illegible] — grown in India, pe[illegible] shire and woven the[illegible] ple — were threatening [illegible] the Western world [illegible] ght soon be as hard [illegible] steel fetters. Gandhi [illegible] wearing clothes made [illegible] the West, they would [illegible] me Western machinery [illegible] First they would [illegible] me from England [illegible] build these imple[illegible] they would be lea[illegible] to work in their ne[illegible] ills and Indian foundries, and [illegible] become used to spending then[illegible] doing Western jobs they would [illegible] their leisure on Western amuse[illegible] taller greyhound racing and [illegible] — they would find themselves grow[illegible] ils and forgetting how to be [illegible] prophet's vision the Mahatma [illegible] cotton-seed waxing into a great [illegible] ding branches would over[illegible] and this Hindu prophet [illegible] Indian countrymen to save then[illegible] ve to this rank West [illegible] set them the example of [illegible] every day on spinning [illegible] in by hand in the old [illegible] for Indian bodies to wear [illegible] evance of the [illegible] in India and the West [illegible] of saving the Hindu [illegible] Western body and soul

[illegible] in the Mahatma Gandhi's [illegible] ction of India that he forc[illegible] d so[illegible] to revert was, and is fast deve[illegible] ut of the one original grain of cotton[illegible] nd Gandhi's remedy for India's West[illegible] ght one Only the prophet [illegible] ince his disciples to follow him in [illegible] India's cultural independence at this [illegible] economic austerity The wearing of [illegible] cotton goods could not have been [illegible] the Indian people in Gandhi's gene[illegible] in lowering the Indian peasantry's [illegible] the low standard of living and [illegible] out of business altogether the [illegible] Indian cotton operatives and [illegible] that had already sprung up [illegible] in Bombay and in Gandhi's own [illegible] Ahmedabad Gandhi has made an [illegible] ch as permanent mark on the [illegible] of the world, but the irony [illegible] ined him to make this mark [illegible] from economic Westerniza[illegible] of poli[illegible] trium[illegible] national [illegible] was no [illegible] social [illegible] thing in [illegible] goes [illegible] when once [illegible] the assault-[illegible]

(Concluded)

TOOLS OR MARKETS ?"

(by P C Vanaukhani)

[illegible] under the above caption in the *H*[illegible] of 11th November, 53 by Shri [illegible] gives rise to the fundamental [illegible] the line beyond which the [illegible] further Experience has [illegible] gets into the hands of a [illegible] there is little telling what [illegible] ad to The inner harmony [illegible] ture is lost or tends to dimi[illegible] n puts in his hands the use of a [illegible] for its objective the saving of tin[illegible] The moment we put in the han[illegible] ill gets tools and machines at cheap cost [illegible] coupled with cheap power be[illegible] been made for bringing about [illegible] we seek to avoid or replace [illegible] the hands and the feet [illegible] and movement can [illegible] the mind and the moving [illegible] harmony This process [illegible] ultimately deadens the [illegible] For redress man [illegible] in his trek to the [illegible] ourselves [illegible] is from which we [illegible] to extricate One [illegible] with the person [illegible] Frydman that [illegible] produces the [illegible] disadvantage

[illegible] villages in India have been [illegible] roads of modern technique [illegible] power We have to be very [illegible] in them the cheap [illegible] of cheap power It was [illegible] that money and energy that [illegible] tools — the product of [illegible] — the cheap power in imparting [illegible] to the village folk and there[illegible] to evolve for themselves a [illegible] to be more creative in its [illegible] better living condi[illegible] surroundings [illegible] attempt to divide India [illegible] nes each having its own [illegible] at least a definite line is [illegible] two and prevent further [illegible] economy of the former [illegible] the bulwark which has [illegible] ained through centuries on end our [illegible] religion

HARIJAN

1953

THE LONG AND SHORT OF UNEMPLOYMENT

(Maganbhai P. Desai)

[illegible] of a debate in the Parliament [illegible] the Finance Minister [illegible] as follows

[illegible] that from the long [illegible] problem of unemployment [illegible] industries by promoting [illegible] The short cut solution [illegible] which must be linked up [illegible]

[illegible] of unemployment [illegible] that there should be more [illegible] Government can and [illegible] schemes which will [illegible] people. We know [illegible] not primarily meant [illegible] perennial unemployment [illegible] and not care even [illegible] the country. It [illegible] that some more [illegible] needed for the [illegible] case could go no [illegible] with us and [illegible] changing [illegible] As a result we [illegible] to be done [illegible] tion and [illegible] the question in [illegible] manner

[illegible] manner as [illegible] out by the [illegible] as follows

[illegible]

[illegible] which is a peri[illegible] in a famine [illegible] ng really surpris[illegible] point of view [illegible] denly required [illegible] so that there [illegible] disturbed [illegible] unemployment which [illegible] disturbant. It is [illegible] that our funda[illegible] in this light [illegible] the Centre. The [illegible] and the polic[illegible] through money [illegible] in the [illegible] of [illegible] rth pe[illegible] mm [illegible] the [illegible] age [illegible] does [illegible] village [illegible] tries [illegible] in our expanding [illegible]

[illegible] very much [illegible] sing [illegible] in Parliament [illegible] to the extent [illegible] he does not [illegible] known to him [illegible] what incem[illegible] student of [illegible]

[illegible] mately [illegible] ould [illegible] ural [illegible] em-[illegible] work [illegible] growth [illegible] annum, the [illegible] creases [illegible]

[illegible] nt to these [illegible] From that [illegible] ultless the [illegible] what indus-[illegible]

[illegible] upon the [illegible] sources [illegible] nt we [illegible] on as [illegible] on his [illegible] pi-[illegible]

[illegible] le [illegible] r [illegible] ple [illegible] m [illegible]

[illegible] ed for the establishment [illegible] ities like hydro-electric [illegible] I also recognize the need [illegible] and defence industries [illegible] ustries. I feel that if the [illegible] to effectively tackled [illegible] tate on highly labour-in[illegible] ium-scale industries. More-[illegible] the our labour force fully

should be en
far as their

services would
capital and labour
than what it would
are fully employed
ice remained un

it should be
ly for increasing
or bringing about
from the moral
employment is

Parliament on the
employment the
made state-
to Lout the
they hardly
Five-Year
the owing
before the
of India

THINK OF THE OBLIGATION TO SOCIETY *

(By Vinoba)

The human body has a lesson to teach us regarding the way the society should organize itself so as to function efficiently. If the body can not perform well if one of its limbs grows anaemic while another grows abnormally strong because of it disturbs its harmony. But it works well if all the limbs are nourished equally according to their needs. The hand and feet and all the other limbs are part of the body and must remain in harmony with one another so as to keep it in a state of good health. The human organism like the human body consists of individuals who compose it are constituents. Some are its eyes, others are its ears, others are its hands and feet, and so on. All of them must be equally well cared for if it is to be healthy social in good health.

Some of them have excessive wealth and little or none at all, if some are given facilities for education and are able to get B.A. and M.A. degrees and in a few cases go to America for the so-called higher learning the three Rs the society is in a state of disorder. The society which permits such inequalities among its members is not likely to be happy. Food and education are what everyone wants and must be secured equally to all members of the society without any discrimination. We must give land to the landless

[illegible] kh sell an District Furnia on

culti[illegible] the land
an[illegible] living [illegible]
sent [illegible] if the
at [illegible]
of we[illegible]
ne[illegible]
group[illegible]
pe[illegible]
di[illegible] ren
[illegible] such
[illegible] in the
so[illegible] mut
in[illegible]
[illegible] they
h[illegible] it
[illegible]
a [illegible]
w[illegible]
best [illegible]
ward the [illegible]
us thin[illegible]
and [illegible]
have [illegible]
ine[illegible]
labour o[illegible]
ge[illegible]
But no they [illegible]
money. The [illegible]
as the [illegible]
lawyers [illegible]
resolve to [illegible]
charging [illegible]
go wi[illegible]
cut [illegible]
la[illegible]
fi[illegible]
[illegible] laus
all [illegible]
[illegible] ions
[illegible] ibu-
[illegible] the
rebu[illegible]
[illegible] ld

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

on [illegible] courage and act. It is not [illegible] and then you have [illegible] a thousand times [illegible] shape of peace [illegible] The land you [illegible] who will be [illegible]

[illegible] only thing that [illegible] there are many [illegible] important [illegible] not only in this [illegible] death. Money [illegible] body which [illegible] much [illegible] will have [illegible] behind [illegible] not devote [illegible] we aspire [illegible] require love and expe[illegible] your fellow beings. [illegible] ship the great men [illegible] have men [illegible] give a[illegible] service. We may not [illegible] example to the same extent but we can [illegible] can and must do something in that way.

You have heard of the Pandavas. They were not five but six brothers the sixth being Karna. Him they forgot. The result was bitter enmity and great destruction. In the same way each family of five has a sixth member whom they forget. He is the poor landless labourer, the Daridranarayan. You have to recognize him and treat him as one of you. He is there in your village living in hunger and ignorance and disease. Go and search him and give him his due and ward off the great destruction which is otherwise bound to overtake us.

We want that all parties whatever their ideological or other differences must unite in this task of uplifting the poor and rehabilitating them as equal citizens of our great nation and thus help India to do a[illegible] disaster looming ahead. It will provide an inspiring lesson to the world and give our people [illegible] of Swaraj. People have been expectantly awaiting that something would be done to alleviate their suffering. But the parties which exist professedly for serving them are wrangling among themselves. They do not love one another. They do not know to love man — the essential man stripped of external labels. Some of them profess to be with the poor and revile the rich as being responsible for all the evils. Others are with the rich and counsel patience till productivity in land and industries rises and there is enough wealth to go round. We say we are all brothers and sisters, sons and daughters of our Bharat Mata. Let us come together and work shoulder to shoulder for the uplift of our suffering brethren.

(Abridged from the original in Hindi)

[illegible] LEISURE

[illegible] No [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] State [illegible] education and [illegible] day of peace

VI

[illegible] In [illegible] Work [illegible] To think leisure the [illegible] work is an evil [illegible] the me[illegible] [illegible] labour [illegible]

THE WAR ON POVERTY AT OUR POVERTY *

by [illegible]

[illegible] country, great both [illegible] It built up a glorious [illegible] achievements in every field [illegible] and its wealth had [illegible] traders and [illegible] from [illegible] across the de[illegible] seas. B[illegible] reasons [illegible] decline. [illegible] internal dissen[illegible] against the people [illegible] weakened the [illegible] two humili[illegible] the English [illegible] brought [illegible] rule of about a [illegible] years India [illegible] of its wealth [illegible] Now we are [illegible] to which they [illegible] we were [illegible] the poorest [illegible]

[illegible] there is no [illegible] not change this state of [illegible] property because [illegible] which shows [illegible] undertaking, [illegible] our population con[illegible] following to diffe[illegible] distinctive [illegible] as [illegible] to put [illegible] visit [illegible] it [illegible] other [illegible] vastly [illegible]

[illegible] off [illegible] and [illegible] must learn to live one [illegible] arising [illegible] language, [illegible] the one side [illegible] inequalities [illegible] solved and have installed [illegible] our activities. It will [illegible] time. [illegible] with [illegible] We cannot blame our [illegible]

[illegible] people. Each community [illegible] could [illegible] if [illegible] we profess [illegible] religion insists not [illegible] but [illegible] the practice of [illegible] principle of [illegible] consist in loving [illegible] them in their [illegible]

[illegible] between the [illegible] does not [illegible] the capacity and [illegible] in most cases

[illegible] 1.2.53

from a [illegible]nce of [illegible] They suffer [illegible] physical labour [illegible] suppress th[illegible] beings and [illegible] then plac[illegible] and thus [illegible] suffering [illegible] make our [illegible]

[illegible] in Hindi)

[illegible] TO WORKERS*

[illegible] *nobu*)

[illegible] a worker to ente[illegible] [illegible]des of those to whom [illegible] donations. The [illegible] [illegible]mmon about [illegible] [illegible] last experience. But [illegible] to influence his [illegible] not the [illegible] [illegible] who refuse [illegible] [illegible] consumer [illegible] [illegible]ted to him [illegible] [illegible] his effort [illegible] his own. Talking [illegible] [illegible] useless because it [illegible] [illegible] our work. It [illegible] the power which [illegible] should [illegible] [illegible] course [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Armed Economy of America

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor MAGANBHAI P DESAI

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BIRTH CONTROL

(By Gandhiji)

It is not without the greatest hesitation and reluctance that I approach this subject The question of using artificial methods for birth control has been referred to me by correspondents very since my return to India Though I have discussed them personally, I have never thought fit to deal with the subject publicly

My attention was drawn to the subject, now years ago when I was a student in London There was then a hot controversy between a purist who would not countenance anything but natural means and a doctor who favoured artificial means It was at that time in my life that I became after leanings towards artificial means, a considerable number of them I now observe that in the methods are described in a manner which shocks one's sense of decency I deserve too that one writer has seen fit to cite my name as among the advocates of artificial methods of birth control On a single occasion when I spoke or wrote in favour of such methods I have seen the proposed names having been used in a manner I hate to publish them without the owners

There are no two opinions about the necessity of birth control But the only method known from ages past is self-control or restraint It is an infallible sovereign remedy and a tonic to those who practise it And I am the gratitude of mankind if I am devising artificial means of birth control I find out the means of self control The purpose is not for pleasure but for the procreation of progeny And union is a crime when the hope for progeny is absent

The methods are like putting a premium on adultery They make man and woman reckless The idea that is being given to the public is that the dissolution of the relationship of husband and wife upon one Adopting the methods must result in imbecility and degeneration The remedy will be worse than the disease It is wrong and immoral to seek to escape the consequences of one's acts It is good for a person who overeats to have an ache and a fast It is bad for him to indulge his appetite and then escape the consequences by taking tonics and other medicines It is still worse for a person to indulge his animal passions and escape the consequences of his acts Nature is relentless and will have full revenge for any such violation of her laws

Moral results can only be produced by moral restraints All other restraints defeat the very purpose for which they are intended The reasoning underlying the use of artificial methods is that indulgence is a necessity of life Nothing can be more fallacious Let those who are eager to see the births regulated explore the lawful means devised by Nature and try to find out how they can be revived An enormous amount of spade work has to be done in front of them Early marriages are a fruitful source of adding to the population The poverty of the people has also a great deal to do with the alarming rate of increase of population If those concerned are interested in the matter with society will be only too glad If they are ignored by impatient zealots the use of artificial methods becomes the cloak of the lust nothing but moral degradation can be the result

A society that has already become enervated through a variety of causes will become still further enervated by the adoption of artificial methods Those men the few who are lightheartedly advocating artificial methods cannot do better than study the subject in the light of the injurious activity and impotence of man and woman both for the married and the unmarried That is the only noble and straight method of birth control

Young India 12 3 25

Let the Indian youth measure in their hearts the quotation with which M Bureau concluded

The Future is for the nations who [illegible]

Young India 19 8 26

SELF-RESTRAINT V SELF-INDULGENCE

By Mahatma Gandhi

Pages xvi + 232 Price Rs 2 [illegible]

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GANDHIJI AND BIRTH CONTROL

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

An American friend and reader of [illegible] writes to me to [illegible] follows

In the last issues of *Harijan* (Jan. 11, 18, [illegible]) [illegible] articles by Colin Clark about [illegible] to [illegible] friend of the Asian population [illegible] exploited during [illegible] and greedy [illegible] opinion on the [illegible] before I go in [illegible] saving: What a terrible [illegible] parent! The aim of human [illegible] freedom from birth by [illegible] by becoming one with [illegible] ence in the attaining of [illegible] only tightens the [illegible] gious help inasmuch as [illegible] of full surrender to God [illegible] that complete Brahmacarya [illegible] us ordinary morals. Continence in [illegible] given to a few of the best among us [illegible] d in the population of India increases [illegible] real to think something must be done [illegible] those unfortunate beings who are [illegible] in the first place

[illegible] many others who today, [illegible] birth control by using contraceptives [illegible] better. I think to refer all matters [illegible] practice [illegible]ence or like most [illegible] practise birth-control [illegible] ing is better than [illegible] of some [illegible]

However she is very clear in her mind that this remedy is perhaps worse than the disease though helpful to some in some way. To quote her own words

As far as birth control is concerned [illegible] moleskin a cheating of the most [illegible] moral law of nature something that may lead to moral degeneration. This is all true. But I claim it all depends on practices. In India in which great [illegible] and family life is the rule, the animal part is [illegible] practice. But for instance here in America [illegible] violation of the sex instinct is often accompanied by and encloses a downgoing civilization. It is in a [illegible] same as with prohibition. Prohibition in America proved to be a race in which could best evade it. It led to licentiousness and crime, but it [illegible] prove that prohibition in itself is bad. It is all [illegible] of *who* practise it.

She was provoked to write to me again on the subject when she read Shri Freyman's article, "The Dilemma" (*Harijan* 19.9.53).

A similar sort of reaction is much more categorically expressed to me by an English friend and reader of this paper. He says

[illegible] I shall say in frankness that one issue where I still think your teaching is [illegible] a deterioration of what Gandhiji said is in the subject of Indian population. Shri Gandhi was in and right in expressing himself in favour of limiting Indian population through self-restraint. It would get the impression from recent issues of Harijan that you think there is to be [illegible] people who are playing for the interest [illegible] people who have no control with the exception to suggest that those who become [illegible] India should have to more [illegible] as I thought a recent [illegible] offended [illegible] Clark [illegible] Mauritius [illegible] and [illegible] are not ex[illegible] discussion [illegible] population [illegible] ts. The [illegible] articles [illegible] some of [illegible] that economic [illegible] refutes them [illegible] increasing population can be supported [illegible] plan of [illegible] and economy be [illegible] population which Gandhiji also, in [illegible] fore the Indian people. The [illegible] in was poetic statement bringing [illegible] aspect of the question which is [illegible] by the birth control school. It no [illegible] meant to say what the two [illegible] it to do. Nor should the views [illegible] the two articles be necessarily taken [illegible] In this connection I may incidentally [illegible] that the general practice [illegible] signed articles and views [illegible] of their writers' own and [illegible] which if at all, only in a [illegible]

[illegible] not used by the two cor[illegible] nor may how I understand [illegible] As I wrote to the [illegible] I hope satisfied him [illegible] nature of birth-control [illegible] he never tolerated the [illegible]

[illegible] position on this question is basically [illegible] from a demographer's or an economist's [illegible] en a doctor. He did not speak of [illegible] because of demographic or economic [illegible] hip so. It was with very great [illegible] reluctance that I read his book [illegible] as *Self-restraint* vs. *Self-indulgence*. [illegible] was not a question of control [illegible] *anyhow* the principle of ends [illegible] applied here also [illegible] in Gandhiji this most vital and [illegible] of the human being is an eternal [illegible] in the right way. It was [illegible] fo a certain tune or a [illegible] He therefore held that self-[illegible] even in marriage, is a [illegible] on earth

[illegible] that the vital activity is only [illegible] is never for pleasure, as the [illegible] of thought seems to hold [illegible] a responsibility and one has [illegible] in resorting to it, [illegible] But to evade it in and still [illegible] indulgence he abhorred with all his soul because he emphatically said that it was

that w
ue of
use th express
wrong here as
tricted meaning
methods only
the
natural
and
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to
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to
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ith
ng

It Is Not Enough

President Eisenhower
international agen
whose functi
world uranium and
nations and allocate
There is nothing bad in
reprehensible so far as it goes
The question is will it secure
from the internal agonies o
which threaten it any moment if
war breaks out which God
about the great steel piling of
U S A by the Soviet by
Surely these have only one use and
Hiroshima and Nagasaki have
words of internal fires Will
and consider to ban atomic weapons
war and surrender their stock
which may lodge them calmly
the deep seas which only
without any harm to anybody
we should wait and see what the
powers of the world do about the present proposal

25 12-'53 M. P

THE POWER OF CULTURE

recent Press report from Pan Mun Jon in
Korea, the brave action of an officer of
the army who walked into the midst of a
mutiny of Chinese prisoners of war and
shouting saying What kind of Chinese
men have not invited either me or my
tea and cigarettes!"

been writing a lot in these pages
about the *culture* in human society
the enraged Chinese POW's to
situation illustrates the power of
No amount of moralizing or
these angry men could have
that was gained by a simple
tradition of Chinese courtesy
may say simply "exploited"
an obedient end but even if this
something quite wonderful
simple commander could cause
and think what they were

of this sort makes you reflect
and millions of Chinese people
childhood were taught to honour
and hospitality This is the
understand a Chinese human
it is a part of the dignity of a
being

cultural tradition could be more
could develop in the people
and respect for others — a
be taught to all children,
European or as American,
beings!

is the way to world peace,

of war and war making is a
what already exists of the
man's respect for man
nation must wear
sympathy,
passions Thus
soldiers must be *taught* to pull
enemy troops without special
deliberately miss, or will not
according to the reports of

should consider that all war —
high purpose of maintaining a
has a tendency to destroy the
man's respect for man, and
human emotions

14-10-53)

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of the *Harijan* on p 340,
after the words '
add the word 'removing'.

HARIJAN

Jan 2 1954

ARMED ECONOMY OF AMERICA

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

[illegible]odern world has the misfortune to hear o[illegible] type of peace, the *armed* peace In thi[illegible] that variety of peace has naturally come [illegible] new and consequential type of economy [illegible] *armed* economy The credit for inven[illegible] variety should, I think, go to U S A [illegible] from the recent working of that [illegible]ade and diplomacy

[illegible] war that is on in the world toda[illegible] swelling the military budgets of th[illegible] the world to gigantic proportions and [illegible] assuming the role of them[illegible] them in various ways direct [illegible] in this way the U S A. is securing [illegible] world's armament trade for its [illegible] also subsidized allies for its anti-[illegible] a result the world is fast [illegible] rather than the home [illegible] The vast jump made [illegible] Doctrine of isolation [illegible] basis is great indeed [illegible] affecting the destinies [illegible] world

[illegible] in Paris there met the [illegible] the NATO council, who [illegible] Planet officers reassured wor[illegible] the U S A. was in [illegible] business and as an [illegible] to share some of its [illegible] and consequence of [illegible] clearly brought out [illegible] 14 nations of the [illegible] pledged to spend [illegible] dollars on defence in [illegible] needed and timely [illegible] America

[illegible] information comes from [illegible] Labour Members [illegible] that Britain should [illegible] as out of the cold [illegible] — Russia and [illegible] Britain's present [illegible] time ties us in m[illegible] America and forces [illegible] the end the same as [illegible] And such a condition, [illegible] putting the 'war on [illegible] is badly necessary

[illegible] home we find an ominous [illegible] in the Middle East and now [illegible] American sponsored MEDO [illegible] ded at least so far as the [illegible] has taken a new line,

[illegible] queer [illegible] own his re[illegible] his country's [illegible] sod for its [illegible] but freedom [illegible] le in isolation [illegible] The question [illegible] could rather ad[illegible]

[illegible] to seek milit[illegible] again with [illegible] have ostensibly [illegible] Pakistan and that [illegible] Ali has said [illegible] true and that [illegible] lesson from [illegible] he has not [illegible] If [illegible] [illegible] for [illegible] peace [illegible] ness for such [illegible] ness his [illegible] science and [illegible] politically [illegible] most of the [illegible] in terms [illegible] If we am[illegible] will mean much sa[illegible] rned money, which we [illegible] eded recovery and [illegible] anything of this kind [illegible] for military aid is sure [illegible] in that can be as [illegible] by Pakistan.

To [illegible] a new opening for its expa[illegible] world political alignment The cold [illegible] with Russia in the Korean sector seem[illegible] g, there must be another sector to tal[illegible] even to feed American armament trade [illegible] India has been foolish enough not to heed [illegible] the American lead in world affairs, and she [illegible] gant as to take a line of her own, and not even [illegible] grateful to what aid the mighty dollar gives her in her economic plans and community projects She must be made to realize her folly The quarreling neighbour Pakistan was perhaps thought to be a convenient handle Pakistan perhaps felt it was necessary to increase its bargaining power in the Kashmir quarrel against India The American aid was perhaps thought to be just the idea for it For America it was a good beginning With friendly Turkey at one end and Pakistan at the other, the long

[illegible]

[illegible] Pakis[illegible] will [illegible] The [illegible] both [illegible] led by [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] peace [illegible] unity [illegible] be had on [illegible] happi[illegible] and co[illegible] mean, that out nat[illegible] on the home front [illegible] more for the comm[illegible] live in our village [illegible] we [illegible] [illegible] of poverty [illegible] must be qu[illegible]

22.12.[illegible]

THE DIARY [illegible]

[illegible]

By [illegible]

Page [illegible]

MAHADEV [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

WITH [illegible]

By [illegible]

Page [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] ABMED [illegible]

CONVERSATION WITH VINOBA

[illegible] Elwin well-known world cycle-tour [illegible] American embassy in Russia during [illegible] before launching his tour in India [illegible] Vinoba accompanied him in his [illegible] tours of September and through [illegible]

[illegible] with us Shri Elwin loved to [illegible] him sincere admirer of [illegible]

[illegible] quite and Vinobaji [illegible] kind enough to prepare [illegible] with Shri Vinoba [illegible] of the *Harijan*.

Dame [illegible] Vinoba

I

FIRST CONVERSATION

Man and Machine

[illegible] ought to say that you are in favour [illegible] such as they reduce drudgery [illegible] them in as much as they [illegible] home craft?"

[illegible] there are other factors. For [illegible] such as automatic [illegible] machines like radio that can [illegible] means. These are good [illegible] machines which are against [illegible] weapons. These are bad [illegible] machines which cause the loss, [illegible] unemployment, machines that [illegible] clothes, furniture etc., [illegible] industries and cause [illegible] that more than joy [illegible]

[illegible] is bad for Indian [illegible] may not always be and [illegible] of service. Each [illegible] and for now we [illegible] industries

Life and Austerity

[illegible] sacrifice, austerity, self-[illegible] seem noble if for the service [illegible] the Gift of Life if done for [illegible] I mean to say I think we [illegible] the world to enjoy and when [illegible] the [illegible] up and practise [illegible] other religious [illegible] Takis, all nuns, etc. [illegible] doing wrong against the [illegible] you think about this?

[illegible] done for the [illegible] joy therefore the [illegible]

But [illegible] about the word enjoyment. The real joy is self-realisation [illegible] can come through service [illegible] becomes a [illegible]

[illegible] remember that not only is there joy in life but joy in death as well. If we are ill and suffering and our body is ailing and no one

[illegible] ce [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible]

[illegible] gnized de- [illegible] made a distinction [illegible] a mere vow of celi- [illegible] ne who has decided [illegible] celibacy is a mere

[illegible] Non-violence

[illegible] egian Foreign Minister was [illegible] about the defence of the [illegible] will rely upon the decen- [illegible] but in 1940 in a few fearful [illegible] and happy land was [illegible] ces [illegible] ould have been right in

[illegible] Minister should [illegible] Non-violence is a [illegible] from Pacifism, which is a [illegible] the use of arms

What is God ?

[illegible] you to tell me, if you would be [illegible] you mean by God ?

[illegible] thly body etc was taken away [illegible] be something left a conscious- [illegible] nanel us There is that some- [illegible] And just as our body is a [illegible] time we are all parts of a [illegible] our consciousnesses are part [illegible]

[illegible] do you pray to it ? [illegible] we feel like an [illegible] of the mighty [illegible] We are a part of [illegible] we can draw [illegible] we pray to it [illegible] Then [illegible] Oh [illegible]

II

SECOND CONVERSATION

Joy of Death

[illegible] ughts on the answers given and further [illegible] ns)

Continuing *Question 2*

You said that we should look forward to [illegible] as a joy Can you say more on this ? It [illegible] ms to me that even if the hereafter be beauti- [illegible] that death nevertheless is a parting from [illegible] friends and the last glimpse of a lovely [illegible] Also however strong the faith may be, [illegible] what happens after death must remain a [illegible] tion-mark ?

[illegible]

We cannot have all sweet there is sweet and [illegible] sadnesses at death but we are [illegible] from a useless body which has [illegible] due to its an encumbrance We, ourselves go on We take on all which is of worth with us

What is the [illegible] There is past present and future The past is infinity, the future is infinity, the present is but a second and less That is life Before us was infinity after us is infinity these 60 years or so are less than a second in the ocean

Yes, after death remains a question-mark But science has shown us that nothing is destructible everything that is, always is, only it breaks up sometimes and goes to different forms Our body cracks up but what is us remains We know there was an infinity of time before us. We can know that there will be an infinity of time after us

About friends and so on What is of value to us we will take on. Ask anyone what happened to him in his first four years of life he will know little. And of any other four years he will remember some but not all. But what is of value to him he brings on with him and so after death what is of intrinsic value to us we will take on

H E So you think that some of what you are now is something you have brought with you from another time ?

Answer Yes, certainly We continue to add to ourselves until we have no longer need of an earthly body to help us Then we have achieved ourselves This is the Hindu philosophy

Marriage and Brahmacharya

Continuing *Question 3*

I cannot see that lust in married life is akin to debauchery I consider intercourse with a

[illegible] loved a he[illegible] joy [illegible] animal but [illegible] to say [illegible] either good or [illegible] thinking [illegible] it seems to me that [illegible] attitude [illegible] with women is [illegible]

[illegible] original thought [illegible] is [illegible] that we have be[illegible] — with regard to the [illegible] not fully enjoy?

[illegible] I appreciate the point that he who [illegible] is the better judge is not he who [illegible] who has previous experience in this [illegible] he now stands aloof?

[illegible] mean that lust in married life is [illegible] in this nothing should be done [illegible] What is the purpose of this [illegible] we find ourselves? To beget [illegible] we will need to use this lust not [illegible] three times in a lifetime What [illegible] becomes debauchery, for we are [illegible] for the purpose for which we [illegible] it. They talk today of contraceptives. [illegible] what is this? This means that men shall go [illegible] a lust which is meant for the production [illegible] men and then not produce children

[illegible] farmer gets a joy from sowing seed but [illegible] it for the joy? No, he does it for the [illegible] of wheat Would a farmer sow [illegible] throw in something which would [illegible] the growing? Or would he sow seed at [illegible] not want wheat? Everything must [illegible] with a purpose and if it is not we are [illegible] purpose for which we are given that [illegible]

[illegible] you so love smoking that you [illegible] special room, shut yourself up and [illegible] smoked, what would you think?

H E [illegible] was wasting time

Answer Exactly And so intercourse without thought of productivity is a waste of time [illegible] a misuse of our energy

H E You believe absolutely in sublimation?

Answer Of course We should not just turn these things into a game. That energy, or lust we have left over after we have gone in for the production of children we should turn to a purpose I will accept your adjectives that this [illegible] with a wife deeply loved is a beautiful and [illegible] joy but I will tell you it is wrong except [illegible] done for productivity

There is steam. It comes and comes, but [illegible] discovered that by conserving it and using [illegible] we can make a locomotive go Thus we [illegible] with our lusts

[illegible] not think that we all experience [illegible] But look at a cricket match, eleven [illegible] who gets the greatest joy and knows [illegible] The spectators, not those taking part.

[illegible] on [illegible] better [illegible]

[illegible] ions a[illegible] think that [illegible] to ass[illegible]

[illegible] would [illegible] co[illegible] The road [illegible]

[illegible] Then [illegible] of them

[illegible] Non-violence

[illegible] Norway [illegible] non violence [illegible] ideal and a dream [illegible] I feel it is a long road to that goal

Answer —

I do [illegible] it is a long road What do wars [illegible] must had two World Wars in 2 [illegible] off from peace Not nearer [illegible] see that non-violence is [illegible] violence has never done anything

H E [illegible] and a philo-[illegible] on violence But there are [illegible] who are neither go[illegible] in non-violence

Answer [illegible] Hitler I am not afraid of them [illegible] They had one and lock [illegible]

H E [illegible]

Answer [illegible] another I tell you they will [illegible] and experience will teach them I [illegible] was afraid I am afraid of [illegible] have had two World Wars and [illegible] more to teach us that [illegible] be and that non-violence is [illegible] Russia is realizing some [illegible] changing her attitudes

III

FIELD CONVERSATION

More about God

Continuing *Question* [illegible]

I follow [illegible] and deeply appreciate [illegible] in the present tense Would you kindly tell me your thoughts on the Creation and the Hereafter?

Answer

All the stories of the Creation in the Bible, in the Hindu religion [illegible] but myths made to explain [illegible] simple people and children.

H E Then [illegible] to tell even children something which [illegible]

[illegible] an [illegible] God [illegible] — not [illegible] on [illegible] This [illegible] that [illegible] to [illegible] the standard [illegible]

[illegible] No one [illegible] of [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] ding [illegible] the [illegible] each [illegible] the same [illegible]

Money

[illegible] finance [illegible] and carried [illegible] which [illegible] should be tackled first?

[illegible] But money is something [illegible] altogether [illegible] everything he needs for [illegible] and so on [illegible] make for compli- [illegible] you wanted the [illegible]?

[illegible] tions of [illegible] principle [illegible] lages in [illegible] problem [illegible] another or [illegible] simply [illegible]

[illegible] decide [illegible]

[illegible] from [illegible]

BHOODAN GRAMDAN

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	27 402
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
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[illegible]	[illegible]	255
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[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
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[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]

A Question for Agronomists

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

VOL. XVII No. 45 AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY JANUARY 9 1954 TWO ANNAS

THE LAW OF MAN'S DEVELOPMENT*

(By Vinoba)

The Bhoodan work is distinguished from other reform ventures in that it is no mere half measure but something fundamental which goes to the root of the problem of man's life on earth. It can be a nucleus for pooling together all the really good portion of our energies. The world is undoubtedly ruled by God but it is imperfect and is the scene of continuous struggle which has for its object the development of man. We do not think that this struggle would ever come to an end. It is in man's mind—this *devasura sangram* i.e. the fight between good and evil. Everyone of us has in him both good and evil in greater or lesser degree. In the Bhoodan Yajna what we aim at is to foster the good or the divine in us and to bring it out in active life so that it may defeat the power of evil in us the more easily and may construct for itself a fit habitation not only within but also without. That is why we consider this work to be of the fundamental importance. We are at present faced as you know, with many problems but at the root of them all is this perpetual conflict going on in us between the good and the evil.

What is the way out? Since the problem springs from the good and the evil inside our minds the solution lies in refusing to give evil any chance to gain an upper hand. Gandhiji by his noble example surcharged the atmosphere with good with the result that it drew forth the good in every one. Bhoodan seeks to do the same. That is why I want that all those who think and understand should join this work and unite among themselves.

When people offer their donations, one can mark in their eyes an expression which indicates the upsurge in them of a feeling of goodness. Where does it come from? Certainly not from outside. It was there in them all the time, but it lay latent in the absence of an agent to draw it out. What is needed therefore is to devise a programme which will draw out this goodness in us. Bhoodan work, which I believe is God-sent to us, represents just such a programme. And I am sure that if we work for it disinterestedly, forgetting narrow party interests, it will build up the right kind of atmosphere in which every one will feel prompted to bring out his goodness. Just as an infectious disease spreads quickly throughout the village, so is is with goodness. Indeed the infection of goodness is far more powerful because it is the very nature of our inner soul. Evil is also infectious but goodness is more powerful than evil because it is more deeply ingrained in men and is more natural to him.

We hear loud complaints being made by every one about the evil of selfishness being rampant in society today. In Bhoodan work however we find that the same society which is accused of selfishness not only collects in large numbers to listen to our words imploring them to make sacrifice but also readily acts upon it. How does it happen? It happens because we have faith in man's goodness and because goodness is stronger than evil and is infectious once it gets a start. We had once joined forces with one another irrespective of our differences of opinion about many things in the fight for freedom. Let us do it again this time in the fight for economic freedom.

* * *

The poverty and suffering which we see around are a man-made thing and man can abolish them. But the remedies which touch only the surface will not do for this purpose. We will have to change the entire structure of the society.

Changing the social structure does not mean doing something which is against human nature. No, in fact what we seek to do is nothing but to follow the dictates of our human nature, our real nature which constitutes our humanity. It should therefore prove to be very easy — as easy as to swim with the current of the river, because we will only be following our own higher nature, we will be doing the will of God who is the ruler of the world. What can be easier than that?

I am told that in this district the problem of the evictions of tenants has assumed very serious proportions. While on the one hand they are giving land-donations, on the other they are turning out the tenants. This kind of behaviour

* From a prayer speech at Kishanganj, Saharsha on 9-12-1953.

seems to involve [illegible] ople are apt to regard [illegible] se of [illegible] But it is not so The fact [illegible] that the [illegible] concerned gives the donat[illegible] pursuit [illegible] the good in him and evicts the tenant under the influence of ignorance That is how we should look at it We would then perceive that the donation represents the essence of his character while the eviction is just a pretence from which he can be easily weaned away [illegible] we would but keep our faith in his goodness [illegible]

Let us then be full of faith in the innate goodness of man and go to every one without the least hesitation Our faith shall sweep away the mental obtuseness which hides from him his higher nature and bring the latter out. Such is the irresistible power of faith

(Abridged from the original in Hindi)

NOTES

Land and Diet

The economic supply of land can be increased by adjusting human consumption to what the earth can produce most efficiently For example in the case of agricultural land the same acres should be made to feed many more people if certain changes in human diet were made

The consumption of meat per capita in the United States after the first world war was about 170 lbs compared with about 100 lbs in Germany and only 4 lbs in Japan Baker, O E in his book *Land Utilization in United States* indicates that if the annual per capita consumption of meat were cut to 50 lbs and compensated by a proportionate increase in the consumption of dairy products and vegetables, our diet would be fully nutritious as before and would enable the nation to support double its population

The yearly consumption of food per person averages 1 400 000 calories, and the following crops and pasture acres are required to produce 1 400 000 calories of the following foods Sugar beats 28 crop acres, sugarcane 34 crop acres, potatoes 74 crop acres corn meal 79 crop acres, wheat flour 1 45 crop acres, tomatoes 1 47 crop acres, apples 2 35 crop acres pork and lard 3 1 crop acres and 1 00 pasture acres milk 2 35 crop acres and 1 5 pasture acres, beef (dressed) 11 3 crop acres and 2 5 pasture acres i.e less than 4 acres for vegetarian food and about 14 acres are required for non vegetarian food, per capita

(From *Land Economics* by Reese R. R.)

SURENDRA KUMAR TIWARI

Government and Big Business

Merchants' Chambers are bodies which have all immiscible businesses under their roofs e.g manufacturers importers of foreign manufactures exporters of raw materials and importers of foreign raw materials, traders who deal in foreign goods and those who deal in Indian goods besides banks and insurance companies who do [illegible] they earn [illegible] common in[illegible] of foreign [illegible] and manufac[illegible] raw materials [illegible] the Indian [illegible] common inter[illegible] from internal and [illegible] of them combine both [illegible] ness — trying to make [illegible] the same time they all [illegible] ernment that their [illegible] safeguarded against [illegible] however, worship at the [illegible] calf Some of them are [illegible] firms in India and it appears [illegible] have investments in British firms [illegible]

The [illegible] our agent because it is business [illegible] chief revenues by taking taxes [illegible] Government, while taking [illegible] They can sabotage and other [illegible] ernment Hence the Government [illegible] them willy nilly It cannot do oth[illegible] have nothing in common with the [illegible] which exists only to supply cheap [illegible] and as far as required and [illegible]

The Gov[illegible] businessman think they are the [illegible] really they only collect taxes from [illegible] for the Government The taxes come from [illegible] consumption and creating unemployment

M P T ACHARYA

SOIL AND CHEMICAL FERTILIZERS

(*By Walfred Wellock*)

The motives which, during several centuries have turned men's attention from spiritual to material values and ends in the realm of industry and have resulted in mechanizing man himself in destroying his wholeness and hurling him into permanent war, have latterly been directed to the source of his food, to nature — the soil, plants and animals

In consequence agriculture in many Western countries had gradually fallen into the hands of engineers and chemists, who from the first, set about their job in a forthright manner First came the sacrifice of fertility by the wrongful disposal of vegetable and human wastes, then chemical feeding of the soil and finally, specialized commercial farming with pressurized food production from soil, plant and animal

The techniques of specialized farming like those of industry, drive more and more workers into routine jobs, thereby destroying their sense of vocation while the heavy costs of such farming tend to drive agriculture into the control of financiers

Things began to go wrong in agriculture when political power passed into the hands of

[illegible] and [illegible] and [illegible] wastes in the sewers and the sea [illegible] vegetable wastes in the flames In consequence plants animals and humans are being deformed by the increasing use of inorganic [illegible] and drugs while the living quality of [illegible] its wealth of bacteria and small life is superseded by the dead products of the [illegible] factory At the same time animals are [illegible] formed into food producing machines [illegible] maximum rate — all in the name of science, [illegible] and profits

[illegible] Agricultural Revolution commenced a [illegible] with the work of von Liebig the [illegible] German chemist although the first [illegible] in the chemical feeding of the soil [illegible]

[illegible] the soil was a body of chemicals [illegible] and while he prized highly [illegible] declared that " a time will [illegible] growing in a field will be [illegible] appropriate manures pre[illegible] bacteria He believed that [illegible] could give to the land what we have [illegible] from it

[illegible] now know that they cannot How much [illegible] give or whether and to what extent [illegible] beneficial to the soil has still to be [illegible] What we can say [illegible] that whereas a few [illegible] the relief in chemical fertilizers was [illegible] growing it is now being questioned [illegible] while many chemists freely admit [illegible] not enough and that soils will [illegible] unless they are given [illegible] of harmless in the form of vege[illegible] and human wastes they still claim that chemicals have a place to play in the soil but hesitate to define it

We are thus brought [illegible] question What Is soil ? The necessity of burning [illegible] that soil chemicals plus something without which it will perish turn to dust and blow [illegible] We also know that before that [illegible] will weaken and lose their immunity to insect disease whence insecticides fungicides and [illegible] must be applied in ever increasing numbers and quantities Many of these chemical poison the soil and thus further weaken the plants that are grown in it and reduce their food value The latest attempts to overcome these pests include soil sterilization as in green-housed tomato growing but something happens which robs the fruit of flavour and flavour is connected with mineral and vitamin content Lack of flavour in tomatoes is now a common complaint

There thus occurs a vicious chemical cycle of debilitated soil, devitalized plants, disease and pests [illegible] profits [illegible] out this [illegible]

The [illegible] from this cycle is to tackle the problem at its source by applying vitamin laden humus to the soil composts of organic wastes and rock But what is humus ?

Prior to the use of chemicals all soil feeding consisted of returning to it what had been taken from it in the form of manure, or composts of vegetable animal and human wastes This was the Law of Returns. Those wastes were not just chemicals They contained myriads of bacteria and other small life which transformed the wastes into plant food and greatly enriched the organic content of the soil That organic or " living" content is the most important factor in soil Chemists can name all the chemicals there are in a carrot but they cannot produce a carrot by chemicals alone Life is still the mysterious PLUS which eludes the chemists as it formerly did the necromancers and the extent to which it exists in soil determines the vital content of what is grown and thus its health-giving power

It is thus my deep conviction proved by experience my own and that of thousands of organic or compost growers that the secret of health from the soil to plant animal and man is a living soil which teems with bacteria and small life including worms which in addition aerate the soil.

The problem of agriculture is at root one of ethics and vocation its solution lies in a return to the intensive cultivation of organic farming and the family farm The policy of quick returns belongs to the modern aim of making one's pile, cleaning out and handing over to others a sick soil Agriculture is unique in this that the land contains what the husbandman puts into it. Land fertility is the good farmer's wealth the repository of his strength thought, genius and devotion and his hope for his own his family's and his nation's future And since it is good that the husbandman keeps faith with the soil, it is right and fitting that he should own it or the right to live on and by it The roots of good husbandry are the responsibility and security of the family farm as an inheritance to be handed down from generation to generation When these values are sacrificed for the fortunes of chemical farming and pressurized animal manipulation the count of man's years on this planet is numbered

(Adapted from the Author's *Orchard Lea Papers* No. 11, Soil, Health and Civilization")

HARIJAN

Jan 9 1954

A QUESTION FOR AGRONOMISTS

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

In his presidential address to the 14th Annual Session of the Indian Society of Agricultural Economics Shri V T. Krishnamachari, Deputy Chairman of the National Planning Commission drew pointed attention to the appalling unemployment and under-employment that exist in the field of agriculture As the fashion goes at present he also referred to the increase of population since 1921 and argued that whereas the per capita figure of cultivated area was 111 cents in 1921 it was 84 cents in 1951 Which only shows that the country could not, for some reason or another, develop its fallow land which is available for bringing under cultivation in our country He also pointed out the poverty of our irrigation system and emphasized that the Five Year Plan provided for a substantial measure of advance in this direction.

However, what we need further is the immediate introduction of subsidiary home industries without which agriculture under our proverbial small-holdings is difficult if not impossible to be made viable In this regard, what is very often missed is the human aspect of this question It is the small-scale farmer and his labourer or tenant who requires help to be more gainfully employed — to be saved from under-employment and forced idleness which has, as a result, become a habit — a very second nature with him. To achieve this it is quite idle for us to talk about development in terms of large-scale efforts and large-scale projects and corporations, as all these almost come to mean forgetting the poor farmer and ignoring the social and cultural consequences of such big schemes on the poor villager and his life and labour

The real problem therefore is to rebuild our agricultural economy in a suitable way and not plan almost in a vacuum and away from the villager's real needs and difficulties In the rush of big and large-scale plans and projects that seem to be the order of the day, I fear, we stand the real danger of forgetting the main question. Agronomists would therefore be better advised if they begin to pay attention to the human aspect of our agricultural problem They must remember that the Bhoodan movement has caught the imagination of our people because it directly touches this aspect and aims to set up our millions of landless families each on a 5 acre holding of its own, and make it an economic proposition Are not the ideas and schemes that are sponsored by Government at present at variance with this? Agronomi[illegible] study their problems in re[illegible]ological and anthropological [illegible] centre of which is the Indian [illegible] his life and labour Anything th[illegible] must start from and be built on th[illegible] unless we wish and decide t[illegible] the West, a process of econom[illegible]y devising an Indian edition of [illegible] revolution in our agricultural se[illegible]

29 12 53

BIG BUSINESS *vs* SMALL SCALE INDUSTRIES

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

The President of the 21st Annual General Meeting of the Employers Federation of India made a public complaint the other day in Bombay against the Government of India that its actions lacked cohesion and consistency and created a state of uncertainty and that ' representations made by industrial interests seemed to receive little attention The gravamen of the charge was that the flow of labour legislation, the irksome control over profits production and distribution, the refusal to provide adequate incentives for either old or new enterprises and 'the irresponsible opinions indulged in by some of those who hold positions of influences ' continued, they were not only sapping the morale of the industrialists, but were destroying the confidence of the investor "

The President of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India, who was speaking at its annual general meeting at the opposite — the eastern end of the land at Calcutta, was not so bitter nor blunt as his Indian friend at Bombay, though he meant to convey the same substance to Government vis-a vis its policy towards the private sector He pleaded for more incentives to work, to save, to plan and to invest in new enterprise", through revising the existing tax structure. He also spoke about labour situation and general conditions, about the wage and the value of the rupee, and had some interested advice to give to the Government It may be noted that the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister of India were present at this meeting.

What is significant in both of these orations is the absence of any special reference to small-scale and village industries and their importance in our national economy

As we all know, the Five Year Plan acknowledges the importance of these industries in our economy and the Plan has in its view a common production programme for the large-scale and small-scale industries The two bodies have no remarks to offer in relation to this Rather, for example, Mr Pakes the President of the Associated Chambers Calcutta meeting, complained that there were other schools of thought who were very vocal last year and meant to have what he

desci[illegible] and not the m[illegible] tood for the latte[illegible] The Government [illegible] stand for the former, [illegible] even the [illegible] Plan and those who administer it [illegible] are not believers in the small-scale [illegible]

However it is slowly but [illegible] growing upon us that as a matter of fact India cannot rehabilitate her economy without putting our small scale and village industries at their due place in our new economy

But the trouble at present is that this aspect of the question is not being clearly voiced in the country's counsels The dumb millions still go by default even though there is Swaraj and those who rule them are expected to represent them For example, it is reported that while replying to an argument of a member in the Bombay Legislative Assembly that the views of the agricultural class had not been heard, the Finance Minister is described to have said that out of the 300 and odd protests against the (Sales Tax) Bill received by Government there was not a single one from the agriculturists Surely this does not show that there existed no cause for protest, It might at best show that the mass of our people are not vocal like the few of our mercantile classes The Chambers of Commerce Trade and Industry, which are mostly heeded to as they generally speak out, give only one-sided idea of the true picture To them the capitalist economy of the West which Mr Pakes pictorially named as the motor-lorry economy is the only one that should thrive, as it alone can assure them profit and capital formation It is becoming increasingly clear now that we are required to take a very major decision for our future economy and progress Do we want India in her villages to live and prosper? Then we must restore to them at least their main industries that will supply them with their essential needs of living — food and raiment These must not be allowed to be competed by mechanized and power-driven industries or, to use Mr Pakes' phrase by the motor-lorry economy of capitalism.

These needs of our masses must be met by themselves in a co-operative, socialized and decentralized manner and the State should see that it becomes so That way alone can we re establish our Village Panchayats, who should possess requisite economic and political power for doing it If we do that, then such institutions of our villages can easily become the basic units of our democracy I know this might necessitate revising the Constitution It will be easy to do as the happy consummation of a process that should begin with the restoration of village industries in our national economy even in the teeth of the opposition from our powerful industrial and commercial classes and interests

20-12-'53

UNEMPLOYMENT AND INEQUALITY *

(*By Vinoba*)

Ours is an old and experienced society It is true a majority of them are today illiterate But this is speaking comparatively a recent development which has come into being during the last hundred or more years The British rulers started a new system of education suited to their own purpose which emphasized the knowledge of English as the *sine qua non* of the educational equipment The schools which were opened to provide this new education were centred mostly in the cities with the result that the villages were sadly neglected and the indigenous system, which served the villages destroyed Formerly learned men used to live in the villages and education was provided to all without distinction Now however we find that whoever has learnt a few words of English tries to move to the city That is the reason of the wide-spread illiteracy among the villagers who now cannot read and understand even the Tulsi Ramayana, a book avowedly written for the benefit of the people in general. And yet illiterate though they are, the Indian people are not ignorant

Agriculture has been practised here since very ancient times The people do not need to be educated in it They have a tradition of agriculture which hands it down from one generation to another In the same way there is amongst us a tradition of good conduct As a result the people are able speaking generally, to manage their affairs quite efficiently Not only that, they can even quite easily perform tasks which are considered to require a high degree of intelligence and education and training

After Swaraj, when they were given the right of franchise, there were not a few who were genuinely afraid as to how our people who have had no training in the ways of democracy, as it is understood would use it But the world was agreeably surprised when they learnt that the elections had passed off quite peacefully But there was no reason for surprise, because, as I said, we are an experienced people and experience over long centuries has imbued our minds with a temper of culture — it has created an ethos of which certain qualities are integral parts The people may not be aware of those qualities but there they are For example the world is now coming to see and admit that the Indian people love peace, though we have yet to prove that peace has its own power a more effective power of dealing with difficulties There are critics who seem to think that peace-loving people are by nature submissive and that they cannot fight injustice until they abandon the ways of peace But this is not true as was partly demonstrated in our fight against the British imperialism through peaceful methods

And yet this example striking though it is, does not fully reveal the power of peace as an

* From a speech at Janakinagar Purnia, on 6-12-'53

we solved [illegible] our d[illegible] [illegible]ement of s[illegible] has brought us [illegible] several other and in some way [illegible] le difficulties specially those a[illegible] the existence of poverty and social and [illegible] [illegible]ities Now if we can tackle these [illegible] peaceful methods then we will [illegible] be [illegible] to have demonstrated the power of peace quite satisfactorily The world, I may say is simply pining to witness this demonstration Two peoples the world over, as you know, are living in fear There is an armament race going on and there is endless distrust of one another Even nations like Russia and America which have all the wealth that a country may need for building up a happy and prosperous life are afraid of each other The reason is that the world is faced with certain problems which defy solution but which have to be solved And the greatest of these — the rest might be treated as its offshoots — is the existence of inequalities of wealth between different nations and different classes inside a nation

As long as man was not awake, not conscious of his rights he meekly put up with his suffering taking it to be his inevitable lot on the earth But now that he is awake he refuses to bear these absurdly wide inequalities lying down And that is the reason why a vast struggle is in progress throughout the world in one form or another for abolishing them and for achieving a more harmoniously balanced order of society Violence therefore will continue to dominate the stage of the world until peaceful methods for tackling these problems are discovered and placed before the people for their use That is why it is urgently necessary for us to prove that we can solve our economic problem peacefully That will save India and save the world Otherwise there can be no peace in the world and what is worse conflict will increase ultimately leading to war which in this atomic era might well mean the end of man and his civilization It is therefore incumbent on us in our interest and in the larger interest of the world to demonstrate that we can successfully solve our problems, specially the problem of economic inequality through peaceful methods The Indian independence is yet only an infant If we want it to grow strong we will have to solve our problems through peaceful means That is the only way to do good to the poor and stabilize our newly-won freedom. Herein lies the significance of the Bhoodan Yajna which the workers must understand And that is why when we preach it and plead for it, we feel that we are doing God's will and that His blessings are with us

We do not believe in the governmental power as the right means for bringing about this change We aim at a fundamental revolution — a revolution of mind and thought It is a pity that people today lean so much on the government for everything that they want without waiting to think whether it lies in its power or not. There is a legislation abolishing untouchability, but has it [illegible] [illegible]ological and [illegible] by legislation [illegible] ledge are [illegible] respect [illegible] logy which [illegible] very important [illegible] of building [illegible] the problem [illegible] perception [illegible] work [illegible] to leave [illegible] our entire [illegible] Bhoodan [illegible] the only [illegible] inequalities [illegible] poor [illegible] that land will [illegible] dustries started in [illegible] system of education [illegible] him which will [illegible] and to consider [illegible] thout doing prohibition [illegible] I repeat, will [illegible] bition, apart [illegible] ployment and [illegible] Apart from [illegible] and not last long [illegible] ers from your [illegible] ve themselves [illegible] ing everything [illegible] ore inspiring [illegible] of our plot [illegible] rld the way [illegible] it at the mo[illegible]

[illegible])

DANGERS IN TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE

(By Dr. [illegible] Metraux)

[Few of us th[illegible] ding habits very easily Even in a bigo[illegible] country where changes from the old [illegible] tantly taking place it takes a good wh[illegible] cept these changes. In non-industrialized [illegible] changes are usually much slower b[illegible] resistance to change is even more deeply [illegible]

Today under the [illegible] Assistance Programme of the United Nations and [illegible] governmental and voluntary agencies great [illegible] changes are taking place in the life of millions of people in Asia, Africa and Latin America. New [illegible] food production and conserve resources [illegible] nutrition, new health practices [illegible] — all these are being introduced in [illegible] the has more often than not [illegible] for hundreds of years

This [illegible] sudden impact of technological change has posed [illegible] human problems [illegible] technical assistance experts working [illegible] They have come to realize [illegible] country with [illegible] tell the people to [illegible] if they [illegible] not. The reasons why these people have done things [illegible] way must first be understood [illegible] not respected then the [illegible] change and interference will only be strengthened

So a new aspect of Technical Assistance is taking on supreme importance This is the study of a people's culture

[illegible] brand [illegible] the guide [illegible] is not [illegible] Dun [illegible] heel [illegible] their standards [illegible] gress of the [illegible] standards [illegible] developed [illegible] only does it [illegible] the poverty [illegible] a handi- [illegible] but then [illegible] by the [illegible] Assistance [illegible] ment is bound [illegible] life to varying [illegible] tion are the [illegible] rice changes and [illegible] wide and equi [illegible] it is likely to [illegible] the security of [illegible] which must guide all [illegible] development. Progress [illegible] tions seeks to pro [illegible] would inevitably de [illegible] of local culture still survive [illegible]

These cult [illegible] not but they are [illegible] a long adaptation [illegible] find in them [illegible] even the most advance [illegible] always [illegible] sate. The mem [illegible] community often enjoy a measure [illegible] that they will lose when swamped [illegible] society. The leisurely well ord [illegible] country life [illegible] all too often be [illegible] joyless and deadened toil.

We have [illegible] ultimate [illegible] succeeded in [illegible] the potentiali- ties of human [illegible] of the humblest forms [illegible] that baffled the [illegible] developed. Higher standards of living [illegible] industrialization — these will inevitably destroy such values and this [illegible] towards the impoverishment of the human [illegible]

Our own society has passed through a similar crisis and the wiser for our experience, we might perhaps be able to save other cultures from making the same mistakes and enduring the same sufferings as ourselves. When the transformation is on a vast scale the original culture may be shaken to its foundations or even destroyed. As Dr. Powles so aptly remarks

> "The tragedy lies not in the disappearance of a culture. It lies in the replacement of a functioning society with a mass of disoriented individuals who as victims of circumstance can fall easy prey to exploitation of one sort or another."

It all too frequently happens that the plans made for assisting economically backward [illegible] make no allowance for the tastes and [illegible] of those who are to benefit from the so- [illegible] improvements. Economists and techni- [illegible] see they deal in statistics and handle [illegible] problems become imbued with an [illegible] self confidence. They seldom have any [illegible] of the relationship that exists between the [illegible] institutions of a group and fail to realize that [illegible] culture cannot be altered piecemeal.

It requires the experience and acquired [illegible] of the anthropologist to foresee what repercussions [illegible] slight change may have on a [illegible] as a whole. It is the far-reaching consequence of an apparently desirable reform which, [illegible] perceived by the members of a particular [illegible] give rise to opposition for which the [illegible] economists can find no explanation. [illegible] literacy are not in themselves [illegible] of happiness and prosperity. On the [illegible] they may even in certain cases, have a disintegrating effect.

An educational system which is not suited to a particular form of culture will tend to undermine its intellectual and moral foundations, [illegible] them by standards which are not its own. As a result we find these groups of uprooted maladjusted individuals who are a dead [illegible] and [illegible] to peoples at the transitional stage of culture.

All changes imposed from without even [illegible] by a central government, inevitably meet with opposition, varying in intensity from [illegible] background and social class to [illegible]. The apathy for which foreign experts [illegible] indigenous workers is due in [illegible] to a latent antagonism which [illegible] until suddenly intensified it becomes [illegible] revolt.

[illegible] may also result from a lack of [illegible] institutions and institutions which to us [illegible] incompatible with our conceptions of [illegible] happiness may nevertheless [illegible] to the members of certain groups, a [illegible] of satisfaction not which they are given no [illegible]. This applies particularly to improvements that require a period of years in which to make themselves felt.

[illegible] the innovations [illegible] the [illegible] of individuals [illegible] with attitudes deeply rooted in their culture

(Adapted from [illegible] July '53 [illegible])

THE "FRUITS" OF VIVISECTION

(*By Douglas Latto* M B Ch B)

The vivisectors claim that the prevention of smallpox and diphtheria and the treatment of diabetes and pernicious anaemia are great advances made by vivisection I would like briefly to show the fallacy of these four claims

1 *Smallpox Vaccination* It is claimed that cowpox gives protection against smallpox This is the only example where one disease is claimed to confer immunity against another Jenner said that it conferred immunity for life It was later said to last for seven years then two years and if smallpox is prevalent, for two months

At the present time in this country more children die from vaccination than from smallpox Deaths are due to the vaccination causing an inflammation of the brain (vaccinia encephalitis) — not to mention a considerable number of deaths not recorded where the child dies from [illegible] pneumonia or septicaemia, following vaccination

The death rate from smallpox has got less, not however, due to vaccination as only about [illegible] of the population are vaccinated, but due to improved hygiene

Vaccinal encephalitis was only recognized as being due to vaccination after more than 50 years following the introduction of vaccination.

2 *Diphtheria* The mortality from diphtheria [illegible] before immunization was established or to be more correct the mortality from [illegible] continued to drop in spite of immunization as it was dropping before immunization was introduced It is interesting to note that the mortality from measles and scarlet fever has been dropping steadily also although no immunization is being used in these diseases The mortality and dangers from immunization are recognized by the Medical Officers of Health, and the toxin-antitoxin first used was found to be too dangerous and was replaced by formal toxoid, which in turn was replaced by toxoid-antitoxin, then alum precipitated toxoid, then toxoid antitoxin floccules Now (*British Medical Journal*, 14th February, 1953) we hear of N A F T (natural adjuvant factor toxoid) and work is continuing in an endeavour to find an immunizing agent less toxic

It is recognized that diphtheria immunization increases one's chance of getting infantile paralysis (anterior poliomyelitis), and during an outbreak of infantile paralysis diphtheria immunization is stopped in these areas

3 *Diabetes* [illegible] by vivisection [illegible] the cause of [illegible] content to treat the [illegible] insulin injections of insulin [illegible]

The [illegible] is that we are [illegible] characteristic in the community [illegible] Banting and Best discovered insulin in [illegible] was a relatively rare disease but [illegible] the diabetic person is kept alive [illegible] have a greatly increased [illegible] mortality (from 2 per cent to over 20 per cent) [illegible] of insulin and careful obstetrics — [illegible] section or induction of labour [illegible] the patient is expecting the [illegible] of these babies are [illegible] already in just about [illegible] 000 diabetics in the [illegible] rapidly rising!

4 *Pernicious Anaemia* Similarly to diabetes [illegible] in 1926 that liver [illegible] pernicious anaemia, the true [illegible] cause was largely abandoned

[illegible] been shown that pernicious [illegible] deficiency disease being due to deficiency [illegible] B 12 (the true cause of the other [illegible] diseases such as rickets scurvy etc [illegible] years ago) Thus the [illegible] liver extract has delayed our knowledge [illegible] subject

In [illegible] pernicious anaemia clinic [illegible] where over 180 cases are treated [illegible] and all are cured with [illegible] of vitamin B 12

[illegible] recognized that the mind plays [illegible] production of disease, and [illegible] psychosomatic diseases are now being [illegible]

In view of the recent investigations into extra-sensory perception" (thought-transference) in this country and America, it does not seem beyond the bounds of possibility that the wrong thoughts of people, particularly vivisectors and just conceivably of vivisected animals may influence the induction of disease

Vivisection far from reducing suffering and disease increases it

(Adapted from *Steps Unto Him*, Sept '53)

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Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

VOL. XVII No. 46 AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY JANUARY 16, 1954 TWO ANNAS

CONGRESS AND VANASPATI

(By Vamanrao P. Desai)

[illegible] the *Harijan* sends a cutting of [illegible] the use and advertisement of [illegible] advertisement is a half-page [illegible] continued couple portrayed in [illegible] a wedding feast etc along with it, de[illegible] how to plan a wedding feast and how it [illegible] success with Vanaspati cooking and econ[illegible] to boot!

Another cutting says, "Recently Himachal Pradesh [illegible] to New Delhi for permission to [illegible] the import of Vanaspati. New Delhi has refused. It may be remembered that in large part of Hi[illegible] Pradesh Ghee is the measure of [illegible] the store of wealth."

But finance and Government in India seem to believe otherwise. To the Latter Vanaspati gives a few crores of easy income. Subsidized science must support and substantiate its use. It was agreed that to check its adulteration with Ghee which seems to be at present the general law of our Ghee-manufacture Vanaspati must be coloured. Science could not or has no time till now to solve this question for suitable colouration. In the meanwhile trade is having its way with the people through false advertisement and such other tricks.

We know that the Indian National Congress passed a resolution in its last session, if I remember aright, asking Governments to ban Vanaspati. It has not been heeded to. Will the Kalyani Congress remind them of it?

There is a much more fundamental question that arises here. Do the Congress Governments realize how the common people feel about all this? Like Vanaspati, not implementing Prohibition on an all India scale is another thing that embitters the minds of the people who were promised it. The lure of drink revenue is the only thing that does not allow Governments to fulfil it. We have the tragedy of witnessing States seceding from Prohibition. Will the Kalyani Congress turn its eyes inward and get at the causes of growing popular frustration and frame a programme that may reasonably be expected to meet it? Will it see that it is at least carried out by [illegible] Governments? The slogan of the Five-Year [illegible] much longer. We need a bold policy and [illegible] all India line of work for the [illegible] in our villages. Let us realize [illegible] thinks passes over their heads [illegible] them as they were wondering, sullen, [illegible] frustrated.

1 1 54

THE LOGIC OF ARMED PEACE

One of the greatest dangers that exist in international affairs is the partial blindness that always afflicts the militarist mind.

Thus the armed forces of one's own land, or of one's ally (while he remains an ally) are for defence. The other armed forces are a threat to peace.

The lies and political stratagems that are resorted to on the other side are lies and evidence of blackguardism; on one's own side they are manoeuvres regrettable possibly but dictated by the imperative necessity that good shall prevail.

On the other side political tyranny is a monstrous invasion of human rights; on one's own side it is a necessary means to the defence of freedom.

States associated with Russian policy are dictatorships; Spain and Jugoslavia are just rather less free examples of the free world.

And so on.

The extent of this self-righteous one-sidedness is really staggering. In the heyday of British imperialism this is how British opinion as expressed in its newspapers must probably have looked to the world. It is something we should keep in mind when we marvel at the pronouncements of people like Senator Knowland and Mr Dulles today, and it should help us to a sense of humility.

This one-sided hallucination, this refusal to face facts, is so common in the outlook of the politicians and publicists of the West (it doubtless has its counterpart in the East) that it is becoming part of the permanent climate of opinion — an exceedingly dangerous condition.

(From *Peace News*, London, 26-11-53)

WAR-MAKING AS THE KEY INDUSTRY OF POLITICAL STATES

(By L P Jacks)

In a work of immense research *This War* [illegible] by Arthur Guy Enock abundant proof will be found that war-making is correctly named the key industry of political States On what do the States spend the enormous sums extracted by taxation from the wealth of nations? Enock answers the question He produces statistics which make it very clear that war-making, which includes preparations for war, accounts for more of the total than all other objects of expenditure put together He has compiled a table of the yearly spending on all objects of twenty four leading States for the period of 1900 1946 In this period the total spent on war making alone amounts to 321 316 7 million pounds sterling and the total spent on all other objects to 313 759 9 million some 8 000 million less What further proof is needed that the political States are essentially war-making institutions and that war making is their key industry the young men cannon fodder for the battlefield and the working community taxation fodder for the war chest?

The whole fabric of political discipline under which we live as our fathers lived before us and from which our citizenship derives its characters and our minds their habits of thought, will be found on examination to be adjusted throughout to the war-making needs of the State [illegible] may be summed up into a fairly simple formula which would run somewhat thus You must be ready when war requires it, to place your life and property on orders given at the service of the State, to become a fighting man if competent and to bear whatever taxation may be found necessary Submit to this and you will be in the essentials a good citizen Refuse to submit and you will be traitor' The whole pattern of our citizenship lies within that framework Were the framework removed by the abolition of war the pattern would lose its cohesion and immediately dissolve. 'Peace-loving' we may well be but no less than if we were war loving, we live within a net of war-making needs, and the scope of our lives is no larger than the net allows In that sense we are all prisoners of war, and disciplined accordingly The patriotic citizen is the product of that discipline. By this time the eels have become well used to being skinned — as Mr Enock's figures abundantly prove

It would be found that war-making has done more than anything else in the determination of economic structure, in other words, that this structure has tended continuously to take the form which renders the wealth produced by industry most easily accessible to the demands of the State and most easily diverted into its war-chest.

[illegible] tion has been [illegible] tion in many [illegible] nationalizing [illegible] placed at the [illegible] made to flow [illegible] umbilical [illegible] practice than that of extracting it by taxation or otherwise, from private owners Nothing has happened in our time more conducive to moulding the economy of the State into conformity with the needs of its key industry The best example is to be found, of course in the thoroughgoing Socialism of the totalitarian States Instead of halting half way at the nationalization of capital as British Socialism has done these countries have nationalized the *labour* which makes capital productive, a strike in the labour force treated on the same level as a mutiny in the fighting force They have nationalized the horse as well as the cart, the natural and necessary completion of the process without which the nationalization of the cart is obviously a half done job All the totalitarian dictators have had the wit to see that State ownership of the means of production is futile unless it includes the chief means and animating principle of all the others which is of course the human worker Therein lies the living essence of as some would say the poisonous essence of the totalitarian system Poisonous or not the advantage from the war making point of view is self-evident All the industries of the State are now linked together with the key industry in a single economy under a single control, and the worker brought under the same rule as the fighter — 'theirs not to reason why theirs but to do and die' A 'planned economy' with a vengeance!

In all this I have been agreeing with the German war philosophers and to some extent repeating their arguments. But, unlike them, I have doubts as to whether the political State, in its present armed and war-making character, is worth preserving Certainly I cannot regard it, as they do, as the final form of human society, than which there can be no better or higher — the conception of the State as the *summum bonum* to which all individual interests are subordinate and must, if necessary be sacrificed

Christianity came into the world as an offer, nay, as the expectation of a form of society infinitely more desirable, on every rational ground, than that presented by any political State now existing, or that has ever existed or is likely to exist, on the earth. In the life of such a community war-making, now the key industry of the political State, would naturally have no part, but it would have a key industry of its own, and the name of it, if a name must be given, is *education* understood in its widest sense as the calling into activity of the spiritual wealth that lies hidden in human nature

No wonder that the Roman Government persecuted it relentlessly Hospitable as that

[illegible] and would [illegible] none of it It [illegible] dangerous were it allowed to [illegible] It would be an [illegible] to the political [illegible] Roman State [illegible] at all costs, [illegible] But the more the movement was [illegible] the more it grew

[illegible] suddenly, and by a *little face* perhaps [illegible] of which history bears record, the [illegible] was arrested There came a time [illegible] the act of the Emperor Constantine the [illegible] was adopted and allowed itself to [illegible] as the religion of the State, which [illegible] regarded it as a poisonous super- [illegible] with what results we all know The [illegible] which originally aimed at super- [illegible] of power-politics with its in- [illegible] by the peaceable reign of [illegible] loving kindness itself became [illegible] with the power politics it [illegible] attached itself to the [illegible] turned to overthrow, took his [illegible] his ways, its ministers ready [illegible] on the armaments which [illegible] into being had its original [illegible] The adoption of Christia- [illegible] of the State is common- [illegible] of the former Are not [illegible] regarding it as the victory [illegible] latter

The resources available for social services of [illegible] so long as those are conducted within [illegible] framework of the war-making State are [illegible] limited to what is left over when war- [illegible] needs have been satisfied This as [illegible] the total considerably less [illegible] The standard of life can rise no higher [illegible] allows It is a very severe [illegible]

[illegible] of war and the consequent dis- [illegible] of the key industry we have been [illegible] would obviously be attended by eco- [illegible] to States affected by it. In [illegible] that might be done if the [illegible] now expended on war-making [illegible] works of peace, we assume too [illegible] wealth of nations would still be [illegible] on the same scale or possibly on a greater [illegible] conceivable but neither is cer- tain [illegible] it more probable that the disap- [illegible] key industry would be followed by wid[illegible] unemployment and a great fall in production [illegible] over the world We have to remem- ber that the wealth of nations which permits of [illegible] expenditure on war-making revealed by Mr [illegible] has itself been produced under pressure of the war-making need Were that pressure removed would Mr Enock's millions of millions still continue to be forthcoming but now set [illegible] for the work of peace ?

[illegible] from chap XI Near the Brink 1

THE CRUX OF THE PROBLEM

(*By M P T Acharya*)

I

Between financing and marketing all non-productive payments — like interest, rent profits and taxes — have to be paid — which makes marketing impossible Whether production is done individually co-operatively or capitalistically or by State ownership — whether by hand or machine or this technique or another, it becomes more and more difficult to sell goods Getting subsidies or credits will not make selling easier Unless new pastures are found, selling will become impossible

All changes proposed without changing — abolishing — the fundamentals, this basis of production and distribution" will only narrow down sales The remedy or palliatives within these limits will make the disease worse — will make sales less and less That means less people will buy every day

There can be no remedy or palliatives within these fundamentals — no temporary or transitional measures within these limits Without considering and avoiding — abolishing — these limits all schemes are useless and vain attempts

II

All production and distribution are subordinate to these

1 Money business and State
2 Buying and Selling
3 Prices and Wages
4 Rent interest profits and taxes

Nothing can be produced or distributed outside these conditions

No 1 through Nos 2 and 3 forces payments to No 4 — all together in conspiracy to suck the people dry Yet they expect even the Bolsheviks, they will distribute goods after production, raise the standard of living and abolish unemployment They are day-dreamers fooling themselves to fool others taking advantage of others' troubles They can only produce less and distribute less still through the mechanism which they want to wield or are already wielding — they are bound by the machine they yield the machine conditions and forces their actions They cannot force a stationary engine to run like a locomotive — it will refuse to The only way production and distribution can be liberated and put to social purpose is by overthrowing this inhuman paraphernalia — not by maintaining it Not till then can human needs be satisfied with whatever technique and science it may be All techniques and science will cease to function when this paraphernalia destroys consumption — which it is doing which is all it can do, which it is there to do It can only do violence to consumption and then stop

HARIJAN

[illegible] 1954

ANGLO INDIAN COMMUNALISM

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

The Constitution of India provides for special consideration to the Anglo-Indian community by way of its representation in legislatures of the States and the Parliament, reservation of seats in certain services and grant in aid for its educational institutions. This community was a privileged one under the ex-British rule, and the legacy thereof continues in the above manner. But it is mentioned in the Constitution that these privileges shall cease to have effect on the expiration of a period of 10 years from the commencement of this Constitution.

As we know, there are certain other classes also who are similarly shown consideration by the Constitution, for example the Scheduled Classes and the Scheduled Tribes. As a matter of fact, Part XVI of the Constitution is wholly devoted for such classes. It was to meet the [illegible] claims of these classes which were entertained by the British people under their rule here, that the Constitution conceded these privileges, in spite of its fundamental principle that the State shall not discriminate against any citizen on the ground of religion, race, caste, etc. The exceptions made thereto should therefore be only temporary and as we saw above they are [illegible] in 10 years only.

Not only that, we would expect that the communities concerned increasingly develop a proper mind in the matter and during that period of [illegible] adjust themselves with the rest in the [illegible] politic. But unfortunately a demand [illegible] formulating itself in the mind of these [illegible] to prolong these privileges, and I fear, the Anglo-Indian community also is out for such [illegible] in its favour. If so, this is surely a dangerous phenomenon for our growing democracy and all who care to see that real democracy grows and develops in India must be forewarned about it.

The latest warning comes from the Anglo-Indian leader who has been at present agitating over the Bombay State language policy in education. He is declaring that Anglo-Indian education is in danger on the ill-conceived plea of English in danger, and asserts that this is in violation of the Constitutional protection given to it, and is openly asking English teaching schools in Bombay to disobey and defy Government orders under that policy. It is almost a call for Satyagraha — civil disobedience. Apart from the merits of the case, it is at least interesting to see that ideas of Satyagraha are finding acceptance even among those people who were dead against them only a few years back.

[illegible] the case, we see that [illegible] of agitation that is [illegible]. As the Minister of [illegible] the other day the [illegible] is not a new one [illegible] back as 1948 and [illegible] lingly issued to all [illegible] The policy was further [illegible] schools were given [illegible] admission of pupils. But [illegible] breach only and an [illegible] influence by them has [illegible] As the Education Minister [illegible] great deal of dishonesty [illegible] What is done now [illegible] policy will be strictly [illegible] have again been [illegible] other than a pupil [illegible] the language of [illegible] Indians and citizens [illegible] should not be admitted [illegible]

This [illegible] communal or racial [illegible] antagonists try in vain [illegible] on the sound and [illegible] principle which is [illegible] viz. that [illegible] in India should [illegible] of the regional [illegible] The principle has been [illegible] Secondary Education Commission [illegible] India policy.

It must also be [illegible] that under the Constitution, English [illegible] of the recognized Indian languages [illegible] are certain sections of our [illegible] the groups named by the Government [illegible] Indians and citizens of non-Asian [illegible] who prefer to have English as their mother tongue. Under the Bombay State policy these are also given the right to have their children educated through English. Therefore to cry out that Anglo-Indian education is in danger is to say the least, entirely misleading and not at all convincing.

It is unfortunately true that in the transitional stage in which we are today there are certain parents in Bombay city still who wish to continue to remain in the old order of English education, wherein English language was considered the most prominent and almost the chief and only subject worthy of study. The Constitution lays down that English goes out of that imperial overlordship and Indian languages are fully developed and find their legitimate place of honour in the new India that we are building up.

Do those who are agitating against the implementation of this fundamental policy of the Union by Bombay State, — do they stand for the old *status quo* or do they move with the progressive elements of the country? These vested interests born of English education must surely be prepared to adjust themselves to the demands of our democracy, and not stand in the way of its onward march.

The [illegible] will therefore pardon me [illegible] in the interest of his [illegible] he should desist from the [illegible] that he I [illegible] satisfied with [illegible] that have been [illegible] Minister of Bom- [illegible] Government [illegible] Indian schools [illegible] hing schools [illegible]

[illegible] ion is being [illegible] proclaiming [illegible] language and [illegible] It only be [illegible] ed up by [illegible] English [illegible] is the [illegible] a sub- [illegible] ost as [illegible] st the [illegible] world language [illegible] lege it from it [illegible] in its due place in our nation [illegible] system

[illegible] of a community s education [illegible] the Constitution is not the [illegible] fied way to resent inevitable [illegible] bound to come upon the [illegible] begins to be remodelled by free [illegible] ment of Bombay le- selves to [illegible] lated upon its bold lead in this matter [illegible] d we hope other States also will begin to follow it even to step up the long de- layed and overdue [illegible] from educational system through Basic Education as envisaged by Gandhiji

11 1 '54

PUNCTUALITY AND ORDER

(By Gandhiji)

It would be a distinct gain to the nationals if cause if the leaders and workers strictly keep their hours. No man is expected to do more than he really can. If in the end of the day there is surplus work left over he cannot get through it without missing a meal or encroaching upon the hours of sleep or recreation there is mis- management somewhere. I have no doubt that if we cultivate the habit of punctuality and acting according to programme the index of national efficiency will go up our advance towards our goal will be rapid and the workers will be healthier and longer lived

Harijan 24-9 '38

SELF-HELP

(By Gandhiji)

I have not conceived my mission to be that of a knight-errant wandering everywhere to deliver people from difficult situations My humble occupation has been to show people how they can solve their own difficulties

Harijan 28-6- 42

My work will be finished if I succeed in carrying conviction to the human family that every man or woman however weak in body, is the guardian of his or her self-respect and liberty

The Hindustan Standard, 6-8-'44

OUR BASIC INTERNATIONAL POLICY

(By Jawaharlal Nehru)

What is the basic international policy of India? We want to be friendly with all countries We work for peace in so far as we can. We have no pretensions about our strength to do this or that We are struggling to consolidate ourselves to strengthen ourselves, economically and politically We are not strong enough like other countries When we say we work for peace we do not make mighty difference in the world It is not in a spirit of boastfulness that we work for peace We work for peace because it is essential for the world

Therefore in so far as we can we have thrown our weight for the avoidance of war and in search of peace Because of that we want other countries to follow that idea more espe- cially our neighbouring countries In many matters we have co-operated with them either [illegible] in the U N and a kind of group arose here called the Arab-Asian group, where there is no compulsion but there is good deal of co- operation We welcome that and we welcome co-operation in other ways too We have found that Pakistan has co-operated in this matter We found that these neighbouring countries of ours, more or less, thought like us not because we are leaders and they are followers but because they were conditioned in the same way as we were conditioned in the past history and events and other things They reacted in the same way and it was our hope and it is our hope that there would be an ever growing area where war would not take place even if the catastrophe and mis- fortune of war come to some other parts of the world

New Delhi 23 12 53

(From *I C C Economic Review* 1 1 '54)

SECURE SWARAJ BY SELF-RELIANCE *

(By Vinoba)

People ask how is it that though there is Swaraj they do not yet feel its glow? It cannot be that the sun should rise and yet darkness be not dispelled from our homes As soon as there is sunrise the light descends upon the village and every hut in the village has light and warmth This is no doubt true, but the fault lies with the people themselves The advent of Swaraj should have transmitted to every individual the feeling that it was now his 'rajya' that he was now the master of the situation and free architect of his destiny That is the unmistakable sign of Swaraj Under Swaraj men must take to work they must use their hands and feet and cultivate self reliance They will have Swaraj in the measure that they do so An individual who has the taste of Swaraj would consider himself strong even though physically he may be very weak He would not oppress

* From a speech at Shrinagar, Saharsha on 18-12 53.

he consent [illegible]
quarter He [illegible]
manage his affairs [illegible]
he must use it [illegible]

we preach [illegible] ple
will say that it [illegible] to
lies in your [illegible]
outside but principally
your own progress No
which now rules the
should and surely it
Put the help from the
but all only an infinitesi
ted to raise your life
believes that the up-
ld be brought about
initiative of the
ter-stood the true
God much less the
ent The Kisans
nce If they do not
fields the land would not
er much it may rain from
grow only if they prepare
eeds He alone gets God's
and works When even
tioned it is an error to
dle and the State will still
do all that is needed The
nce that we can and will
shape of the ideals which
essence of Swaraj

such realization of one's
is no Swaraj Swaraj
change from one set of
the new rulers are from
own and that is a
but is not sufficient
st wake [illegible] a sense of their own
in order [illegible] full value from the
which they [illegible] achieved after a long
[illegible]

[illegible] then means an
with [illegible] favourable circum
[illegible] means an invitation
[illegible] What would we say
[illegible] been restored to his lost
[illegible] with joy that he thinks
[illegible] do and that security is
[illegible] all time? Obviously we
[illegible] that is exactly how most
[illegible] of you who are
[illegible] clothed in mill cloth
[illegible] Tulsidas has said
[illegible] even in dream under
[illegible] cloth from outside
[illegible] ground in the flour-
[illegible] in the rice-mill If
[illegible] — grain sugar,
[illegible] so much of
[illegible] this is it any wonder
[illegible] he townsmen believe

that they are [illegible] the villagers by giving them cheap goods They think they are serving the villages and in effect we find that the villagers, condemned to forced idleness are being increasingly impoverished The way out lies in building up self-sufficiency in all that you need All the land and all the wealth should be treated as that of the village community which should be empowered to administer it in the interests of all The Government will surely not stand in your way If you decide not to purchase your oil or cloth from outside If Delhi can rule over Patna and Patna rule over your village, why cannot you rule over your own village?

Governments come and go India has had a number of them in the course of its long history, none lasting for more than two hundred years Governments after all play only a very limited part in shaping our life and conduct. A far greater part is played in this respect by *dharma* i e our sense of duty by thought and by fellow-feeling How is it that people in our country yet observe the custom of taking a dip in the holy Ganga at the time of an eclipse? Certainly the Government does not compel them to do it It is just an unwritten social compact which our forefathers came to centuries ago and which people still observe It is clear that the peace and order which we find in the society is not created mainly by Government but it is brought about by the power which *dharma* love and thought mutually exercise over our minds

The mother suckles and feeds her child, it is because of love With the sun going down in the west the Mussalman bows down in prayer and the Hindu sits up for his *sandhya* the evening meditation — it is because of *dharma* We do not steal and consider the thief to be a sinner — it is because of the power of thought All these powers which have sustained man and society for ages are still at your disposal The power of the Government is as nothing compared to them Acquire them spread them use them and you will be happy

There is enough land in every village Share it among yourselves and all will have enough to eat

Then why should you not administer justice locally in the village itself? Is it necessary that you should always carry your disputes to Patna or the District Headquarters? Is there no good man in your village whom all could trust? All these things can be done quite easily You have only got to be conscious of your strength and power and use it for the welfare of all

(Adapted from the original in Hindi)

BHOODAN YAJNA

[Land gift Mission]

By *Vinoba Bhave*

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THE WORLD PEACE FRONT

[illegible] following is the formal declaration of [illegible] the modern war worried world. It was [illegible] Conference held in Chicago, Ill [illegible] It seeks to formulate why neither [illegible] American Camp but a separate World [illegible] Third Camp or the Third Area [illegible] from the above two is the [illegible] such a move is not mere neutralism [illegible] but is a positive position of peace [illegible] is the war cold or hot, which [illegible]

[illegible] the preamble — the main theses [illegible] women today What the [illegible] are is given by the Declaration in [illegible] follow in the next issue

M P]

[illegible] half of the Twentieth Century [illegible] profound crisis In the midst [illegible] opportunity for material abun[illegible] able by technological advance [illegible] the shadow of war and eco[illegible] and in danger of social dis[illegible] increase cleavage [illegible] of the lives of hundreds of [illegible] fought under the guise of [illegible] surface changes in the international [illegible] day seems to bring us closer to an [illegible] third World War fought with weapons [illegible] than poison gas more destructive than atomic bombs

For the [illegible] reasons large numbers of people in the [illegible] countries are victims of fear, apathy and [illegible] of frustration which prepare the ground for yielding to totalitarian control.

In facing this situation we have, as our starting-point a deep seated concern for and belief in democracy By this we mean a way of life and an ideal of society based on the recognition of the dignity and worth of the human individual and of his need of and inalienable right to self determination Only on this condition is he able to achieve true self-expression and to make his full contribution to the development of community among all men in all relationships and throughout the whole world

Integral to our conception of democracy is non-violence of spirit and method Democracy ceases to be democracy when it seeks to base itself on coercion and violence rather than upon consent. A democratic society can neither be achieved nor maintained by undemocratic means

It follows from the nature of the crisis and from our deepest convictions, that we cannot look to either of the power blocs which divide the world into two armed camps — American or Russian Western or Eastern — for the solution of the crisis by the achievement of a global democratic society The world is undergoing the most complete and far-reaching social revolution in history From the Ganges to the Nile peasants and workers who have been oppressed by [illegible] ter has [illegible] tion of sought [illegible] these governments [illegible] maintain the [illegible] against Com[illegible] attempt at mili[illegible] The United [illegible] tionary move[illegible] involved in the political [illegible] ism, and [illegible] ing a nation lest it take [illegible] the cold war

The [illegible] the foreign policies of this [illegible] conclusion that the [illegible] American Camp the more [illegible] of war, the more in[illegible] the Garrison State

[illegible] the heavily armed blocs of Communism [illegible] and the regimes which it [illegible] rates in various countries, as instruments to abolish war, end oppression and terror, and build a true community of free men Communism has indeed recognized the significance of the great popular revolution which largely accounts for its spread in recent years and still gives it a formidable appeal to multitudes of people especially in the technologically backward and exploited lands. But Communism sets up totalitarian regimes where it comes into power imposes a rigid State collectivism without regard to the human cost and regiments the masses into huge war machines instead of leading them to peace as it professes to do Thus Communism betrays the popular revolutions and in its own way is clearly a part of the undemocratic imperialist past rather than the free society of the future

Since therefore neither of the present dominant regimes and power blocs provides a democratic answer to the problems of world revolution and the needs of mankind we necessarily take a third position and belong to what is sometimes called "The Third Camp"

(To be continued)

A VISION OF FUTURE INDIA

By K G Mashruwala

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BHOODAN AND CHARITY

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

[illegible] of the *Harijan* [illegible] ing query. He quote[illegible] Right to Employment [illegible] in the *Harijan* of 28-11-53 [illegible] question of Bhoodan in [illegible]

> [illegible] whether big or small [illegible] a poor man or his land to be [illegible] as charity. Is this not a [illegible] landless? Without any effort the [illegible] land free land is something [illegible] Is this not against the G[illegible] [illegible] this the reason why [illegible] Bhoodhi work. If he had wi[illegible] [illegible] this form of work in his [illegible]

[illegible] that such a question has not be[illegible] [illegible] However it is as well [illegible] given. The following was writ[illegible] [illegible]

> [illegible] in yours of 2-1-54 regarding Bhood[illegible] form of charity, I pass on t[illegible] Shri Vi[illegible] However, I may draw your attention to [illegible] thing. Land is a means of production [illegible] a promise like consumer [illegible] goods [illegible] the giving of which is [illegible] with objectionable form of charity. [illegible] the right of property in land is created by the State. It is therefore a matter of social justice to [illegible] that the right is not allowed to be a means of the tiller's exploitation. I would say the property right is not directly productive unlike the right of the tiller who produces with his own labour. Therefore if a landlord gives up his right to some land he does it not so much from a sense of charity, but rather for fulfilling claims of social justice.
>
> I do not think it is justified to say that Gandhiji did not suggest Bhoodan because it was objectionable as charity. As far as I know, to tackle the land problem under an alien rule was very difficult if not impossible, was perhaps what made Gandhiji desist from it. However this is not important and we might well leave out Gandhiji in this discussion."

The correspondent at the end of his letter advises the landless by saying

> Let the landless person work hard, save something and purchase land from his savings. Then, we can think of giving him land at a concession rate instead of as charity. Now so far as work is concerned the State should see that each individual is provided with some kind of productive work."

The advice, so far as it goes is good enough. Well may landlords begin to give their land at concession rate to those landless who want to and can buy it. However, I would only add that the State has to see that land reaches in the hands of those who till it from those who are absentee landlords. Again, not that the landless do not [illegible] landowner o[illegible] [illegible] rent from [illegible] the State has [illegible] [illegible] as possi[illegible] [illegible] own effort [illegible] is not quite [illegible] objection

[illegible]

[illegible] Ram that [illegible] Shri Saheb [illegible] who were [illegible] by the [illegible] very good [illegible] when [illegible] being [illegible] nothing [illegible] these great [illegible] found bars [illegible] added a rea[illegible] [illegible] he has taken [illegible] serving his [illegible] of believing [illegible] practing for [illegible] an act of [illegible] country [illegible] [illegible] tter a long period [illegible] During the last 6 [illegible] in the great rivers [illegible] Pakistan. The[illegible] God may He[illegible] they might ag[illegible] [illegible] Bhagars — God s[illegible] to be

6-1-54 M. P.

(From [illegible])

THE [illegible] DESAI

[illegible]

Pages [illegible] Rs. [illegible]

[illegible]

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The Congress and the Gandhian Programme

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HARIJAN

FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI
Editor MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

/629

VIII [illegible] AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY JANUARY 23 1937 TWO ANNAS

WALKING HOURS AND BHOODAN *

(From [illegible])

[illegible] speed though nobody [illegible] question — speed for [illegible] means of con- [illegible] the railway that [illegible] the country o[illegible] hours or at the most [illegible] foot

[illegible] walked on foot [illegible] speed [illegible] and so they [illegible] on foot to [illegible] of [illegible] Gandhiji, they [illegible]

[illegible] during the [illegible] that [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] CIGARETTES

(By [illegible] Nag)

[illegible]

[illegible] palpitation mixed [illegible]

HANDLOOMS IN INDIA

(By Moonibai P. Desai)

[illegible] handlooms in India [illegible] cotton [illegible] yarn and [illegible] the province wise distribution [illegible]

Handlooms	Yarn on [illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible] Wishing Well [illegible]

[illegible] a move-
[illegible] take account

HARIJAN

1954

THE CONGRESS AND THE GANDHIAN PROGRAMME

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

[illegible] J. M. Ganguli from Calcutta [illegible] Congress Ideals and Congress W[illegible] I reproduce below

[illegible]

SOLUTION

[illegible]

NOTES

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] children [illegible] nt may [illegible] of [illegible] public [illegible] ices that it may [illegible] ic good It may [illegible] ich be against them [illegible] law and public [illegible] e the luxury of [illegible] e at public cost [illegible] n point parents [illegible] ic facilities for [illegible] fundamental [illegible]

[illegible] by citing [illegible] there are [illegible] hildren are [illegible] untouchable [illegible] t provide them [illegible] ents if they are [illegible] arrangements, [illegible] ognized by the [illegible] heir children [illegible] a denomina [illegible] have from [illegible]

[illegible] M P

[illegible] Indian Artisans

[illegible] sible for [illegible] construc [illegible] Harijans of [illegible] have built [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] of Educ [illegible]

[illegible] ent so [illegible] t it did not [illegible] individuality [illegible] rotch of items [illegible] ures main [illegible] ally from [illegible] would not [illegible] it it was a copy and not [illegible] me British and U S insti [illegible]

[illegible] ble thing about the pre [illegible] said, was that anyone [illegible] in an Indian educational [illegible] did not imbibe Indian cul-

[illegible] ucated [illegible] Anglo [illegible] acquain [illegible] livin [illegible] of Gre [illegible] of his [illegible] n de [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] Wo [illegible]

[illegible]

An O[illegible] Government Advertisement

The [illegible] rnational is now a Central Cove[illegible] n There is to be found an [illegible] body in official and non [illegible] some queer things to [illegible] trip to London now [illegible] then it advises what one [illegible] with apt illustrations [illegible]

[illegible] with you and leave [illegible] — illustrated by [illegible] — illustrated by [illegible] a pistol, apparently

[illegible] manner is really a wonderful [illegible] ment to do The [illegible] in the advertise [illegible] though the son [illegible] thorough bred European [illegible] The idea of having to main [illegible] wife is unknown in our [illegible] ty though [illegible] about it through Euro [illegible] and American novel stories How is it rele [illegible] to [illegible] India

Again [illegible] steno one may well [illegible] that she will be sitting [illegible] coming and bad And so also [illegible] ing cutlil [illegible] pistol [illegible] wish race gers to do so?

Why does Government not realize even a [illegible] as to how foreigners will judge us [illegible] ich Government advertisements? or does [illegible] these are good for the new age of [illegible] Surely the Air Service Corporation is not meant for such propaganda

C T PATEL

([illegible] gh [illegible] ajarati)

TOWARDS NEW EDUCATION

By Mahatma Gandhi

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A VISION OF FUTURE INDIA

By K G Ma[illegible]

Pages [illegible]+90 Price Re 1 Postage etc As 5

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ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION OF THE VILLAGE

(By Vithaldas Kothari)

[illegible] reader is referred to Shri M P [illegible] article Annual Expenditure of a [illegible] (*Harijan* 19-12-53 p 335) At the [illegible] Desai referred to Shertha (village in [illegible]) an inquiry and another of a village [illegible] The Shertha inquiry was done [illegible] back Its figures are worth com[illegible] approximately arrived at for [illegible] today

[illegible] in Shertha twenty years back [illegible]

[illegible] (1931 census)		
[illegible]	Annual Expenditure	Per Cent
[illegible]	25 090	22 5
[illegible]	22 042	20
[illegible]	5 922	5.3
[illegible]	1,325	1.2
[illegible]	1 175	1
[illegible]	9 234	8.2
[illegible]	6 387	5 7
[illegible]	5 582	5
[illegible]	4 850	4 4
[illegible]	2 619	2.3
[illegible]	27 115	24.2
[illegible]	1 11 500	100

[illegible] total expenditure for the vil[illegible] [illegible] 7

[illegible] income in 1931 32 [illegible] in 1948 it was Rs 228 [illegible] proportionately [illegible]

[illegible] that cloth takes up [illegible] The village can [illegible] as a result [illegible] expenses also [illegible] an increase its [illegible] this was done [illegible] that about 40 per [illegible] secured This [illegible] also to their [illegible]

[illegible] cently made to [illegible] in Andhra The [illegible] to the *Harijan* [illegible] the following [illegible]

[illegible] 1000 Annual [illegible] Rs 254 per [illegible] Rs 349 [illegible] drain of [illegible] approxi[illegible] they show one [illegible] running at a [illegible]

[illegible] this loss can [illegible] under self-[illegible] suggestions for [illegible] thereby

New Work	Estimated Income
1 Self sufficiency in cloth	4 50 000
Paddy pounding	93,440
1 Compost manure	70 000
4 Oil-Ghani	51 000
5 Cow protection and dairying	1 60 000
6 Kitchen gardening	24,000
7 Liquidating litigation through arbitration	11 000
8 Removing superfluous middle men by reasonable bartering	70,000
9 Introducing Basic Education — Income from craft work	10 000
10 Saving from village medical bill by healthy hygenic living	21 000
11 Manufacturing ink soap and colours etc in the village	29 000
Total	10 17 440

These are the suggestions for improving vil[illegible] income which are worth noting by our villages

The reader will see that the cloth bill forms an important part of the annual expense This clearly shows that Khadi provides our villages with a very sure and unfailing basis for the economic rehabilitation of our villages

(From the original in Gujarati)

SUCCESS IS INEVITABLE*

(By Vinoba)

The people are like the irresistible flow of the Ganga When they resolve to do a thing and launch out for that purpose on an appropriate course of action no impediment in the way can delay them for long from marching ahead to their goal We had a mighty demonstration of this truth in 1942 when Gandhiji pronounced the Quit India' *mantra*

People took it up from him and voiced it from every village and every house with all their strength Thousands lost their lives many more thousands were shut up behind the prison bars.

Then there followed a long period — so it seemed to us then —of waiting and trial I remember friends in the jail used to discuss the situation as it was developing from month to month Some of them would say despairingly 'In spite of the *mantra* and our sacrifices does not seem we are anywhere near the victory It is rather the other way about for our rulers are as well entrenched in their position as ever

I used to assure them on such occasions that this seeming accession of strength to our English rulers was like the lamp's last flare up before its finally going out When every child was repeating the Quit India *mantra* there could be no doubt whatever that they would be forced to quit India And so it happened after five years

It will be the same with our Bhoodan movement Bihar is now resounding with the cry — Give land to the landless from end to end Even illiterate villagers and innocent children are repeating it Such a great resolve charged with the strength of the soul can never fail in its purpose

*From a speech at Sa[illegible] on 19 12 53

[illegible] in Wing

R VII.

[illegible]

[illegible] D OF ONE

[illegible] Vandal W[illegible] that we w[illegible] by the [illegible]

We Need a New Revolution

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

1629

VOL. XVII No. 48 AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY JANUARY 30, 1954 TWO ANNAS

"LORD OF HUMILITY"

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Lord of humility dwelling in the little
parnah hut
help us to search for Thee throughout
this fair land
watered by Ganges, Brahmaputra and
Jamuna

O God who does help only when man feels
utterly humble
grant that we may not be isolated from
the people
we would serve as servants and friends

Give us receptiveness, give us open
heartedness,
give us Thy humility, give us the
ability and willingness
to identify ourselves with the masses
of India

Let us be embodiments of self-
embodiments of godlin
humility persuade th
the
Wordsworth

WHAT MAHATMA STOOD FOR*

[illegible]

[illegible] for inviting me [illegible] Mahatma Gandhi [illegible] witness of the [illegible] and life [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] scene [illegible] and [illegible] realize [illegible] prove [illegible] and [illegible] to [illegible]

[illegible] violence [illegible] love and [illegible] scious [illegible] Great [illegible] shall [illegible] cases [illegible] makes [illegible] or even [illegible] Since [illegible] one to [illegible] peration [illegible] vitation

[illegible] violence [illegible] Tolstoy [illegible] how it [illegible] her tubs [illegible] the [illegible]

[illegible] discrimi- [illegible] ded [illegible]

[illegible] rule [illegible] sol [illegible] [illegible] inf [illegible] [illegible] itself

[illegible] between [illegible] [illegible] back [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] has been [illegible] We [illegible] of reason

[illegible] A study [illegible] when a [illegible] [illegible] But o[illegible] [illegible] a curiou[illegible] [illegible] would wa[illegible] [illegible] earlier th[illegible] [illegible] the first [illegible] [illegible] demonstrat[illegible] [illegible] opment it wa[illegible] [illegible] to exterminate [illegible] their phil[illegible] [illegible] matic pressu[illegible] [illegible] hole popula[illegible] [illegible] hot. But no [illegible] than its [illegible] pe[illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] they would [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

HARIJAN

Jan 30 1954

WE NEED A NEW REVOLUTION *

(By Pearl S Buck)

Gandhi is dead His ashes are scattered in the waters and over the earth of India The mortal frame the fearless spirit, the long years the high purposes — all were ended so [illegible] The shot of a gun and only silence [illegible] silence and a handful of ashes It is no wonder that the immortal the stupid the inventors [illegible] bombs the generals the captains, the strategists the little soldiers are the lovers [illegible] All that they fear all that they hate, [illegible] against them can be so easily [illegible] movement of a finger upon a trigger, [illegible] a flash a blast and all that remains [illegible] silence and ashes Today a million [illegible] as a thousand a thousand [illegible]

[illegible] was only one His voice was single, [illegible] reasoning It was the voice [illegible] turbulent life He was right, [illegible] right we all knew he was right [illegible] the follies of the violent con[illegible] the only common sense for [illegible] We die so easily Our bodies are [illegible] the brain the heart, the [illegible] judged We cannot wait for [illegible] for arguments to be settled, [illegible] men's of selfish men to sub[illegible] judgment comes, life is over. [illegible] we must refuse to use [illegible] to the end, he said, but [illegible]

[illegible] violence with power, [illegible] words [illegible] Yet truth is always simple [illegible] with confusions and entan[illegible] because [illegible] of simple truth. [illegible] truth [illegible] It is still simple [illegible] than the atom itself

[illegible] for goodness The people [illegible] for righteousness There is no weapon no [illegible] the force of a great good [illegible] will live and become great in our [illegible] people use this priceless [illegible] which the life of Gandhi exemplified [illegible] example was Gandhi's secret [illegible] others to do When people [illegible] this was true they believed in him [illegible] greatness is the extent [illegible] by his own life the faith of [illegible] Gandhi has done his part [illegible] the people to take up [illegible] violence

[illegible] Gandhi Memorial in Washington, D.C., [illegible]

[illegible] hatreds [illegible] suffered and poisoned The heart [illegible] turn away from the noise of [illegible] warmongers. We long for the peace [illegible] war brings peace, for violence only [illegible] violence We need a new revolution the revolution which Gandhi carried on in the midst of a world rent by violence

THE GREAT ENLIGHTENMENT

(By Henry Hatzfeld)

[The following translation in English of what M Henri Hatzfeld wrote about Gandhiji in *La Flamme et le Vent* (The Flame and the Wind) is from Miss Elisabeth Van der Dussen a friend from Holland]

Who is Gandhi? A Saint? A political leader? A prophet?

Just a tiny man provided with an iron will, bringing a message as pure as clear water having a genius for spiritual experimentation A little man very disquieting

He was not a Christian One could not see very well why he should be converted to Christianity No doubt he awaited the Christians to convert themselves first.

He was most reasonable wanting always to stick to things real and possible He had lived all his life as an experiment with much logic and common sense We generally live contrary to the ideal Gandhiji's practice was nearer the ideal for testing it against the reality, and to see its value His ideal has stood this patient test and has outlived the experiment

Since the violence increased injustice instead of curing it, how to fight against injustice? The life of Gandhi consisted of attracting all the injustices into the trap of non-violence where they could not but die having no object whatever to fight with

Let the fighter consent to be the victim And since the little man with the iron spectacles had consented to it till his death, why regret that he was not a Methodist, Presbyterian or Anglican?

His life full of a deep love for truth and man was purified by bold action, the wisest, the most revolutionary and as calmest as it can be conceived

I hope to explain in a few words who was Gandhi and I will preach a sermon next Sunday under the following gospel:

' Many will come from the East and the West and will he at the table with Abraham, Issac and Jacob in the kingdom of the heavens But the sons of the kingdom will be thrown in utter darkness of the outside and there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth "

People have to hear about Gandhi to know who was the man who was just assassinated end of January, 1948 I don't feel any sadness at the news of his death, but an intense emotion where thankfulness is mixed with a wish to take part in this great enlightenment.

Journal d'en Cure' de campaigne
(Journal of a Village Vicar)

THE AGE WE LIVE IN

By Vinganbles [illegible]

[illegible] Publications Ltd, Bomb[illegible] line to me on [illegible] copies [illegible] booklets which are short st[illegible] [illegible] 20-25 crown size pages [illegible] of the day by persons well qu[illegible] [illegible] Each is priced 6 as. The [illegible] books are the latest of which [illegible] Vigilance

[illegible] by Francis Watson [illegible] which makes the follo[illegible] [illegible] on about the age [illegible]

[illegible] an age of [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible]

[illegible] the pro[illegible] [illegible] are not [illegible] [illegible] dent of politic[illegible] people including [illegible] have not still [illegible] deeply formati[illegible] [illegible] still hug to the [illegible] conversion' etc. an[illegible] [illegible] experience of m[illegible] [illegible] activity, carried [illegible] [illegible] educational and such [illegible] [illegible] ning the masses.

[illegible] above booklet having [illegible] [illegible] ple of the age mainly

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible] AND VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

[illegible] for [illegible] which [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

WAR AND CONFLICT IN MODERN SOCIETY

(By Dr Rajendra Prasad)

[The following is reproduced from his address on the occasion of inaugurating the International Legal Conference at New Delhi on 28-9-53]

It is generally regarded and I think rightly that the rule of law should prevail in all societies which claim to be civilized It is all the more necessary therefore that the law should be such as command obedience not because of the coercive force behind it but also because of its moral value That which proceeds from the voice of the people is not necessarily the right thing because the voice of the people is not always the voice of God So things have to be done to ensure the quality of the law and the laws so that the quality of the law which they may be assumed

[illegible] in the case of a State and [illegible] perhaps to some extent degree of [illegible] which has an exception except [illegible] the law of the [illegible] State [illegible] that it has [illegible] by State It [illegible] of [illegible] which [illegible] by the State It [illegible] has [illegible] of the State [illegible] of the international [illegible] by the [illegible] such as for a time [illegible] [illegible] but [illegible] their [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] soc[illegible] not [illegible] recon[illegible]ted. It [illegible] satisfaction of m[illegible] placing of gre[illegible] whole neg[illegible] of co[illegible]tinent [illegible] of the satisfac[illegible] [illegible]al needs a[illegible] they do not [illegible] whereas [illegible] of men[illegible] phasis so that [illegible] its encounte[illegible]

It is [illegible] [illegible] be [illegible] of instinct.

[illegible] with [illegible] him [illegible] gi[illegible] whe[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

What do We Stand for?

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1629

LIMITATIONS OF SATYAGRAHA

(Now that the Parali Khed agitation has eased itself and has been [illegible] and the imprisoned Satyagrahis are also released by Government, there is time for cool thinking on the subject of the use of Satyagraha at the present time. A [illegible] I had raised one or two very [illegible] the matter in these columns. I may [illegible] them here but be permitted to note my [illegible] of them have found corroboration from the [illegible] leaders of the P S P, viz., Shri Kripalani and Shri J P Narayan The former spoke about the matter in his presidential address at the P S P Conference. [illegible] while addressing the Bombay P S P Conference [illegible] below relevant [illegible] from him There are a few points in these which [illegible] further discussion I may not go into it here for the present

28-1 54 — M. P.]

Satyagraha — How and When?

(By J B Kripalani)

This brings me to the consideration of the weapon of Satyagraha which Gandhiji gave to India and the world He has given in his various speeches and writings the conditions for the use of this weapon If we are to handle it to some effect in the political sphere we must keep in view the conditions he prescribed.

I repudiate the view developed by Congress bosses in the Government thet Satyagraha can have no place in a democracy Satyagraha as conceived by Gandhiji was not merely a political weapon It could be used in the economic and social fields and even against friends and family members. Gandhiji considered it as a principle of life. Therefore, it is absurd to say that it has no place in a democracy, specially of the kind that we now have, bureaucratic and centralized

Also the governmental power is ever on the increase and the holders of power are not always wise or right. Sometimes partial and party interest weighs with them more than public interest. All questions cannot await the next elections nor can a government be overthrown on the basis of local grievances, which for sections of the people may be questions of life and death. The denial of the right of Satyagraha would mean unresisting submission to tyranny, for long stretches of time

We may also not forget that Gandhiji claimed that Satyagraha, inasmuch as it was non violent, was constitutional However, he cautioned people against making use of it, unless in extreme cases when no other remedy was possible and where waiting would mean disaster

There is one kind of Satyagraha which, in my view, should almost be avoided and that is fasting unto death Even when Gandhiji adopted this method in extreme circumstances, every effort was made by his colleagues to induce him to abandon it The general public too felt very uncomfortable. But let us understand that after all he was an exceptional person who could well be, in certain emergencies, a law unto himself We ordinary mortals must act under well-defined limitstions I feel that fasting unto death or indefinitely for the redress of public wrongs, must not be undertaken. Its repercussions on the public emotions may sometimes prove disastrous Only under very exceptional circumstances it may be undertaken by persons of great moral stature and spiritual awareness, who are in a position to control the violent manifestations of popular emotions and excitement This has nothing to do with fast for moral purification of individuals That is their private concern.

In other kinds of Satyagraha, our party has rightly decided that no action be taken without the sanction of the National Executive This direction, I regret to say has not been quite followed Before Satyagraha is undertaken, every effort must be made clearly to put before the people the issue involved. Also all other methods of conciliation must be tried Not only must the authorities or the parties concerned be approached by local workers but, on their failure, the good services of the members of the Central Executive commanding respect and influence must be utilized If after this, Satyagraha becomes inevitable, before we undertake the struggle, we must make sure that, if need be, the party can mobilize all its resources for its success. In Satyagraha, as in every popular fight, it is the poor who suffer the most. If the struggle fails for want of sustaining power, the condition of the poor worsens with no compensating advantage It also adversely affects the prestige of the party I am of the view that frequent indulgence in Satyagraha on trivial and petty issues is harmful to the party's prestige and blunts a fine and unfailing weapon.

Even [illegible] were [illegible] the S[illegible] P[illegible]

II

Communism, Socialism and Satyagraha

(*By J. P. Narayan*)

Both Socialism and Communism are fac[illegible] with failure. Communism, where it is victorious has ended up in State capitalism and dictator hip — the very anti-thesis of Communism. Socialism in Western Europe at any rate has lost it pristine idealism and become only a parlia[illegible] mentary or legalistic creed. Thus both the methods of violence and of parliamentari[illegible] have failed. Gandhism to my mind offers the third alternative — that of revolution by non [illegible] mass action.

Gandhism does not concentrate [illegible] of power nor depend on the power [illegible] direct to the people and help [illegible] effect the revolution in their lives [illegible] revolution in the life of the [illegible] community. Support from the State power [illegible] power of the people [illegible]

[illegible] Socialism wishes to [illegible] class, Gandhism [illegible] Socialism wishes to [illegible] class victorious is over the [illegible] — which seems to be somewhat illogical. Gandhism wishes to abolish classes by so bringing the [illegible] together that there are no [illegible]

Socialism [illegible] meeting [illegible] casteless society [illegible] make the State all-powerful by making the social revolution itself dependent upon State action. Gandhism too like Socialism aims at a State [illegible] But on that account it proceeds more [illegible] making the social process as little dependent upon the State as possible. The [illegible] of the Stateless society begins here and now and is not relegated to a remote and imaginary period in the future. It is therefore a more truly revolutionary process that is more likely to reach the goal than the other processes.

For these reasons I should like to [illegible] here for a closer study and understanding of Gandhi and the Gandhian technique. Satyagraha for instance has become a fashion in Socialist circles. But if Satyagraha [illegible] us to the free and equal and good society and not degenerate into partisan warfare we must understand it better. It should be realized that [illegible] (Italics [illegible] in the [illegible] particular [illegible] opponent's [illegible] death. It is [illegible] manner [illegible] *a class* [illegible] is to all [illegible] for a [illegible] important [illegible] ideal and [illegible] ly tow[illegible]

DRUGS AND DIET

(*By W[illegible] Wellock*)

[illegible] to the injunction of Hippocrates, [illegible] medicine be [illegible] physically we are almost [illegible] Hence the approach of far [illegible] sickness is wrong in that [illegible] and prescribe drugs in[illegible] causes and prescribing a [illegible] other habits. Drugs may [illegible] prop an ailing body for [illegible] not cure. It is healthy living [illegible] this is 90% healthy feeding [illegible] and quantities of foods are [illegible] forty years I have lived on [illegible] this habit gives the stomach [illegible] and thus enables it to de[illegible] from a given quantity of [illegible] all round economy. I have [illegible] of limiting the intake [illegible] especially sugar, [illegible] fresh fruit, green vege[illegible] fresh fruit for [illegible] Wholewheat bread is [illegible] of full health. A sense of [illegible] lightness and self-possession [illegible] to feeding and other [illegible] flesh are comparable [illegible]

[illegible] from the soil to man [illegible] within an organic or an [illegible] degrees. Most people [illegible] not realizing it since [illegible] used in the growing [illegible] and [illegible] medicines. White [illegible] natural minerals and [illegible] with chemical vitamins [illegible] portions now so much [illegible] the blood [illegible] in the drug chest.

[illegible] nutrition to a [illegible] London. It [illegible] degenera[illegible] and dishes [illegible] creams, fir[illegible] butter milk etc [illegible] them, [illegible] exhibit was [illegible] triumph of science [illegible] with a vengeance!

[illegible] ds in one [illegible] the table [illegible] l chicks [illegible] es the shells [illegible] nner and the [illegible] e scarcely dis- [illegible] nd are almost [illegible] nes When [illegible]

Lid [illegible] by the B [illegible] years the number of [illegible] deaths [illegible] poisoning by barbitu[illegible] has increased three-fold and the nu[illegible] tion [illegible] ings has risen even m[illegible] dose of some barbitu[illegible] has be[illegible] the commonest form of [illegible] poisoning [illegible] to inhaling coal-gas [illegible] survey [illegible] N H S prescribing in [illegible] indicates [illegible] up to 10% of all N H S [illegible] ciptions may [illegible] for barbiturates In one form [illegible] another " The article quotes Dr Thomas [illegible] an article in the *Practitioner* Until recently it has not been widely recognized that barbiturates produce subjective alterations in mood which may lead to their abuse Taken in sub hypnotic doses they produce a feeling of mental relaxation and elation closely similar to that produced by alcohol"

Two doctors replying to this article claimed that pheno-barbitones were necessary amidst the increasing strains of modern life To remove those strains is one of the arguments for the fundamental revolution advocated in these Papers That they exist was further proved by Dr Franklin Bicknell, Vice-Chairman of the Food Education Society who told 200 delegates to the Annual Conference of the National Women Citizens Association, in London that 10,000 000 aspirin tablets are taken in Britain every day (Yorks Post, 14-5 '53)

Several hundred chemical preparations are now in use in Britain to "fortify", "improve" or "preserve" processed foods and twice as many in the U S A

Thus the chemical cycle is growing We rarely know what we are eating I read recently of some fine looking carrots which on analysis were found to contain not a trace of carotine, the vitamin for which the carrot is recommended Could they therefore, legitimately be called carrots? Need we wonder that the number of people who are being propped up by drugs and who linger on in the twilight of phenobarbitones is growing?

Another aspect of the decadence is the conversion of animals into food-producing machines by unnatural, pressurized techniques. Poultry, e.g are increasingly being subjected to batteries and deep litter artificial heat and light, and food which stimulates the ovaries and makes mating unnecessary Chicks of good stock are reared in natural conditions, with grass-runs etc., until the egg-laying period commences, when the above-named pressures are applied. Eggs are then pro-

[illegible] of the big milk [illegible] stimulating food, [illegible] by a serious fall [illegible] ons per cow, the [illegible] disease, mastitis [illegible]

[illegible] try and agricul- [illegible] persons disinte- [illegible] also increasing [illegible] one hand, and [illegible] nimals also end- [illegible] other [illegible] ts to the ter- [illegible] the same [illegible] tions of the [illegible] *Lig Papers*

[illegible] exhibited in [illegible] ing story [illegible] hed a [illegible] Another [illegible] try of a [illegible] ities only [illegible] enough to [illegible] or Board [illegible] ribution in [illegible] nd State [illegible] on such films [illegible] s of the [illegible] he wheat [illegible]

[illegible] G D

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HARIJAN

Feb 6 1954

WHAT DO WE STAND FOR?

(By Nagenbhai P Desai)

Shri Vinoba described the proposed Pak-American Military Aid Alliance as a good thing in disguise as it has awakened us to probe deep into ourselves and gauge where we are and what we stand for as a nation loving peace and concord with the whole world The opportunity for introspection thus provided to us must surely be made the best of

There are some among us who talk of preparing for war by increased armaments and conscription etc They are surely not the people who can pilot the ship of the Nation clear of the shoals of this dangerous P-A Military Alliance Rather they succumb to it It was to such people that Shri Jawaharlal spoke when he said that, all the money to be spent on military training "will have to be diverted from somewhere and inevitably it would have to be diverted from various economic activities Ultimately the strength of a country would depend more upon economic progress If the country was economically weak, a vast number of people walking about in step would do no good

But there is another aspect of the question over and above the internal one noted above. It is the international which is very fundamental and quite relevant The two great powers U S and U S S R are waging a relentless cold war at present The world is watching aghast when it will come to be a real hot war Therefore the question before all intelligent people and all wise nations of the world is what then is the remedy Should we jump into the fray? The two great powers wish to tempt and rope in all peoples of the world — small and big — into it They plan and play the high political game to achieve that Some nations do succumb to this game But will that stop the coming fray? Is that rather not the way of adding more fuel to the fire? What then is the other way?

Upto the last world war India was not free. However the question of war came to her in a manner Under the leadership of Gandhiji she had informed that question by saying that India loved peace and would accept to help the just cause in war by voluntary recruiting and monetary aid it will oppose compulsion Personally, Gandhiji had gone so far as to write to some great statesmen of the world then to wage a non-violent war in which case he would side with them

Surely Mr Churchill might have been then a little embarrassed that, the 'naked fakir', a subject of his Empire, should come forward that way what difficult position would he create for him or for Mr Truman? Would he not be himself a world leader instead?

But this is only a guess However at present when U S is out to lead the world it does fear that Pandit Jawaharlal might contest that claim by his independent foreign policy of peace and effective neutrality This can be easily inferred from prominent American pronouncements For example America is taunting Nehru with saying that the Indian leader was out to be the leader of Asia meaning to insinuate thereby that he cared less for the impending world danger of communism and that way it might if it can drive India to be in the American bloc

The question is is the American way of assuring peace through armed strength kept in readiness against Russia a right one? Does Russia alone threaten peace? Does not America en similarly? Will the division of world forces into two camps ensure it? The theory of peace through armed strength believes it can For example the Prime Minister of Pakistan believes so So does Bertrand Russel and Mr Churchill save that only if the Western democracies mobilise strength enough can the U S S R be deterred from in open war The misfortune of the world is only a small spark is needed to start the fire of the two arsenals of war and then might come the tragedy of human massacre and infernal fire let loose on the face of God's good earth

Thanks to Gandhiji's life and work amongst us India is not ready to heed to this doctrine of peace through armed strength It is common knowledge that when two fight a third is required to intercede When fire is raging it is necessary to cut out a girdle round it as an insulator against its further spreading So also it should be foolish to stop spreading the war-fire raging in the two blocs of the world today India has decided that it will take to the brave non violent way of standing calm and patient in the midst of the battling two It is a way of peace, as effective and courageous as violent war itself What India requires to do, therefore, — and urgently — is to prepare for this and decide upon ways and means for such a courageous stand to be fruitful

When we think of this, we have to take note of one very important matter, England and America, Russia and China are not out for war for its own sake They have in view their own choice way of life America describes its way as of freedom and that of Russia as totalitarian and dictatorial Russia describes the American way as capitalist and imperialist — against the poor, and its own way as for the poor

A new word is recently used for the American way viz classless capitalism The Russian way, to describe it similarly, may be called the classless totalitarianism.

[illegible] other people in their ways [illegible] in on [illegible] side in other [illegible] hold. Then [illegible] when we [illegible] either side we do so because [illegible] third way of life of our own [illegible] admitted that we have [illegible] it in our own mind. We should [illegible] opportunity occasioned by the [illegible] chance to do this necessary job.

What is [illegible] way? It is very clear that the two ways noted above, viz of Russia and America smack of war, vengeance and arms expenditure, though they talk of peace. They can not lead to peace and one world.

Secondly, if we look to their economy, America works with its dollar power and Russia with its totalitarian coercive power. Therefore in both cases economic and political power becomes centralized in the State: trade and industry, science and learning subserve this paramount law of order there. Hence the citizen gets enmeshed in it and acts as one of a political and military State, and has his whole being accordingly.

If thus is not improved we cannot hope for true peace and humanity. Therefore if we sincerely desire them — and that is our ideal — then we must consciously try to build our national life accordingly.

Such an independent and free way of life was what Gandhiji said as the one based on the foundation of self-contained village republics. Power must be decentralized so far at least as the primary needs of the villages are concerned. The village Panchayat must be the social and economic and to that extent political unit of our country. Thus it should be the primary institution of our freedom. Only then can the glow of freedom be felt by our massess in the villages.

We should admit that our Constitution as well as our programmes and policies as also their administration do not confirm to the above ideal. We cannot progress in the achievement of a peaceful order without doing it. If we really mean to succeed in the great venture of being a peaceful third force or area in the world, then we should begin to build for a Sarvodaya order based on economic and political power decentralized in favour of our village communities. Otherwise, we will be only following one of the two ways, though not formally joining either bloc. The Pak-American Military Alliance is a warning to us to rise to this realization of our true ideal.

10-1-'54

(From the original in Gujarati)

GANDHIAN TECHNIQUES IN THE MODERN WORLD

By Pyarelal

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GANDHIJI — THE MAN AND HIS TECHNIQUE*

(By Pyarelal)

II

[illegible] first glimpse of Gandhiji when I [illegible] engaged in my first graduate [illegible] twenties. I had gone to attend the [illegible] of the Indian National Congress [illegible] that has come to be known as the [illegible] the Jallianwalla Bagh in 1919. [illegible] had ordered fire to be opened on [illegible] gathering of several thousand, who [illegible] trapped in the enclosed space of Jallianwalla Bagh with the General's platoon with [illegible] being the only exit. The firing went [illegible] ammunition was exhausted. From the railway station I proceeded to the [illegible] friend where I was to stay. [illegible] the first landing on the stair case where I found a deputation of Indian national leaders — [illegible] one of them a name to conjure with in [illegible] youngsters those days — coming up [illegible] behind. Gandhiji was among them. The [illegible] to meet a gathering of leading [illegible] I felt overwhelmed by the presence [illegible] revered celebrities. I hid myself [illegible] behind a door leaf on the landing, as the illustrious [illegible] filed past and from my safe retreat [illegible] the conversation that followed. It had been decided by the Congress to acquire the site of the Jallianwalla Bagh and turn it into a national monument in memory of the first martyrs in India's non violent freedom struggle. But the funds needed for the purpose were not forthcoming. In vain the leaders tried to wheedle out of [illegible] and pole the hard boiled business men to loosen their purse strings. At last Gandhiji [illegible] He neither flattered nor wooed on their [illegible] in perfervid appeals. He simply told the business men that a solemn resolve [illegible] made by the nation, he would not be a party to its breach. He would rather sell his [illegible] and make up the deficit from the proceeds. They did not come forward and help reach the [illegible]. There was a note of urgent [illegible] sense of finality in his speech which I felt [illegible] to his philosophy of the [illegible] and the rigour with which he practised it [illegible] part of his striving not only to see truth but to live it in full. The rock-like firmness of [illegible] behind those simple words charged them with a power which the practical minded [illegible] men at once understood and the required amount was promised on the spot. The business community on their part received then first lesson in the sanctity of national [illegible] which became the rock bottom of India's subsequent struggle for freedom.

A battle royal was fought in the Congress session that went over the resolution on the

* Further instalment of the address delivered to the P S Educations' Foundation New Delhi. The first part appeared in the previous issue.

[illegible] and [illegible] advocated the acce[illegible] prove its inadequacy [illegible] not' explained the [illegible] ly omitted in the [illegible] without saying that [illegible] will be obeyed in the [illegible] subjects of the British [illegible] not — which the mo[illegible] — which no student [illegible] time — every act that [illegible] is binding on us

Gandhiji objected [illegible] guous middle He [illegible] that a loyal subject [illegible] statute of Parliament [illegible] or wrong of it [illegible] that I shall obey the orde[illegible] the King Emperor only [illegible] any head and hurt [illegible] to obey [illegible] rebels I shall [illegible] the other hand [illegible] he would not [illegible] be rejected outright if on the other hand [illegible] accepted it, they should [illegible] it [illegible] opposed to accepting [illegible] resolution I shall go a [illegible] from [illegible] to the other and save me [illegible] fall in [illegible] we shall fall from [illegible] tion [illegible] not respond to the [illegible] friendship [illegible] extended to us And [illegible] thing down his white [illegible] to [illegible] headed with the opp[illegible] the end [illegible] a dramatic eleventh hour [illegible] the substance of his [illegible] was [illegible]

Here again it was the power of his ceaseless [illegible] the ideal of truth in thought word and deed on which he had [illegible] his life which [illegible] irresistible power to his words so that [illegible] dialectical hurlbats of the opposition [illegible] scattered before it like chaff before the wind [illegible] paradoxical thing about it was that although he was a plea for moderation and compromise the spirit behind it was of a rebel, more thoroughgoing and revolutionary, than any that India had known before

What impressed me even more at that time was his insistence on removal from service while opposing the demand for the impeachment of General Dyer Napoleonic in its brevity and strength, I can recall that speech of his even now almost word for word Characterizing the resolution before them as the most important resolution before the house, he told them that the key to their success in the future lay in their hearty acceptance of that resolution, in their hearty acceptance of the truth underlying that resolution and acting up to it To the extent that we fail to recognize the eternal truth underlying this resolution we are bound to fail I see that there was grave provocation given by the Government The Government went mad, but our people went mad too I say, do not return madness with madness but return madness with sanity and the situation will be yours"

A few weeks later I went to his residence [illegible] to seek an appointment with him. [illegible] law trial were then in full swing and the residence used [illegible] to be besieged by the [illegible] and relations of those who were involved [illegible] prosecutions One such deputation was [illegible] conference with him when I reached [illegible] it was considered to be a hopeless case [illegible] a charge of political murder against [illegible] Who could anyone dare to recommend [illegible] innocence in an accused guilty of political [illegible] The friends and relatives [illegible] Gandhiji con[illegible] Let me hear full facts of the case [illegible] if your man has done anything [illegible] like to save even the worst [illegible] the gallows I have several such [illegible] workers They [illegible] to non-violence [illegible] something new in the political [illegible] religion and using political propaganda [illegible] essentially spiritual angle and [illegible] with dimensional way through [illegible] granite wall or a ring of steel [illegible] thing in his tone again — a quality [illegible] — which excluded nobody, [illegible] not even the worst criminal [illegible] or humanity of forgiveness, a [illegible] to some hidden spring of infinite [illegible] nothing impossible and be[illegible] must fall it only one took [illegible] truth and justice which gripped me The [illegible] of strength which had [illegible] faith in his plea for forgiveness in respect [illegible] now armed him with the [illegible] could successfully plead with the [illegible] Government to spare the life of [illegible] with political murder

Obituary

We regret to announce the death of Shri Dastagir Sahib a twenty-year old handloom weaver of Madhi Dastagir and a younger brother were the only living members of their family Both had been unemployed for some days They tried to find other work to do but [illegible] the edge of starvation This prospect [illegible] Dastagir who committed [illegible] Before he did so he wrote out a note describing the circumstances in which he had [illegible] such a desperate remedy for [illegible] We [illegible] to *Sakal* (November 19, 1953) [illegible] his pitiful case to our notice

The [illegible] noticed death of Dastagir is more significant than that of half a dozen men in high places Our society and political leaders must answer for it before the Great White Throne

V G D.

WOMAN'S ROLE IN MODERN SOCIETY*

(By Vinoba)

Social and political life the world over has all these years been led and moulded by men. It is now time that women enter this field because the way men have done it proves their utter incompetence for this task. They have indeed made a complete mess of it. It has produced within the brief space of thirty years two world wars in the [illegible] is being set for a third one. One of the results of women entering the social and political field and taking the task of educating public opinion into their hands would be to introduce into it the purifying influence of Ahimsa — non-violence and peace which will greatly help us in warding off the calamity of the world. It is a great responsibility which Destiny has placed on the shoulders of women. But in Bihar I find that not only is there not the slightest awakening in regard to this great fact of our times, but women are not even permitted to go out of doors!

In ancient India it was a usual practice for women to work as equal partners of men in every way, so much so that a *yogini* was not regarded as having been truly performed unless the wife associated herself with her husband in every detail. She was called *dhadharmacharini*, a partner of her husband in observing *dharma*. This was so at a time when women were not required to shoulder any special responsibility. But the age in which we are living and more so the age which is now dawning on us demands of them the fulfilment of a special responsibility. The society to come will have to organize its life on the basis of Ahimsa. With the discovery of the atom bomb violence has reached a stage when it has to be abandoned and Ahimsa accepted in its place as the governing principle of human conduct in all its forms.

Women in view of their inherent qualities of love and capacity for sacrifice are naturally expected to play a major part in working out this change. In fact I believe that the reins of power in the world in future is to be placed in the hands of women. Women therefore have to prepare themselves for that eventuality. Meanwhile a [illegible] requisite in that direction we must put an immediate end to the present inequality between men and women.

Sarvodaya ideology does not recognize any distinction between men and women in regard to their rights and duties. In the same way we do not recognize any distinction of high and low between different castes. There we have also got to abolish the distinction between the masters and the servants. The members of the master class seem to shrink from this last reform. That is only because they have not grasped its full significance. Let them think over it and they will see that there is nothing in it to be afraid of. They ask: Do you mean that our sons and daughters will also be required to work exactly as those of the labourers? We say: Yes and that would be good to them. It will improve their digestion and make them better able to face the difficulties of life.

Those who think they are masters and have a natural right to live in ease and comfort while others work for them are in fact, albeit unknowingly, guilty of trying to arrogate to themselves a position which belongs to God alone. God is the only master; we are all His servants and workers. I therefore request them to stop thinking of themselves as masters and to become workers like all others so as to make of the society a great brotherhood of men living in peace and happiness.

Work for the good of the society using all your physical and intellectual powers. Society is the best and safest bank. Keep all your wealth with this bank and you can rest assured that it will offer help and protection to you whenever you need it. The Lord says in the Gita that He looks after the needs of the devotees who have fully dedicated themselves for His service.

We thus stand for the abolition of all the differences which make for inequality between the different members of the society, such as those between men and women, between the rich and the poor, as also between masters and the servants. Not that we dislike all differences. There are natural differences of various kinds between different individuals. For example, the fingers on our hand are not of the same size and strength. But they co-operate with one another. And they are able to co-operate because these differences are set within well defined limits. They make for variety but they do not produce inequality. We have to do the same in regard to society. All differences which make for inequality and disharmony have to be abolished.

Lastly, I would warn you against another newly arisen but quite a formidable factor working for the division of society into warring groups. I mean the creation of political parties each with its own ideological egoism. Caste divisions which have done incalculable harm to our society are now in disfavour but people do not seem to be sufficiently aware of the danger involved in dividing themselves into political parties. We want men who will be above all narrow loyalties and dedicate themselves to the service of humanity irrespective of creed, caste, party or nation.

(From Hindi)

* Delivered a speech at Sinhawal, Darbhanga District on 30.12.50.

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SWADESHI AND UNEMPLOYMENT

[The Nation[illegible] of the P S P passed th[illegible] in its meeting at P[illegible]]

The National Executive of the Praja Socialist Party is of the opinion that to combat [illegible] the spirit of Swadeshi needs to be [illegible] that of Swadeshi must reach down [illegible] Villages singly or preferably in [illegible] be induced to foster self-suffi[illegible] village crafts and occupations are [illegible] unemployment is materially [illegible] like Panchayats Janapada, [illegible] and Municipalities should deve[illegible] and the demand for assis[illegible] authorities for employment [illegible] should be based upon concrete [illegible] work including housing for [illegible] class people on a substantial [illegible] Employment Exchange need to be impr[illegible] strengthened to enable them to functi[illegible] reliable barometers of unemployment [illegible] the principal lever of channelizing employment

Fundamentally the problem can be tackled only if the Government move forward to reorganize and [illegible]alize the economy as a whole Land reform including redistribution of land, rural co-operatives State aid to agriculture, reclamation of waste lands protected markets for small and cottage industries including hand loom industry and a general policy of economic equality and austerity to enable a larger quantum of workers to get work are among the basic reforms needed To augment domestic investments banks insurance companies mines and foreign trade will have to be owned and operated by the State

NOTES

M N. Roy

Shri M N Roy passed away a few days back at Dehra Dun, where he lived after his retirement from active work a few years ago He was a lifelong fighter for India's freedom Though his way was different from the one that ultimately ended in success his integrity and love for freedom were unquestionable, which gave him strength to live through a long span of so many years of travail and hardships in foreign lands He lived and worked for the most formative part of his life in the West and in the climate of the Soviet and the Bolshevic doctrines That perhaps disabled him to see and evaluate the Gandhian philosophy fully He was a thinker and a learned man He gave his ideas in his various books which were instrumental in creating a band of admirers in the country through whom he formed a political party which he formally disbanded after the advent of Swaraj Though he might not have large and tangible [illegible] it be surely re[illegible] who was not [illegible] as remained on [illegible] peace

2 2 54 M. P

Bhoodan Figures

(Up[illegible])

S N	State	Total land collection	Number of Gift-deeds
1	Assam	1,349	
2	Andhra	16 299	552
3	Uttar Pradesh	5 00 891	12 463
4	Orissa	*0 793	10 850
5	Karnatak	1 669	183
6	Kerala	11 100	1 200
7	Gujarat	*0 845	2 917
8	Tamilnad	16 538	2 350
9	Delhi	7 745	243
10	Punjab	3,584	914
11	Bengal	452	439
12.	Bihar	18 23 788	1 14,303
13	Madhya Pradesh	64 346	698
14	Madhya Bharat	87 649	4,114
15	Maharashtra	10,380	769
16	Mysore	2 516	1 084
17	Rajasthan	2,34,378	826
18	Vindhya Pradesh	4,087	760
19	Saurashtra	3 000	
20	Himachal Pradesh	1,360	54
21	Hyderabad (Dn)	73,258	2,647
	Total	21 07 023	1 63,372

Land Distributed

Uttar Pradesh	27 022
Tamilnad	256
Madhya Pradesh	928
Rajasthan	901
Vindhya Pradesh	125
Hyderabad (Dn)	10 354

40 545 acres distributed to 7 559 families.

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Asia and World Peace

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor MAGANBHAI P DESAI

VOL XVII No 50 AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 13 1954 TWO ANNAS

हरिजन

1624

WORLD'S FIRST PACIFIST

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

[A summary of the speech delivered to the students of [illegible] L H A [illegible] and H L Commerce Colleges Ahmedabad, [illegible] on of the Charkha Dwadashi Day — Gandhiji's [illegible] according to the Hindu calendar in the year [illegible]]

The President of your Union in his invita[illegible] suggested to me to say something about [illegible] non-violence I was therefore as I was [illegible] here casting about for a subject which [illegible] only interest you as the audience in [illegible] space of time at our disposal but also [illegible] the consideration being that [illegible] the speaker I could rea[illegible] interest you as well I share [illegible] of the thoughts which have thus [illegible]

I

[illegible] people from all over the world have [illegible] and personality from [illegible] angle and each has tried to [illegible] holding as he has under[illegible] the one side he has been [illegible] *pacifist* on the other [illegible] diplomat an in[illegible] unscrupulous opportunist [illegible] if some one [illegible] the answer [illegible] Gandhiji is [illegible] is the first [illegible] would be fought [illegible] I will explain myself [illegible] but the word [illegible] As it is [illegible] relation or want [illegible] work and th[illegible] and that [illegible] pacifism [illegible] meaning which [illegible] would [illegible] who is [illegible] refused to [illegible] the [illegible] compulsory military service

Gandhiji was not a pacifist in this sense When some of Europe's well known pacifists met him in 1931 he surprised them by criticizing their attitude and ideology Gandhiji told them that they could not be said to have done their duty merely by refusing to join the war Because they would still be assisting the war effort by paying taxes to the State and otherwise also by remaining neutral — which is what mere non-participation would amount to — on a question of vital importance to their community and mankind

Having regard to this distinction it would not be right to call Gandhiji a pacifist in its usual European sense Our own word Satyagrahi is far more correct and appropriate But then Gandhiji cannot be called the first Satyagrahi of the world Prahlad Socrates Christ and so on were also Satyagrahis each in his own way Moreover the word Satyagrahi has wider connotation and would not therefore be fit to describe his uniqueness among the great of the world That is why I have seized on this word — pacifist to describe him But you will please remember that I am not using it in its usual narrow sense but in its true sense as I understand it And it is in this extended and real sense of this word that I call Gandhiji the first pacifist of the world

II

Just a few days back newspapers had featured a radio broadcast by the well known British pacifist and war resister Prof Joad He had explained in it why he [illegible] pacifist had changed into an ardent advocate of war against Germany His argument in short was that there were certain things which he believed could be far more calamitous in their consequences than war and that Nazism was one such It was therefore necessary to resist it even by recourse to war His position would seem to be that he would subscribe to pacifism only so long as he believed that such things could be resisted and eradicated by peaceful means But he now feels that Nazism cannot be faced and resisted except by recourse to the violent means of war The conditions are such he says that it cannot be resisted and repulsed except by force He therefore feels, even at the risk of appearing to follow

expedi[illegible] [illegible] macy [illegible] than [illegible] aim [illegible] only [illegible] is to [illegible] destroy [illegible]

Ye[illegible] easily that if such [illegible] is acce[illegible] would be left [illegible] ground [illegible] ing and resisting any [illegible] One [illegible] apprehended destruction [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] Or to [illegible] has been [illegible] the [illegible] which he [illegible]

[illegible] Buddha, Ch[illegible] Why not [illegible] fist to them [illegible] them all [illegible] danger [illegible] that. I will [illegible] tion to [illegible] on empha[illegible] They say that though it [illegible] influence and shape them [illegible] this proposition that the [illegible] and shape them is equally [illegible] midway between these tw[illegible] would deny that if Budd[illegible] to be born in this age, the[illegible] iently In Gandhiji's case we ac[illegible] fore our eyes that while time and [illegible] have influenced him not a little, [illegible] has been changing and shaping [illegible] ideals

[illegible] ou might still ask 'Leave the [illegible] But why should you not agree [illegible] in this matter to such distin[illegible] ou own times as Tolstoy and [illegible] that so far as condemnation [illegible] as a method of settling dis[illegible] e were certainly pioneers [illegible] in as I have described, they [illegible] quired standard They rejected [illegible] but they failed to point out the

[illegible] tion [illegible] nowe[illegible] sup[illegible] and [illegible] s first [illegible] fifteen [illegible] m The [illegible] chieved [illegible] done a[illegible] The [illegible] Day [illegible] Dada [illegible]

[illegible] Publication [illegible] Rs [illegible] HBOURS [illegible] etc As 13 [illegible] age etc As 6 [illegible] BLISHING HOUSE [illegible] 105, AHMEDABAD-9

HARIJAN

Feb 13 1954

ASIA AND WORLD PEACE

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

The Prime Minister of Ceylon, Sir John Kotelawala came to Delhi and successfully negotiated with our Prime Minister Indo-Ceylonese Agreement on the vexed question of the rights of citizenship of Indian emigrants to Ceylon

And he also took the opportunity to explain his move to call a conference of the prime ministers of the five Asian countries viz Burma Ceylon, India Indonesia, and Pakistan The move has naturally assumed very great importance in the international field, — specially so because of the impending Pak-American Military Aid Agreement

South East Asia as a geographical unit of world strategy is the product of the last World War It was thought of by the Allied High Command from its strategic importance to meet Japan s onrush in that theatre of the war A separate S E A Command was set up, and as we know Lord Mountbatten was in its charge

After the war the area naturally assumed political importance also This is a distinct result of the war India which was one country then split up into four Nation States viz, Burma, Ceylon Bharat and Pakistan Thereafter, thanks to the moral help and encouragement from India Indonesia also became independent This was the time when there met the first Asian Conference at Delhi

The emergence of these five neighbouring nations on the political map of the world is an event by itself and it is any day a very welcome thing that they should meet and discuss common questions of their progress and development That such a move on their part will not be for a military purpose but shall be for the peace and prosperity of the world is praiseworthy.

There are other countries also in S-E Asia viz Indo China Malaya, Cambodia etc equally important Unfortunately, these areas are not still free from the colonial grip of the European imperialism of the last century, though they strive hard to be so The French people who hold the sway are not still ready to accept the new world idea of withering colonialism Do we also not see that they are not still prepared to let go the few islands that they hold in the free territory of our country ?

The result of this dire intransigence on the part of imperial France has brought in the calamity of the world s two power blocs fighting for supremacy in the S E Asian area This has naturally its bearing on the above five free nations The two warring power blocs might [illegible] stan hesit [illegible] bo Confer [illegible] the imperialist [illegible] ld be discu [illegible] that and hence [illegible] difficulty in [illegible] Prime Minister [illegible]

[illegible] for another [illegible] has well [illegible] which is [illegible] tries have [illegible] tuches, it is [illegible] consider [illegible] nual wel- [illegible] such consid- [illegible] and secure [illegible] ency obtained [illegible] d If this [illegible] ble step in the [illegible] prosperity

[illegible] that the State [illegible] peace and secu- [illegible] rity (d) [illegible] le relations [illegible] for inter- [illegible] ns in the dealings [illegible] and another, and (d) [illegible] international disputes b [illegible] tions of the world [illegible] to ban war and w [illegible]

There are [illegible] — firstly the internal [illegible] ly, its foreign re [illegible] take to the ways of w [illegible] nomy and through industrialism [illegible] ena of fighting for world markets ? [illegible] it take to the decentralized economy of [illegible] ficiency through basic small-scale industries and Swadeshi ? — This is the larger question that faces us today

On the second question the main problem is whether a country will be friendly and peace-loving in its foreign relations or will it be

[illegible] ourselves [illegible] estion [illegible] the [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] LANDLESS *

[illegible] village indus- [illegible] tor more than [illegible] way one afte- [illegible] ly crippled [illegible] hoped that [illegible] n But the [illegible] which we [illegible] that remain [illegible] will mak-

[illegible] ll by on [illegible] ctive of our [illegible] is now here [illegible] n causes of hi- [illegible] t Six precion [illegible] defect which

[illegible] of edu- [illegible] aimed at [illegible] diversi flow [illegible] promote the [illegible] wa- [illegible] and not [illegible] st they shem-

[illegible] arpur District

[illegible] did the [illegible] le was [illegible] e time [illegible] course [illegible] the new [illegible]

[illegible] with the [illegible] de [illegible] tell [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] it can profit [illegible] that the ani[illegible] Hindi called 'a horse' [illegible] they learn a useless new [illegible] who have the capacity [illegible] English But then they [illegible] that they may render well-[illegible] books from English into their own [illegible] But there is no need to impose [illegible] And then why learn only English? [illegible] many other languages besides [illegible] such as French Chinese, Japanese etc [illegible] learn with equal profit Today all [illegible] of the world is derived through [illegible] not desirable It makes us look [illegible] same way as the English look [illegible] perspective. Let those, [illegible] can choose other languages besides English so that we may have a more complete knowledge of what is happening in the world

But the education which we provide to the villages will have for its object the improvement of agriculture imparting of skills in various village industries, and the inculcation of proper social outlook It is not necessary to have six hour schools for this purpose I would recommend one hour schools For the rest of the day the teacher and the boys will work on land or in any of the other village occupations The teacher will not get any cash salary The Kisans will give him a share in their produce and provide for his other needs The present six-hour school are a mockery of education. I have seen [illegible] sleep and even smoke in the class They [illegible] to do the assignment while them[illegible] they doze or dream opening up their eyes at intervals just to interject an admonition [illegible] the erring boys to keep quiet We do not want such schools

It is said that the opening up of these schools in the villages will cost a lot of money Pandit Nehru and Maulana Azad both have [illegible] this question of money and pleaded inability to spend more at the present time But [illegible] scheme that I am proposing there is no [illegible] money The teacher will teach the boys only for an hour and both together will work for the rest of the day When we were touring in Telingana in a small village on the bank of the Godavari there met us a few Brahmanas in the village I enquired of them whether there was a school in the village They said "No, the Government has not yet opened one" Then I [illegible] them why they should not undertake to teach the village boys for an hour each day They agreed and from the next day there was a school in the village And such schools can be multiplied in any number one likes throughout India

(Adapted from Hindi)

PROHIBITION IN INDIA

(By Maganbhai)

Shri Sitaram Shastri [illegible] from Andhra writes to [illegible]

You will be glad to [illegible] structure [illegible] Shri Gadil [illegible]

[illegible] Prohibition [illegible] that [illegible] [illegible] as from [illegible] step [illegible] domestic [illegible] of [illegible] people

We [illegible] measures [illegible] paying [illegible] smuggling of [illegible] we [illegible] us Therefore [illegible] farming [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 'united [illegible] controlled by the same [illegible] Asia [illegible] family" and politics an ext[illegible] activities. Politics had been [illegible] highly complicated [illegible] accessible [illegible] by its high-priests — al[illegible] which stood [illegible] high mystic[illegible] penetrate. It [illegible] of [illegible] light of th[illegible] happiness of [illegible] had to be [illegible] isolate el[illegible] hind the [illegible] truth [illegible] his [illegible] key to his politics.

PROPOSED COLOMBO CONFERENCE

[The Prime Minister of Ceylon Sir John Kotelawala [illegible] his few days stay in Delhi addressed the members [illegible] Indian Council of World Affairs and Asian Relations [illegible] Therein he took occasion to explain the [illegible] he had in view in convening a Conference of the [illegible] Ministers of the five S.E. Asian countries viz. [illegible] Ceylon India Indonesia and Pakistan. To [illegible] that [illegible] a bird-eye view of Asian affairs as they are [illegible] the following is reproduced from the press report [illegible] with the hope that it will help the reader to [illegible] the problem of peace in the world in general [illegible] Asia at least in particular. Such an under[illegible] is very necessary on the part of a citizen living [illegible] free and democratic order which is ours now.

—M. P.]

[illegible] affairs have loomed large in the [illegible] world with the emancipation of [illegible] Pakistan Burma Indonesia and Ceylon [illegible] in China the situation in Viet[illegible] Korea and the outbreak of terrorism [illegible] Malaya. Asia has been the heart [illegible] has pumped the blood to keep the rest of [illegible] alive [illegible] longer than one can recall [illegible] disposal of the rest of the [illegible] natural resources which un[illegible] exploited for the benefit [illegible] adequate thought for the [illegible] Is it a wonder there [illegible] poorest continent should [illegible] in which humanity is most im[illegible] the level of economic life is [illegible]

More than half the world's population centres round Asia in one-fifth of the world's

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To the Readers

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor MAGANBHAI P DESAI

VOL XVII No 51 AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY FEBRUARY 20 1954 TWO ANNAS

MANAGING TRUSTEE'S STATEMENT

The audited accounts [illegible] the Trust for the year ending 31st December 1953 approved by the Annual Meeting of the Navajivan Trust held in Bombay at the Chairman's conference on 7-2-'54 are published below [illegible] budget for the current year ie 1954 as [illegible] by the Trustees on the lines of the Income and Expenditure Account for the year [illegible]

While discussing the budget for the current [illegible] I drew the Trustees' attention to an impor[illegible] the Trust incurred in [illegible] the *Harijan* Weekly. Since the Editor has [illegible] I do not propose [illegible]

I [illegible] the Editor has also referred to [illegible] the Trust. From the [illegible] reader will be en[illegible] the nature of [illegible] equally repaid [illegible] amount towards [illegible] doubt the re[illegible] payment [illegible] should be. We are making [illegible] cutting more and more printing [illegible] expedite the process

Queries are often made about the financial position of the Trust. I [illegible] permit myself to quote here from [illegible] a respected leader who [illegible] interest in the work and progress of the [illegible] to his anxious query [illegible] and other position

> At the outset [illegible] to you as to how the Trust [illegible] the present [illegible] year 1952 [illegible] of the Trust [illegible] carry liabilities [illegible] which you are [illegible] Committee which [illegible] in our [illegible] in all which we have [illegible] burden [illegible] will [illegible] mean [illegible] public [illegible] charge [illegible]

publishing establishment. We [illegible] utilizing our printing plant and [illegible] the full extent in undertaking [illegible] We allow our workers free medical [illegible] the usual provident fund [illegible] ance. All our main building [illegible] are not employed in the [illegible] hut are servants of the Trust [illegible] pay basis and are provided with [illegible] above

Moreover I may specifically mention here an item of work undertaken by the Trust. A short time after the demise of Gandhiji on the suggestion of its Chairman Sardar Patel the Trust resolved to prepare and publish a life of Gandhiji. In order that this might be an authentic work the preparation was entrusted to Shri Pyarelal. He has undertaken the unity very willingly and is working on it from the end of 1948 onwards. I am sure the readers remember his general plan of the work which he had published in the *Harijan*. He has first taken up and by now has prepared the last phase of Gandhiji's life and is revising it with his characteristic perseverance and care so that no mistakes of fact creep in and the life becomes fully authentic. The Trust believes this is its own special responsibility and is spending about Rs 10 000 on it every year since the end of 1948. The total amount spent till now from January 1949 to December 1953 is Rs 44 730

It would not be out of place if I mention here the total work put in by the Trust during the year 1953. During this year the Trust has published books in different languages as follows: English 12 Hindi 8 Marathi 1 and Gujarati 1. This shows a total of 27 publications, some of which are useful collections of Gandhiji's original writings on subjects like education etc. All told these 37 publications supply sound and healthy reading of 2 258 pages at the total price of Rs 69 11 0

I take this opportunity to appeal to the readers of the *Harijan* to buy Gandhian literature as also to propagate it among others.

14-2-54

JIVANJI D DESAI
Managing Trustee

(From Gujarati)

NAVAJIVAN TRUST ANNUAL ACCOUNTS

Balance Sheet of Navajivan Trust as at 31st December 1953

FUNDS [illegible]	Rs as p	PROPERTIES [illegible]	
Income [illegible]		Land [illegible]	[illegible]
Balance [illegible]	85 577 15 9	Buildings [illegible]	[illegible]
Machinery [illegible]	1 52 005 0 0	As per last Balance [illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	Additions [illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]		
Publication [illegible]	98 568 5 9	Less Refund of Sales Tax on Cement [illegible]	
Building Fund	1 65 219 2-8	Furniture & Fixtures	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	Balance [illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	Additions during the [illegible]	
Loan [illegible]	1 16 081 0 4		
[illegible]		Less Misc [illegible]	
[illegible]		Less Depreciation [illegible] the Year [illegible]	
[illegible]		Machinery	[illegible]
[illegible]		Balance [illegible]	
[illegible]		Balance [illegible]	
[illegible]		Additions [illegible]	
[illegible]		Tools	[illegible]
Sundries		Balance [illegible]	
[illegible]	31 23 1-3 8	Balance [illegible]	
[illegible]		Additions [illegible]	
[illegible]			
[illegible]			
[illegible]	

[illegible] and Expenditure Account of Navajivan Trust for the Year Ending 31-12-1953

[illegible]	Rs as ps
[illegible] Fund contributions	
[illegible]	2 75 725 5 9
To [illegible] charge	
[illegible] & Stationery	6 642 1-9
To [illegible] & Charge	13 023 11 0
To [illegible] Medical	
[illegible] and Misc	
[illegible]	374 12 0
[illegible]	35 11 0
To [illegible]	5 0 0 0
To [illegible]	2 47 5 12 6
To B[illegible]	10 13 0
To [illegible]	1 487 10 6
Int[illegible]	
[illegible]	
To Depr[illegible]	3 1 7 13 0
On [illegible]	
Fun[illegible]	
To Bu[illegible]	
Building [illegible]	25 333-9 0
	Rs 1 88 88-12-3

Di[illegible] Nav[illegible] & CO
[illegible] Accountants
[illegible]

INCOME		Rs as ps
By Excess in Printing Binding Paper & Type Foundry etc		3 65 370-[illegible]
By Excess in Sale of Books		85 207 7-0
By Excess in Proof Reading Translations etc		18 045-4-0
By Excess in Copyright fees		4 485 11-9
By Rent		1 917-7-
Rent of Building	16 970 0 0	
—		
Municipal Tax and rent paid by Branches	15 052-8 6	
By Excess of Income in Journals (Without deducting salaries Postage Stamps etc)		3 5 2 0 6
By Income of Land and Miscellaneous receipts		232-13 0
	Rs	1 78 858-12 3

R B DAVE
Accountant

JIVANJI D DESAI
Managing Trustee

AMERICA AND PAKISTAN

(The New Outlook of December 1953, New York [illegible] in its editorial "Theocracies and American Aid")

Last month Pakistan elected to drop dominion status within the British Commonwealth and become instead a theocratic republic presumably retaining the nebulous sort of common wealth ties held by India Although the move was expected at London and undoubtedly at New Delhi as well its consequences for future India-Pakistan relations cannot be foretold This is in part because its proposed new constitution would give no assurance of minimum rights for the 10 million Hindus within Pakistan's borders

A new tension has been added then, to a situation already bad and this alone should give us pause

But we must add to it the fact that America has elected to support a military buildup on the part of Pakistan This is being done because Washington and London recognize in Pakistan the strongest ally against Communism among the Moslem States A fair appraisal might conclude that Pakistan is the only strong Moslem State aside from Turkey in the world today Our government leaders feel, and rightly, we think, that militant Communism is the threat to world peace, but they also tend, in our view, to conclude that any means of combating Communism is a good means It is our opinion, with respect to the military buildup that the relationship between Pakistan and India is more significant than that between Pakistan and the USSR and that in the long view it would better serve our interests to do whatever we could to bring about rapprochement between the two than to build up either primarily as a possible ally against Russia

Possibly this is too long view attitude the world never sees fruition because of a short view catastrophe But no one can be certain of the other And a nation like [illegible] *moralists by moral* [illegible] in the potentially explosive Asian situation any attempt [illegible] to divert attention from a possible mutual settlement to another crisis looming however large on the horizon may have the most grave consequences

If by some means an India-Pakistan settlement can be reached and a real era of co-operation and neighbourly relations instituted between the two that development alone would create the strongest possible bulwark against Communism in South Asia If through any wrong policy on our part or neglect or for other reasons beyond our control this does not come about then no munitions pumped into the Moslem theocracy of Pakistan can create more than an illusory dike against the red seepage from the north

HARIJAN

Feb 20 1954

TO THE READERS

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

[illegible] readers must have learnt from the daily [illegible] that the Navajivan Trust has decided to [illegible] the three *Harijan* weeklies It is hoped [illegible] welcome the decision Readers from [illegible] abroad have been writing off and on [illegible] that these periodicals are serving [illegible] purpose in the public affairs of this [illegible] their discontinuance, therefore, [illegible] a void difficult to be filled other- [illegible] less, it is evident that if their [illegible] falls short of what is required to en- [illegible] pay their way, it cannot but cause [illegible] to the Trust Naturally, there- [illegible] has felt the need for some years [illegible] its policy in regard to this matter [illegible] time The question was considered [illegible] at the annual meeting of the [illegible] referred to above, it was decided [illegible] them

[illegible] times it is considered almost [illegible] conduct a newspaper without [illegible] and yet like so many othe [illegible] Gandhiji was not only [illegible] papers without advertise- [illegible] build up the Navajivan insti- [illegible] foundation. No doubt he alone [illegible] those days were different [illegible] a new *mantram* — a new [illegible] and freedom People were full [illegible] to fight with the alien [illegible] weeklies were in his hands an [illegible] and guide it along construc- [illegible] these factors were no insignf [illegible]

[illegible] as this atmosphere began to [illegible] lation of these papers began to [illegible] fall even during Gandhiji's [illegible] departure from our midst [illegible] radically giving rise to [illegible] concerning Hind Swaraj The [illegible] to fade away, new and [illegible] strange and undesirable [illegible] old ones and swayed the [illegible] It is not to be doubted, [illegible] there should be, [illegible] conditions, a place for [illegible] we might add that today they [illegible] than ever

[illegible] therefore, continued, [illegible] lation was all the time shrink [illegible] At last, in 1951 when the [illegible] ers came to 9,000 only, the [illegible] Jaiprakash made an appeal to the [illegible]

[illegible] wo if [illegible] fortunately [illegible] which are [illegible] not to [illegible] and a [illegible] does not [illegible] schools and [illegible] of [illegible] amongst [illegible] about the Gujarati edition [illegible] the correspondence of its two [illegible] readers of "Harijanbandhu [illegible] will wave open to them [illegible]

[illegible] still remain Why [illegible] built or either of the [illegible] The reader will [illegible] the question from [illegible] institution and the [illegible] of the Managing [illegible] in this issue He will notice [illegible] there is definite loss in [illegible] amount of [illegible] of these periodicals [illegible] and is able to make [illegible] long extra work [illegible] way in which the [illegible] this may give them [illegible] Press

[illegible] will [illegible] accounts is that the Trust [illegible] incurred a debt of about twenty-odd lakh rupees

The Trust [illegible] spent this amount on the reconstruction of its press building and quarters for [illegible] workers It was Gandhiji's idea long since [illegible] and [illegible] colony for this institution [illegible] was purchased for this purpose as early [illegible] But owing to the political vicissitudes [illegible] though [illegible] had been passing since then [illegible] could not be undertaken until [illegible] Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was [illegible] and looked on it as his personal responsibility After the attainment of freedom [illegible] applied himself to this task and saw it through And in view of the debt thus incurred the Trust adopted the policy of accepting [illegible] from outside so as to pay it off The [illegible] that this has enabled the institution [illegible] its activities satisfactorily even in [illegible] trying conditions.

[illegible] without saying that the Trust [illegible] the question as to how and when [illegible] this money so as to pay off the debt In view of the fact that the Navajivan is an institution founded by Gandhiji, is devoted [illegible] propagation of his ideas, and is entrusted by him for this purpose with the copyright of all his writings, a suggestion was made while the Sardar was still alive that it could very justifiably seek help from the Gandhi Memorial Trust which was created by the people for serving similar objects The idea was to ask the Gandhi Memo-

[illegible]

NOTES

[illegible] Worked [illegible]

[illegible] broadcast not [illegible] other languages [illegible] his decision [illegible] wrote on a [illegible] temptation They [illegible]

M. P

Biography

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GANDHI — THE MAN AND HIS TECHNIQUE

(By [illegible])

IV

[illegible]

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Ar[illegible] Lams

[illegible] Gandhiji had [illegible] phenomenal succe[illegible] unanswered the [illegible] After all [illegible] If Satyagraha [illegible] undoubtedly [illegible] — what [illegible] from regarding what [illegible] And [illegible] not [illegible] union [illegible] ful [illegible] God [illegible] is [illegible] change [illegible] — [illegible] and [illegible] of the [illegible] of time [illegible] and space [illegible] the [illegible] seen [illegible] the [illegible] God [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Strange Values

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Edited by MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

1629

VOL XXII No 52 AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY FEBRUARY 27 1954 TWO ANNAS

AN EVIL THAT NEEDS A SUMMARY REMEDY

(By Gandhiji)

[ ] from South India sends for reproducing in [ ] extracts from Gandhiji's writings on English [ ] use of English as the medium of instruction [ ]

The foreign medium has caused brain fag[illegible] on our children. It has put a strain upon the nerves of our child[illegible] and made them examiners and imitators un[illegible] for original work and thought, and [illegible] filtrating their learning to the [illegible] the masses. The foreign medium has made our children practically foreigners in their own land. It is the greatest tragedy of the existing system. The foreign medium has prevented the growth of our vernaculars. If I had the powers of a despot I would today stop the tuition of our boys and girls through a foreign medium and require all the teachers and professors on pain of dismissal to introduce the change forthwith. I would not wait for the preparation of text-books. They will follow the change. It is an evil that needs a summary remedy.

Young India, 1-9-'21

There would be no need to prove such a self-evident proposition that the youth of a nation to remain a nation must receive all instruction including the highest in its own vernacular or vernaculars. There never was a greater superstition than that a particular language can be incapable of expansion or expressing abstruse or scientific ideas. A language is an exact reflection of the character and growth of its speakers.

Young India, 5-7-'28

Among the many evils of foreign rule this blighting imposition of a foreign medium upon the youth of the country will be counted by history as one of the greatest. It has sapped the energy of the nation, it has shortened the lives of the pupils, it has estranged them from the masses, it has made education unnecessarily expensive. If this process is still persisted in, it bids fair to rob the nation of its soul.

Young India, 5-7-'28

The medium of instruction should be altered at once and at any cost, the provincial languages being given their rightful place. I would prefer temporary chaos in higher education to the criminal waste that is daily accumulating.

Harijan, 9-7-'38

We are not jealous of English. All that is contended for is that it ought not to be allowed to go beyond its proper sphere. It is unmanly even to think that English can become our national language.

Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi pp 395-99 20-10-'17

It is our mental slavery that makes us feel that we cannot do without English.

Harijan 25-8-'46

The medium of a foreign language through which higher education has been imparted in India has caused incalculable intellectual and moral injury to the nation. We are too near our own times to judge the enormity of the damage done.

Harijan, 9-7-'38

ADVICE TO THE STUDENTS AND TEACHERS*

(By Vinoba)

It gives me great pleasure to have an opportunity to speak and thus to explain my mission to people in small villages. The small villages lying far into the interior are hardly ever visited by anybody. Consequently they have been neglected without any attempt being made to bring to them the light of knowledge and lift them out of their ignorance. Whenever therefore I have an occasion to speak to the people in these neglected villages I feel very very happy. It gives me an opportunity to explain to them how they can better their conditions.

There is no education in the villages. The English who ruled India for about 150 years did not make any attempt to provide any education to them. Now India is free. But our Government too, we are told, has not enough money for that. Moreover, we are convinced that the setting up of the present type of schools is not the way to impart the education which our villages need.

Real education could be carried into the villages only by the *sevakas* who would move about constantly from village to village as once they did in old India, and give people knowledge. That people can be made to acquire knowledge through books is merely a fond dream which may be realized in some measure at some future

* From a prayer speech at Sindhibhawa, on 22-1-'54.

[illegible] today Our villagers [illegible] time nor the necessary habit [illegible] Besides, where are books [illegible] ills useful to them ?

[illegible] believe that knowledge unde[illegible] ions could be imparted to them [illegible] he ear That alone would be effec[illegible] is recognized its educative value [illegible] given to *shravana-bhakti* i.e. the [illegible] glories of the Lord a place of high [illegible] the ways leading to spiritual pro[illegible] therefore who could successfully [illegible] task are a great necessity Indeed [illegible] ld provide the sure basis for any [illegible] ication devised to serve the needs [illegible]

[illegible] to tell you what has to be done [illegible] ent difficulties The programme [illegible] ing before the people is based on [illegible] ental ideas Such ideas are like [illegible] surely grows It may take time, [illegible] I therefore preach these ideas [illegible] that they will propagate them selves and [illegible] nately triumph against all odds, because they have behind them the force of truth

It is no small thing that in the brief space of less than three years, we have secured twenty-five lakh acres of land No pressure whatever was used in this task In other countries the same has been achieved either through bloodshed or at best through the coercion of law In our case it has been secured entirely through love We explained to the people the need for it and they have spontaneously responded to our appeal out of an awakened sense of duty What did we say to them ? Simply this that land like air water and sun was not an object of individual possession It was a free gift of God. How could men own it ? It should therefore be equally shared The landless among you have also a right to it This is what we said and the people accepted it because there was behind it the force of truth

I am very happy to see that there are in the audience assembled here a few students also It should be borne in mind that on their young shoulders lies the responsibility for the future progress of our nation. It is they who will have to carry forward in due time the country's chariot At present they are engaged in their studies But what is the object of these studies ? The object is to serve the nation to serve truth. In that case while they learn at school, they should work also The world is suffering from manifold ills because most people disdain work Only a few work while the rest want to exploit the fruits of the labour of others This is the root cause, the sin which has produced all these ills The educated who can judge things, therefore, [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] they [illegible] [illegible] need [illegible] [illegible] which [illegible] [illegible] ibe [illegible] they grew [illegible] in the [illegible] though [illegible] There [illegible] should [illegible] a great [illegible] were to pronu[illegible] them a new [illegible] character

I would [illegible] importance of [illegible] education which [illegible] and knowledge It [illegible] ture of the country [illegible] India has forgotten [illegible] remembers the [illegible] sha-charya Ram [illegible] hars who moulded and guided her [illegible] in his time Let the present teache[illegible] in what ever measure they can the [illegible] of these their illustrious predecessors

(Adapted from Hindi)

BUY SWADESHI

(By Prof M R Agarwal)

People thought that there was no need of Swadesh after gaining freedom, but the growing unemployment problem in the country has now forced the Government and the people to pay some attention to this matter

Swadeshi played the most important role in driving away the foreign rule The common man understand Swaraj only in terms of economic emancipation and people joined the freedom movement in the hope that the country shall become prosperous by sending away the British The idea that political freedom must necessarily bring economic prosperity is against all knowledge of modern economic theory and the present-day economic problem facing us prove this truth. Without economic freedom political freedom has no meaning

The Swadeshi movement helped to foster a sense of pride in the national effort and gave a valuable fillip to industrial development in the country — the means to economic independence and prosperity The movement received the whole hearted support of even the hard-bolled capitalists Even now the representatives of commerce and industry want a "Buy Indian" movement to be started. Indian manufacturers want their countrymen to practise Swadeshi even at a sacrifice in the interest of Indian economy

Why then is it that efforts of the industrialists the handloom weavers etc and of the present Government have failed to make the people accept Swadeshi on a permanent basis ? The answer to this question reveals some fundamental and unpleasant truths.

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will be mass [illegible]

If the Indian [illegible] and the
producers of cotton [illegible] come the
preaching and propaganda for Swadeshi shall become
absolutely unnecessary.

By M Kumar Gandhi
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'DO OR DIE' CAMPAIGN FOR BHOODAN

[Shri Shankarrao Deo Secretary, Sarva Seva Sangh sends the following resolution that was passed in its meeting of 3-2-1954]

When Shri Vinobaji entered Bihar on the 14th of September 1952 he had declared that he would not leave Bihar till the land problem of the State had been successfully solved Ever since than for the past 18 months Vinobaji has been touring Bihar Still a good portion of the 32 lakh acres of land necessary for finding a solution of the land problem in the State is yet to be collected While it is certainly necessary for us to remember this and intensify our efforts to collect the quota of land necessary for solving the land problem in the province Shri Vinobaji has drawn political attention to the special need to see that before the ensuing Sarvodaya Sammelan we reach at least the target of 3 lakh acres fixed for the district of Gaya. In fact reaching the target for the district of Gaya will be an integral part of the intensified effort to reach the target for the province

The grimness of Shri Vinobaji's determination and the seriousness of the situation are evident from the tone and language of the appeal that Shri Vinobaji has made while entering the district of Gaya on the 30th of January 1954 declaring his intention to do or die The Sarva Seva Sangh too fully realizes the seriousness of the situation The responsibility of the workers in Bihar and especially in the district of Gaya is even greater and the Sangh therefore earnestly appeals to the workers and the people of Bihar to take up the task of reaching the quota for Gaya with redoubled determination.

What Vinobaji has said of the district of Gaya applies in fact to the whole of India Though our determination to collect 7 lakhs of acres from the country within two years has been fulfilled in a sense still many provinces are yet to reach the quotas they were fixed for them The Sarva Seva Sangh therefore earnestly appeals to all workers to realize how important it is to see that we successfully discharge the debt of fulfilling our solemn determination. The Sangh appeals to them to devote their whole time, at least till the 15th of April for the work of Bhoodan

Vinobaji concentrated his efforts in Bihar with the belief that to solve the land problem of India it is necessary to show how the problem can be and has been solved in one province by his method In the same manner the fulfilment of the quota for the district of Gaya has now become one of special significance both to Bihar and to the country It is thus a national task It is therefore necessary that as many workers as possible from the provinces which have fulfilled the quotas for them to reach the targeted figure of 25 lakhs and workers who can be spared from other provinces should go to the district of Gaya and devote themselves to the task of reaching the quota fixed for the district before the Sarvodaya Sammelan

The Sangh specially appeals to constructive workers and their institutions to devote their energies to the work of Bhoodan by limiting or curtailing the works they have on hand Let us not forget that we are on trial and we have to prove our mettle

Workers who want to proceed to the district of Gaya may obtain the necessary information from Shri Vallabhswami Bhoodan Sanchit Gaya and proceed to Gaya after receiving his assent

By Mahatma Gandhi
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HARIJAN

Feb 27 1954

STRANGE VOICES

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

At the present time Bombay City is hotly [illegible]ng the place of English in our national [illegible]m of education which is slowly but surely [illegible] place particularly in Bombay State The [illegible] Government has decided that children will [illegible]h in their mother tongue as a corollary it follows that English as the medium of instruction will be restricted to only those children whose mother tongue is that In no way has the study of English been banned by the Government

In a way, what is being done by Government of Bombay is nothing new Such a reform in our education was thought of by our people years ago and if we look at the Congress constructive programme, we find that it forms an important part of it However it is tragic to find some prominent Congressmen arraying themselves in battle against this obviously very necessary and natural reform

Why should it be so specially when we are free? One very noteworthy reason for such diehard conservatism masquerading under the slogan of culture and unity and freedom is to be found in the following remark of the American educationalist Dr Hutchins in his recent book, *The Conflict of Education* where he says regarding Western education as follows

> Since education in the West is built very largely on the doctrine of individual differences so that the study of the individual child and his individual interests is supposed to be the principal preoccupation of his teachers from his earliest days and premature and excessive specialization is a common characteristic of both the American college and the British public school, it will be argued that a programme of liberal education for all ignores the most important thing about men and that is that they are different. I do not ignore it I deny it I do not deny the fact of individual differences I deny that it is the most important fact about men or the one on which an education system should be erected.

The pattern and principles of education that have been guiding us during the last one century and more are obviously on the manner of the Western way noted above In our country, on account of foreign rule, was committed a further fundamental mistake of imposing a foreign medium of instruction, — English, and a type of education that was meant only for the few that would go in to man the services of our rulers and was thus based on the differences of our classes and needs was perilously universalized to be the common thing What was at best meant for a few became for all, therefore there were bound to be dire consequences of this outrage and one of them was [illegible] more than 80 per cent literacy [illegible] the other way round — we are [illegible] 80 per cent illiterate

The mistake noted by Dr H[illegible] realized in the West at present and [illegible]

> "Men are different They are also [illegible] at least in the present state of civilisatio[illegible] in which they are the same are more im[illegible] those in which they are different Now [illegible] need an education that is designed to bring [illegible] common humanity rather than to indulge our individuality Our individual differences mean that individual development must vary If we all strug[illegible] to make the most of our individual human powers [illegible] result will be different because our powers diffe[illegible] But the difference is one of degree and not of kind

English not only divided our people [illegible] two but made some of us different This is what Gandhiji said about it

> The present system of education does [illegible] meet the requirements of the country in any shape or form English having been made the medium of instruction in all the high branches of learning has created a permanent bar between the highly educated few and the uneducated many It has prevented knowledge from percolating to the masses The excessive importance given to English has cast upon the educated class a burden which has maimed them mentally for life and made them strangers in their own land" (*Harijan* 2 10-'37)

It is a very funny thing indeed to hear strange voices telling us now that we were made a united people by English! Such a ridiculous claim was never made before even by these very voices at least during the last generation But that is another matter English is never the need of all of us And for the few that need it it should be made available along with so many other languages our own as well as foreign But to do that is not to impose English as a compulsory study and as the medium of instruction.

It is a pity that this simple reform is deliberately being confounded by interested parties to show that English language is being removed from our study! But vested interests not only economic but social and political, educational and cultural, have their own logic to live by and we may not go to refute it any further

13-2-'54

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VITALLY DIFFERENT

By Maganbhai P Desai

[illegible] and Pakistani military [illegible] agents tell us that there is no [illegible] between military and economic aid [illegible] will to know what it really is from such [illegible] and [illegible] sources like the American journal, [illegible] (Nov 4, 1953) Discussing under Mutual [illegible] the journal says

As to funds for other countries there may be a [illegible] difference in the purposes for which such [illegible] be dispended A distinction should be made we [illegible] between money appropriated to arm another [illegible] against some potential enemy whom we should [illegible] see encircled and money supplied to help [illegible] country to achieve a balanced self sustaining [illegible]

[illegible] there is a great difference between money [illegible] abroad as some kind of bribe to win [illegible] on one side in the 'cold war' and the [illegible] the Point Four Programme which is to [illegible] to teach particular skills to other peoples [illegible] may learn to help themselves [illegible] tion it seems to us [illegible]

[illegible] importance of the distinction is [illegible] the drain on world's resources [illegible] The writer of the *Mana* [illegible] argument says,

[illegible] the drain on American resour[illegible] for war it is fair to remark [illegible] of this tremendous financial [illegible] veiled to simple no-strings [illegible] to countries where hunger [illegible] might soon discover that the [illegible] reparations no longer [illegible] nothing new about this idea [illegible] have been repeating [illegible]

[illegible] national and that [illegible] peace In the [illegible] well should [illegible] security against wan[illegible] two power blue[illegible] armed strength [illegible] build up their *na*[illegible] collective waging of [illegible] to build up world's [illegible] as great as [illegible]

1-2-'5,

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NOTES

Welcome

I welcome the inaugural issue (1954) of the journal *Alert* the voice of the National Temperance Society of India It is good to see that an all India journal devoted to the great work of prohibition is being published Lest some may misunderstand the aim of the Society, I quote its definition that "true temperance calls for total abstinence from all alcoholic beverages" — temperance is really total prohibition

Shri Rajagopalachari in his 'Message to Youth' says

I do not oppose alcohol without reason I believe in keeping the body and mind *clean* and in working order Alcohol in any quantity puts the delicate mechanism of the mind out of gear In larger quantities and if continuously taken it hurts the body It creates a growing taste for its effect until it robs men of real freedom of will and ruins the delicate brain mechanism of co-ordination and balance which is the most precious element in the human mind In most cases it harms physical health and makes for family unhappiness It aggravates the helplessness of old age So, it is not because I happen to be a teetotaller myself that I beg of young people to avoid alcoholic drinks as we would avoid cheats and crooks in human intercourse

13-2-54 M P

Smoke and Cancer

I reproduce below a news item which needs no comments

A British Government medical committee reported today that

1 It must be regarded as established that there is a relationship between smoking and cancer of the lung

2 Though there is a strong presumption that the relationship is [illegible] there is evidence that the relationship is not a simple one.

3 Although no immediate dramatic fall in the death rate could be expected if smoking ceased since the development of lung cancer may be the development of many factors operating over many years, and although no reliable quantitive estimates can be made of the effects of smoking on the incidence of cancer of the lung it is desirable that young people should be warned of the risk apparently arising from excessive smoking

The committee composed of some of the most eminent doctors in Britain, made the report after investigating the findings of a three-year research

17-2-'54 M P

DRINK DRUGS & GAMBLING

By Mahatma Gandhi

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BASIC REFORMS IN SECONDARY EDUCATION

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Union Minister for Education addressing the Central Advisory Board of Education holding its twenty first session said that reform had become urgent in the [illegible] of education in India. The first was the [illegible] of University Education and the other [illegible] School Education.

[illegible] with Secondary Education Maulana [illegible] till it was reorganized it could not [illegible] the needs of the country. In this connection [illegible] three things appear to me to be [illegible]

[illegible] Secondary Education must be so [illegible] that it will be the completion of education [illegible] of the people. It must not [illegible] to the University but be a [illegible] in itself.

[illegible] and content should be such [illegible] needs of different groups of [illegible] aptitudes. It must not [illegible] [illegible] Union Game.

[illegible] Basic Education [illegible] elementary level [illegible] could be so moulded as to [illegible] of institution initiated at [illegible] and train up citizens who [illegible] responsibilities of [illegible] some one craft in the [illegible] Commission's report [illegible] from this point of [illegible]

[illegible] recommendations of the [illegible] the Board to go into the [illegible] Secondary Education [illegible] educational structure [illegible] mainly consist of eight [illegible] (Basic) Education [illegible] education, and three [illegible]

[illegible] also drawn special [illegible] recommendation [illegible] science social studies [illegible] core subjects of [illegible] In addition the [illegible] highest priority to the [illegible] in the following [illegible] sciences Technical [illegible] Agricultural [illegible]

Maulana Azad [illegible] should be one [illegible] this course [illegible] be placed in [illegible] report [illegible] curricula [illegible]

[illegible] we accept, as I hope you [illegible] itions we must try to fix [illegible] own idea is that this task [illegible] within ten years. I con[illegible] rs appear to me too long [illegible] if the period could be still [illegible]

VEGETARIANISM, A SOCIAL GOOD

(By John Snow)

If we want a world from which cruelty is eliminated sooner or later we shall have to consider the way in which we obtain our food. Flesh food always entail cruelty and suffering even when modern devices such as the humane killer are used. Animals often suffer considerably in transit to abattoirs. They show considerable fear when approaching the slaughter house because of the smell of blood and are often kicked prodded and beaten in order to get them to the actual place of slaughter.

There is also the case of the butcher himself to be considered. He has to do day in and day out the horrible job of slaughtering on behalf of those who demand flesh foods but do not do their own killing. The dehumanizing effect of following such an occupation is fairly well known and, in any case is not difficult to imagine for the average intelligence.

Then there is the economic aspect. In view of the world food shortage and the fact that the pressures arising from this state of affairs are among the most prevalent causes of war this aspect should have a very strong appeal to reason. For it is fairly widely recognized now that it would be possible to feed at least three as many vegetarian people from a given area of land than when meat is included in the diet.*

As vegetarianism we know and many authorities now admit without hesitation that flesh foods are entirely unnecessary and that quite adequate and satisfying alternative foods could be made available with very little trouble provided people were willing to make the necessary adjustment in the matter of their diet.

There are many more vegetarians than meat eaters in the world even today and an increasing number in this country. The present estimate for this country puts the number at about 90,000. Quite a number of third generation vegetarians testify to the excellence of such a diet from the point of view of health and general wellbeing. Diets suitable for all types of workers from the

* In this connection I quote from a passage in the American weekly *Nutrition* of May 2 1953 which statistically states the point which I produce below.

Using figures provided by the British Ministry of Agriculture and the Department of Agriculture of the U.S.A. which are accepted by the National Farmers Union we have the following

An average acre of land produces per annum one of the following items

Animal Food	Lbs	Vegetable Crops	Lbs
Beef	168	Wheat bread	2,000/2,500
Mutton	28	Beans [illegible]	3,000/4,000
Pigmeat	300	Rice	4,000/6,000
Poultry	50	Potatoes	20,000
(Average 250/300)		Carrots	25,000
		Swedes	30,000

Thus the figure for cereals is over ten times that of animal food and that for vegetables between 100 times [illegible] large.

M. P.

[illegible] ual [illegible] readily [illegible] de without the [illegible]

[illegible] ned with spirit [illegible] e of many wh[illegible] l notably Emmanuel [illegible] lungsford and Edward [illegible] osophists and students of [illegible] m Indeed the non-flesh [illegible] ges insisted upon as an [illegible] e the more profound [illegible] embarked upon. Tolstoy [illegible] t and emphasized [illegible] in relation to the founda- [illegible] ial civilization The [illegible] have always advoca- [illegible] any interpreta- [illegible] ores or repudiates it [illegible] to the category of [illegible] empty shibboleth [illegible] emphasized will [illegible] profound significance [illegible] that it is not by [illegible] idiosyncrasy but a [illegible] rds human and

H n Sept. 19.3)

[illegible] AND VEGETARIANISM

[illegible] y interesting little journal, [illegible] September 1953. The [illegible] ms and I leals describes [illegible] e as a world ideal. The [illegible]

[illegible] subject of cruelty to ani- [illegible] vivisection, also. Another [illegible] in a general way, which [illegible] reader will find it else-

M. P J

[illegible] ely few leaders in the [illegible] ly support the Gospel [illegible] which includes in its [illegible] ice of Vegetarianism Not [illegible] ly recognize this word [illegible] tions but we use it [illegible] o life the doctrine of [illegible] st field of human

[illegible] Church there is a grow- [illegible] Pacifist attitude, as [illegible] of the Fellowship [illegible] Pa[illegible] and abroad, [illegible] more than a small [illegible] e carried their [illegible] in relation- [illegible] ship The [illegible] to protect the [illegible] animal [illegible] cruelty and [illegible] pain but [illegible] in the slaugh- [illegible] house [illegible] laboratory

[illegible] peace, kind- [illegible] ng creatures,

[illegible] that Gandhiji [illegible] described [illegible] greatest gifts of [illegible] Hinduism to [illegible]

M P

[illegible] Christian [illegible] forward to [illegible] been known since [illegible] this not only [illegible] hout the world [illegible] and ideal [illegible] purest te[illegible]

The attitude [illegible] which is not confined to [illegible] Christian Church but is a state of Universal [illegible] ousness [illegible] tate of Truth realized within [illegible] being a state which all true seeker [illegible] ch depends on these three Steps

Purity of [illegible]
Purity of Mind
Purity of Soul

Steps Unto Him though not an organ of the Order of the Cross, stands for these same ideals

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UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE MACHINE

(By J C Kumarappa)

The tendency in our country is to put our hopes on industrialization to solve our problem of utter poverty We have been constantly pointing out in these columns that this course is not the solution at all While the machine meets certain of our difficulties it creates still more and intensifies the unemployment question This attitude is supported by no less an authority than Prof Norbert Wiener of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology a world renowned mathematician He does not content himself with the pure technical approach to science but transcends it and takes into consideration human implications of our actions in the social field In an interview he is reported to have said

> The revolution that is getting on now is an industrial revolution of a different kind from the previous one I feel a sense of responsibility about some of the developments of the new machine age I think we must understand it to avoid its dangers

> Electronic and other machines have been introduced for dealing with routine work work involving decisions in lower levels in the idea of automatic machines were regarded as clock work — machinery which worked on set patterns not influenced by outside factors The new automatic machines have sense organs which observe and react to the outside and turn out new orders which again move the other sense Will these future be already beginning to be a new displacement of factory labour This is a new possibility as great as atomic power and as dangerous. It is a double-edged sword it can produce the worst of the implement

> My responsibility tells me that we must not get drunk with power A new power is a new duty and we must see if we can of how these things can be turned into the service of man rather than turning man to the service of machine

We in India are yet to visualize the fast coming changes in their full setting We hope our academicians will also view our so-called developments from wide social considerations apart from purely material values While we talk of solving unemployment we continue to flood our country with machine-made goods, both Indian and foreign It is high time we seriously tackled this problem

(From *Gram Udyog Patrika*, Wardha February 1954)

By Mahatma Gandhi

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BASIC EDUCATION '— HALF-BAKED NOTIONS

By J C Kumarappa

In spite of the fact that Nai Talim has been in the field for well over a decade even eminent persons like Sir Mirza Ismail have not grasped the fundamentals of the philosophy underlying this new approach to education This is evident in the recent Convocation Address of Sir Mirza at the Rajputana University

Education is a preparation for life The system bequeathed to us by the British was intended to be a preparation for a life based on competitive social and economic order founded on an exchange system in which markets and price mechanism play a crucial part Under such circumstances human effort is looked upon as a commodity to be bought and sold Hence the outlook of the pupils depends on what can be made out of such education It is purely utilitarian

On the other hand Basic System of Education prepares our future citizens for a co-operative social and economic order where the building up of each human being is the objective In it material value however important is not a deciding criterion but remains merely as a test of the efficiency of the system of education Here labour ceases to be a commodity but aims at satisfying human needs To use the criterion of a competitive economy to judge a co-operative social order is like mistaking the commercial outlook of an eating house with that of a mother eager to provide her children with nutritious food

The types of education prepare young people for two diametrically opposed types of society The technique of one will not serve the purpose of the other

Our leaders should not be content with hastily conceived superficial ideas, but dive deep into the fundamental ideals underlying Basic Education Otherwise the changing needs of our new social order cannot be met.

(From *Gram Udyog Patrika*, Wardha February 1954)

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